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BERT HODGE HILL



## DEDICATION

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, since its establishment some seventy-two years ago, has steadily grown in stature and achievement. It has profited richly from the leadership and counsel of many distinguished classicists, each of whom has left enduring tokens of his constructive thought and labor. Among all the notable men who have in turn guided its destinies, however, none can compare with Bert Hodge Hill in length of service and in the permeating influence of his personality. For nearly fifty of those three score years and twelve he has been intimately associated with the School and devoted to its interests, first as a student from 1900 to 1903, later as Director from 1906 to 1927, and more recently as Director Emeritus.

As a student, he took an active part in the excavations at Corinth, and he contributed substantially to the introduction of modern scientific technique in digging. He excelled particularly in keen observation and precise recording in all its details of the evidence unearthed, and he paid especial attention to the problem of recognizing and differentiating the successive strata of the ancient deposits being examined.

When, after an interlude in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, he returned to Athens as Director, he improved and sharpened this technique, which he not only applied again at Corinth, but also brought to bear on the architectural and inscrip-tional monuments of the Acropolis at Athens. All the generations of students who have since passed through the School have had the opportunity to benefit from his instruction, and there are few if any American classical archaeologists today who are not immeasurably indebted to him for the grounding and training they received through attending his inimitable seminars on the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum.

As a teacher he gained their profound respect and admiration. They remember his untiring patience with their first stumbling efforts, his unshakable good humor, and his benevolent encouraging smile. They will never forget his gentle but unswerving insistence on accuracy in reporting facts and his willingness to give a fair hearing to all dissenting views on any problem under consideration. They can recall their feeling of exhilaration under the impact of his fresh, inquiring mind, which looked beyond the superficial to the fundamental and was full of original ideas that stimulated his hearers to think.

But it is not only as a teacher that he has few peers. All those who were burdened with troubles and difficulties have found in him a father confessor and a loyal friend, unfailingly ready to offer understanding sympathy together with practical advice and comfort. It is perhaps this kindly turn of his character that has most endeared him to all who know him and has won him the abiding affection of his students.



After his retirement, and as Director Emeritus, he has continued each year to give lectures on the Acropolis, and to all interested students and scholars has willingly held himself available for consultation on architectural and other matters.

Throughout his life in Athens, Bert Hill has constantly and industriously focused his searching mind on archaeological problems. During the long years of World War II when he stayed on in Greece, he turned his attention to numerous architectural and epigraphical puzzles, for many of which he found new ingenious solutions. He has written a good deal, though listed publications of his own are relatively few. As a perfectionist he has always been reluctant to let an article be published until its every thought and sentence could meet his exacting standards. But there is hardly a page in the descriptive chapters of *The Erechtheum* that does not present in his own phrasing one or more of his original observations and ideas. And inspiration derived from him courses through the publications of his students.

His administration of the School was marked by steady growth and progress. He contributed to the design and superintended the enlargement of the main building. It was through his personal influence that the land for the Gennadius Library was obtained from the Greek government and that many difficult problems of its construction were overcome. He also took the first step in the acquisition for the School of the ground on which Loring Hall was erected. It was his prestige as an archaeologist and skill as a diplomat that smoothed the way for the initial and crucial decision of the Greek government to entrust to the School the excavation of the Athenian Agora.

It is not, however, so much the administrator with vision and executive ability of an unusual order, nor the scholar with his high ideals and his uncompromising stand for honest and thorough work, nor yet the incomparable teacher, but rather the warm human being that is cherished in the hearts of his friends and pupils. They know his deep interest in them as fellow human beings. They bear in mind the many occasions he has befriended and encouraged them when they were disheartened, the generous share of his time he has often given to help them solve their problems and ease their perplexities. They remember his tolerance, good nature and wit, his comforting role as confidant, his gracious personality as host.

So it is with deep pleasure, gratitude, and affection that his former students, associates, and the entire community of the American School dedicate to him this typical twenty-third volume of their journal, *Hesperia*, through which they offer him on his 80th birthday, March 7, 1954, their cordial congratulations and good wishes: *χρόνια πολλά καὶ νὰ τὰ ἑκατοστήσῃς!*

C. W. B.



## EXCAVATIONS AT LERNA, 1952-1953

(PLATES 1-11)

A LOW rounded hillock stands by the south bank of the stream Amymonē, which runs its short course from the Lernaean spring to the Gulf of Argos (Pl. 1, a).<sup>1</sup> It is an artificial mound made up entirely of the debris of successive ancient settlements, principally of the Bronze Age. Oval in shape, measuring some 180 m. from east to west and 160 m. from north to south, it now rises about 5.50 m. above the neighboring plains (Pl. 1, b and c). Thus it might seem to have been a mere village site and, like the hamlet of Myloi today, insignificant in comparison with the great citadels of the Argive country. Yet one must bear in mind that local settlements of the early periods were regularly small; it is not with Mycenae that Lerna should be compared, but rather with a site like Zygouries, which is only 165 m. long and 70 m. wide. Seen in that light, it takes its proper place among the larger mounds of this sort in southern Greece.

Certainly the region has sources of prosperity in large measure: the abundant waters of Lerna, the rich fields to north and south, the open but rarely stormy roadstead,<sup>2</sup> and the dominating height of Mt. Pontinos which narrows the coastal strip and even now forces the railway and the main highroad to pass close at its foot.<sup>3</sup> In all times men must have been aware of these natural advantages; the legends of the heroic past which center here testify to people's feeling the nearness of divine power in the land and the sea and the welling springs.<sup>4</sup>

The mound itself, with which we are concerned at present, has been recognized as the place of a pre-Mycenaean settlement since the explorations of A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller in 1909.<sup>5</sup> Cut by the railway line that was extended from Myloi to

<sup>1</sup> See also *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 99, fig. 1. For the location of Lerna, the modern Myloi or Myli, see H. Lehmann's excellent map of the Argolid in *Argolis*, I, or the simplified adaptation in A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae*, fig. 1 and *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 100, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, II, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> The strategic importance of the place is obvious. For an account of the successful defence of Myloi by Makryiannis and Ypsilantis against Ibrahim Pasha in 1825 see E. Prevelakis, *Ἡ Ἐκστρατεία τοῦ Ἱμπραήμ Πασᾶ εἰς τὴν Ἀργολίδα*, Athens, 1950.

<sup>4</sup> For references to ancient literature and mythology see Frazer's commentary on Pausanias, II, 36, 6-37, 6 and his supplementary notes in the *addenda*; A. Boethius in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. Lerna, also gives a convenient summary. Representations of Herakles and the Hydra in ancient art are listed by P. Amandry in *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1952, pp. 293-322, and F. Brommer, *Herakles*, Münster/Köln, 1953, pp. 12-17, 83.

<sup>5</sup> *Klio*, X, 1910, pp. 390-391; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 24; Wace and Thompson, *Pre-historic Thessaly*, p. 224; Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, pp. 11, 76; H. Lehmann, *Argolis*, I, pp. 54, 72.



Tripolis in 1891-92, and gashed again more recently by artillery installations of the Second World War, the hill presented several scarps where remains of walls and floors were observable at various levels. The surface, divided between an orchard on the north side and grain fields on the south (Fig. 1), was strewn with potsherds which gave a clue to the numerous periods of occupation. Thus even before any excavation had been undertaken it was possible to gain a rough picture of the history of the site.<sup>6</sup> The number and variety of Middle Helladic wares, the scarcely less numerous Early Helladic sherds, and the presence of a few pieces assignable to the Neolithic period, all attracted attention; for these earliest stages of civilization on the Greek mainland are known only in their general outlines and now urgently require new stratigraphical investigations.<sup>7</sup>

A proposal by the American School to make preliminary soundings at Lerna was approved by the Archaeological Council in August 1952 and a brief campaign was conducted in the fortnight of September 8-20. We would express our warm thanks to the Ephor of the district, Mr. J. Papadimitriou, as well as to Professor Orlandos, Professor Marinatos, Mr. Karouzos, and other colleagues and members of the Council for their support of the enterprise. We are particularly grateful also to Messrs. George and Panayotis Kotsopoulos, of Lithovounia and Steno in Arcadia, owners of the property, for permission freely given to dig in their fields, and to Mr. Nicholas Yannakopoulos of Myloi, who allowed us to use his orchard as our headquarters at the site (Pl. 1, a). Evangelos Lekkas of Corinth served capably as foreman, and nine workmen were employed.

The staff comprised Mrs. J. L. Caskey; Miss Alikí Halepa of the technical staff of the Agora Excavations, who joined us as a volunteer during her annual holiday; Mr. S. Charitonides, Epimelete of Antiquities for the district; and the author, who served as field director. Each supervised the excavation of a trial trench about 2 m. wide and 5 m. long: Mrs. Caskey Trench A, Mr. Charitonides Trench B, J. L. Caskey Trench C, and Miss Halepa Trench D. Descriptions of these soundings will be given below. In general the outcome was extremely satisfying, showing a long sequence of strata within the Middle and Early Helladic layers and abundant remains of Neolithic deposits. At the end of the campaign the pottery and other objects, which had received a preliminary washing at the site, were transported to the museum in Corinth for further cleaning, mending,<sup>8</sup> and study; the ultimate disposition of the material is to be decided after the close of the excavations.

For so small an investigation, the body of material was very large, and it required all the available time of the staff to make a first survey and record during the winter

<sup>6</sup> A brief survey of the superficial evidence is presented in 'Εταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 'Επιστημονικά Πραγματεῖαι, Σειρὰ Φιλολογικὴ καὶ Θεολογική, IX, 1953 (Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου), pp. 24-28.

<sup>7</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 631; C. W. Blegen, *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 16-24.

<sup>8</sup> At the hands of the veteran George Kachros.



months of 1952-53. Each excavator went over the objects from his own trench; in addition, Mrs. Caskey was in charge of the inventory, Miss Halepa made drawings and arranged the records, and J. L. Caskey took the photographs. As work proceeded it became clear that Lerna was an even richer and more promising site than we had had reason to suppose. The pottery, particularly, proved to be of great interest, including bright and well preserved samples of familiar wares along with imported pieces that showed relationships with Crete, the Cyclades, and Troy, and among them also were pieces of new and unexpected types.<sup>9</sup>

The School's Managing Committee having given generous approval of the project, a more extensive campaign was planned and carried out in the summer of 1953, lasting from July 1 to August 8. The staff included the members who had taken part the preceding fall, with the addition of O. L. Anton Spaeth, undergraduate student of architecture at Princeton University, who came to Greece as a volunteer and served as draftsman at the excavations. Miss Gloria S. Livermore, holding a fellowship of the American Association of University Women at the School for 1953-54, joined us for the final week of digging, and C. W. J. Eliot, Edward Capps Fellow, visited the site on several days and assisted with the drawing and surveying.<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Caskey, Mr. Charitonides, and Miss Halepa supervised enlarged areas of excavation around the trenches they had dug in September; these are known as Areas A, B, and D, respectively (Fig. 1). Sounding pits and trenches, E, F, G, and H, were supervised by J. L. Caskey. Miss Livermore had charge of Trench GA. An account of each area and trench is given below, beginning excavation-wise at the top and working downward. Elevations are given in meters above sea level, with the standard abbreviation A. T. (above tide). Following roughly a chronological sequence in reverse, we present first the areas that yielded the latest material and proceed toward the earlier, dealing in order with Area D, Trench F, Area A, Trench C, Trench H, Area B, Trenches G and GA, and Trench E. At the present writing only a small selection of the material found in 1953, which is again stored at Corinth, has been examined and recorded, and the excavation is far from being concluded. This is therefore only a preliminary and incomplete report, subject to alteration and correction as further information becomes available.

<sup>9</sup> A report on the progress of the work was made at the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1952 (*A.J.A.*, LVII, 1953, p. 105); a brief illustrated report appears in *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, pp. 99-102, and a notice, also illustrated, in *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, pp. 211-214.

<sup>10</sup> During both campaigns the staff was housed at the Hotel Neon in Nauplia, where Mme. Kontou, the proprietress, and her assistants gave us thoughtful service and attention. We commuted to Myloi by car, the trip taking 25 minutes. Life was extremely pleasant and relatively comfortable but, like that of any excavation, not easy. In the name of the School I would express sincere thanks to my colleagues for their industry and unflagging good will.

## AREA D

Area D lies in Squares G-H 5, toward the eastern edge of the hill and immediately beside the railway cut (Fig. 1). Here in 1952 Miss Halepa excavated a narrow strip

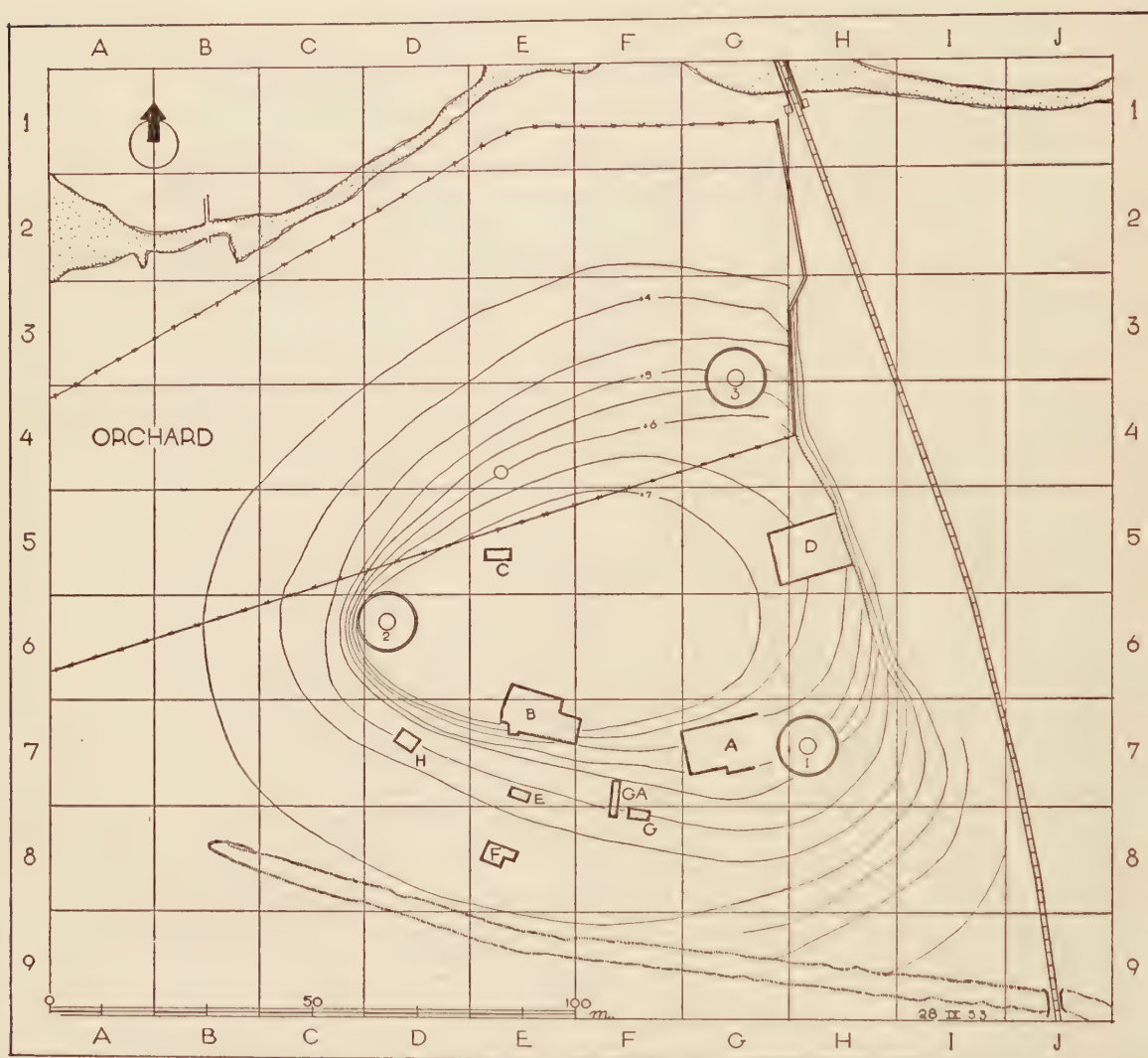


FIG. 1. Topographical Plan of the Site at Lerna (adapted by C. W. J. Eliot and Alikí Halepa from a survey by B. Nantis, 1953).

5 m. in length along the scarp, exposing and testing the successive layers down to the level ground about 3 m. below the crest, and then continued the sounding in a trench 2 m. wide to a further depth of 2.35 m., where ground water was encountered at *ca.* 0.70 m. A. T. The bank revealed a great number of superposed strata, including at

least four assignable to the Middle Helladic period and two or three to the Early Helladic. The region thus seemed likely to furnish a synopsis of numerous successive phases, and in 1953 a considerably larger area was marked out for investigation. Beginning with trial trenches, the field of digging was gradually expanded to a rectangular space 10 m. wide and 14 m. long, which cut into the mound toward the west at right angles to the line of the railway track (Pl. 2, a and b).

At the western limit of Area D the surface before excavation stood at an average of 6.80 m. A. T.; at the east the average was 6.05 m. A. T., with a slight inclination downward from north to south. Disturbance from ploughing reached depths of 0.30 m. to 0.50 m. Among the sherds recovered from the loose earth near the surface were many of black glazed ware, datable to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., as well as wares of the preclassical periods.

Below the ploughed earth there was some further evidence of the Hellenic settlement,<sup>11</sup> including two parallel rows of flat stones set on edge, the purpose of which is still unexplained; part of a wall solidly built of rough stones, possibly a foundation, bedded at 6.10 m. A. T. in a Mycenaean layer at the western end of our area; an intrusion to 5.40 m. A. T. near the east scarp; and a well (E in Pl. 2, b) which had cut through a Mycenaean wall and street (F in Pl. 2, b) in the south central region. The well was unlined and could not safely be excavated this season. Its upper filling yielded a Corinthian lamp of Broneer's Type IV and pottery of the late fifth century.

Half of a large pithos (H. ca. 1.55) which had served as a burial urn was found resting on its side at 5.40 m. A. T., near the eastern edge of Area D. It had been broken and partly removed by one of the late intrusions, but evidently belonged to the Geometric period. A few human bones, a black glazed cup<sup>12</sup> (Pl. 2, c, left), and some small fragments of bronze were found in the hollow of the side; around the exterior several stones had been set to wedge the big vessel in place, and in burnt earth around and under its mouth, which faced southwest, were a black glazed cup with linear decoration in a small reserved panel<sup>13</sup> (Pl. 2, c, right), a trefoil oinochoe of buff monochrome ware<sup>14</sup> (Pl. 2, c, center), and a shell bead or amulet.

Remains of the Late Helladic period, none of which had been found undisturbed in the preliminary soundings of 1952, came to light in 1953 almost everywhere in Area D. They comprised part of one house and broken walls of several others, a street with three successive gravel pavements, an area which may possibly have been

<sup>11</sup> Whether this was a village or other sort of establishment has not been ascertained. Ross (*Reisen im Peloponnes*, p. 151) and Curtius (*Peloponnesos*, II, p. 371) mention squared blocks of stone on the mound south of the springs; Frazer speaks of the ruins of a Greek sanctuary, and the remark recurs inaccurately in the *Guide Bleu*, 1953. No ancient masonry protruded when our excavations began.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. L.77; H. 0.07, D. 0.122.

<sup>13</sup> Inv. L.75; H. 0.062, D. 0.111.

<sup>14</sup> Inv. L.76; H. 0.112, D. 0.101.



devoted to a small local cult, and two graves. The total layer varied in thickness from *ca.* 0.40 m. to nearly 1 m. and undoubtedly represented a considerable period of habitation, all falling, however, within the limits of Late Helladic III. The yield of finely decorated Mycenaean pottery and other objects was abundant and should lead to a fairly accurate dating of the settlement when a detailed analysis can be made.

The extreme eastern side of a room—namely the east wall and parts of the north and south walls, bordering a strip of the floor 1 m. to 1.40 m. wide and 6 m. long—was exposed at the western edge of Area D. Clearly, the rest of this room and house, which we have provisionally labelled T, lies in unexcavated ground beyond the present limits of our trench. The floor, sloping irregularly downward from 5.75 m. A. T. at the south to 5.35 m. A. T. at the north, was of hard trodden earth with patches of gravel, and was found covered with a stratum of gray carbonized matter. From this gray deposit were recovered a large krater with Mycenaean Flower patterns and Multiple Stems<sup>15</sup> (Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, Motives 18, 19) and a small unpainted kylix<sup>16</sup> (Pl. 6, c).

Adjoining the house on the east was a roughly rectangular area a little over 6 m. square, itself bounded by walls along the southern and eastern sides. Lacking interior supports, this space was probably not roofed but is rather to be interpreted as an open courtyard. A hard ground level, possibly somewhat later than the floor noted within the house, was observed at 6 m. A. T. Some 0.25 m. lower were traces of a second, earlier, hard stratum. In this was a sort of path, irregularly paved with cobbles, which ran 3.50 m. eastward from the house to a very large slab of rough stone set upright on edge (H. 0.65, L. 1.20, Th. 0.20. Top at 5.95 m. A. T. Seen at left (A) in Pl. 2, b, after removal from its position). Under the pathway (if such it was) and around the big stone, Mycenaean deposits were found deeper than elsewhere, reaching a level of 5.10 m. A. T. They contained many potsherds and several figurines (Pl. 6, d). Directly below the stone was a grave, D.10; the skeleton, only partially preserved, lay on a pebble floor between two rows of small stones. The significance of these remains and their context is by no means certain; the contents of the grave may merely have been scattered, or, possibly, the big slab was a sort of stele and offerings were made here from time to time in honor of the dead.

A street varying from 1.50 m. to 2 m. in width (Pl. 2, b, F) bordered the south side of the house and courtyard, descending eastward and leading ultimately, we may guess, to the seashore. It had been paved with gravel at least three times: the topmost stratum found was at 6.40 m. A. T., considerably higher than the floor of the house; the earlier levels, also relatively high, were at 6.15 m. and 5.80 m. A. T. Walls flanking the south side of the street and other ruined walls in the eastern part of Area D show

<sup>15</sup> Inv. L.73; H. 0.20, D. 0.275.

<sup>16</sup> Inv. L.74; H. pres. 0.10, D. 0.10.



that this whole region was occupied by houses in the third Late Helladic period. Their fragmentary state of preservation does not warrant a detailed description at the present stage of our investigation.

There remains to be mentioned a small cist grave, D. 2 (Pl. 6, a), which was found in the north central part of the area. Several earlier walls, including one certainly assignable to Late Helladic III, were cut through when this grave was made. Aligned north and south, the cist was 0.80 m. long and 0.40 m. wide, including the thickness of the upright slabs. A single flat stone *ca.* 0.90 m. long served as cover. Of the skeleton only the skull and a few other bones were partially preserved, resting on a stone floor. They were those of a small child, seemingly a favorite: around the head at the north end of the cist were six pots (Pl. 6, b), a feeding bottle,<sup>17</sup> a miniature jug<sup>18</sup> and stirrup vase,<sup>19</sup> a one-handled cup,<sup>20</sup> and two small plain bowls;<sup>21</sup> and scattered throughout the grave were some 28 beads of blue glass paste, elaborately moulded.

The Mycenaean deposits reached a level of 5.10 m. A. T. in the western part of Area D and *ca.* 4.95 m. in the eastern. Along the southern side in some places they reached only *ca.* 5.70 m. No early Mycenaean strata were encountered, although sherds of fine wares attributable stylistically to Late Helladic I and II had been found here and there in the later deposits, testifying to continuous occupation of the site.

The most conspicuous feature of the latest Middle Helladic stratum preserved in this area was a long wall, R, which emerged below the Mycenaean room, T, and ran somewhat north of east for 13.50 m., making a pronounced curve to the north near our eastern scarp, where it had been broken off by the railway cutting. This wall was constructed of large and small stones in irregular fashion, perhaps section by section. It was preserved standing to heights between 0.15 m. and 0.80 m. above the adjacent floors (*viz.* to 5.80 m. A. T. at the west, 5.10 m. A. T. at the east). Three walls projected northward from Wall R at intervals, dividing the adjoining space into four rooms. At the north end of one of these partitions were remnants of another wall running east and west, which probably marked the northern limit of the building. This would produce a peculiarly awkward and uneven plan, however, and we cannot be sure, without much further excavation, how the whole structure was closed on that side. As now seen, the rooms appear to have been 2.50 m. to 3 m. wide from east to west and 4 m. to 5 m. long from north to south.

Three of the four rooms had compact gravel floors, the pebbles in many places so firm and tight as to resemble a crude mosaic. From east to west, these floors stood at *ca.* 4.95 m., 5.05 m., and 5.10 m. A. T. In the westernmost room the floor level was not clearly discernible. Upon the removal of the two easterly walls, it was observed

<sup>17</sup> Inv. L.68; H. 0.085, D. 0.065.

<sup>18</sup> Inv. L.69; H. 0.049, D. 0.054.

<sup>19</sup> Inv. L.67; H. 0.059, D. 0.061.

<sup>20</sup> Inv. L.70; H. 0.048, D. 0.085.

<sup>21</sup> Inv. L.71; H. 0.054, D. 0.124.

Inv. L.72; H. 0.04, D. 0.124.

that the gravel pavements passed under them and were in fact one with the metalling of the street that ran east and west outside the building. Evidently a broad open area of prepared ground had existed here just before the construction of Wall R and its series of apartments, for which the earlier paving was employed as a floor. Thereafter, the street continued to be used and was twice repaved in Middle Helladic times; its successor was the Mycenaean street mentioned above.

Inside the second and third rooms, several flat stones rested on the floors and were propped against the walls, possibly having served as supports for benches or other furniture. The floors themselves were covered with a normal accumulation of debris from habitation. The pottery recovered has not yet been studied; at present we can say only that it includes many fragments of characteristic Minyan and Matt-painted wares. Outside the building, especially in the southeastern part of the excavated area, there are traces of other contemporary structures which may be investigated in a future season.

During the last days of the campaign of 1953 Miss Halepa was able to clear one room, AH, of a building of the next earlier architectural phase (Pl. 2, b, center, C). It lay partly below the street, partly under the second and third rooms described above. Approximately rectangular and oriented to the points of the compass, it measured *ca.* 3.60 m. east and west by 4.10 m. north and south. The stone socles of the walls, 0.50 m. thick at an average, were covered in a few places by scanty remains of crude brick. At the northeast corner there was an opening, presumably a doorway, 1 m. wide. The room had been destroyed in a fire and the earthen floor at 4.80 m. A. T. was covered with a thick layer of black ash, over which in turn were remains of fallen bricks and clay. The floor deposit yielded one spindle whorl and a number of pots, including two small Matt-painted jugs<sup>22</sup> and a brownish Gray Minyan bowl<sup>23</sup> (Pl. 7, b); fragments of several large jars, including one in Matt-painted ware and one with patterns in light paint on a dark ground; and one large jug<sup>24</sup> (Pl. 8, c) with spirals and rectilinear patterns in dull white and purple over a shiny dark surface, unhappily much chipped and worn.

Nine Middle Helladic burials have been found in Area D, one (D. 1) coming to light in the scarp excavated in 1952,<sup>25</sup> the rest among the houses toward the west. Four were the graves of adults, built in the form of cists enclosed by flat slabs on edge or at least encircled by rough stones; one infant skeleton was found in a cist grave, four others in simple pockets in the earth. Most of the bodies had been buried in a contracted position with head to the north.

One of the infant burials, D. 6, was at 5.60 m. A. T., so high that it must be ascribed to the very end of the Middle Helladic period. All the graves in this area

<sup>22</sup> Inv. L.81; H. 0.146, D. 0.128.

Inv. L.84; H. 0.168, D. 0.086.

<sup>23</sup> Inv. L.85; H. 0.108, D. 0.153.

<sup>24</sup> Inv. L.86; H. 0.24, D. 0.204.

<sup>25</sup> *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 101, fig. 6.

appear to have been shallow: one of the cists, D.5, containing bones of a child and three Middle Helladic pots <sup>26</sup> (Pl. 7, a), was encountered still higher, at 5.72 m. A. T., immediately below the first Late Helladic deposits. Six of the graves in Area D rested at levels between 4.47 m. and 5.10 m. A. T. and are almost certainly assignable to the time of the four rooms adjoining Wall R. The one grave found in the investigation of the east scarp (D.1) was considerably lower, at 3.50 m. A. T., and belonged probably to an earlier phase.

Surveying the results of the work in Area D to date, we may note that it has yielded traces of occupation in the Classical and Geometric periods, fairly extensive remains of the Mycenaean settlement (L.H. III), and two clearly defined strata with house walls and habitation deposits of the Middle Helladic period. Excavation in the main area reached a level of 4.80 m. A. T. in one room. From the preliminary soundings made in 1952 we know moreover that other Middle Helladic strata exist, at least along the eastern scarp, to a depth of 2.50 m. A. T., where a floor and an apsidal wall were found well preserved. The level of division or transition from the underlying Early Helladic layer could not be fixed with assurance in our limited exploratory trench, but unmixed Early Helladic strata were recorded at 1.65 m., 1.35 m., and 0.70 m. A. T. Fragments of a fine tankard (Inv. L.39; Pl. 10, b) were found built into a hearth in the second of these. The bottom of the trench soon became flooded at this depth, but potsherds were still plentiful, indicating that the water level must have risen since ancient times. A few stray fragments of Neolithic wares were found here in the lowest Early Helladic deposits, but whether a Neolithic layer exists in this part of the mound is uncertain.

### TRENCH F

A trial trench, F, was excavated in Square E 8 on the southern slope of the mound 10 m. below Trench E (Fig. 1). It began with dimensions of 2 m. by 4 m. and was later expanded 2 m. west and south at the west end, forming an L-shaped area. The surface of the ground here was 3.70 m. A. T. on the north side, sloping to 3.35 m. A. T. on the south.

The first 1.30 m. of digging yielded mixed deposits with many fragments of roof tiles and pottery of the late Classical period. These stopped abruptly at an average level of 2.25 m. A. T., where we came upon a gravel pavement, on which lay most of the skeleton of a horse,<sup>27</sup> the bones in disorder, and fragments of at least 37 kylixes and other vessels of Late Helladic III. There were no signs of burning.

<sup>26</sup> Cup, Inv. L.78; H. 0.045, D. 0.082. Jug, Inv. L.79; H. 0.125, D. 0.082. Cup, Inv. L.80; H. 0.08, D. 0.105.

<sup>27</sup> The identification was confirmed by Miss Wace and Miss Witherill of the staff of the British excavations at Mycenae.



Leaving much of the pavement in place, we opened a trial pit at the west end of Trench F in order to test the underlying strata. Part of a human skeleton came to light at 1.70 m. A. T. No walls were encountered but the deposits of earth, with occasional traces of carbonized matter, appeared to be in stratified sequence. From *ca.* 2.15 m. to *ca.* 1.10 m. A. T. the pottery recovered, including a squat alabastron (Pl. 6, e) and fragments of an open bowl (Pl. 6, f), was assignable to early phases of the Mycenaean period (L.H. I—L.H. II); below that, to 0.45 m. A. T., where the trench became flooded with ground water, only Middle Helladic wares were found. Digging was suspended at this level, although habitation deposits apparently continued still deeper.

The presence of the horse's bones and fragmentary drinking cups in unmistakable conjunction is a subject to provoke speculation, but for the moment we have no explanation to propose. Apart from this mystery, the stratification in Trench F is of interest. The thick layer of disturbed matter at the surface may represent debris from the late Classical settlement, eroded from the higher parts of the hill where remains of that period seem now to be scanty. Early Mycenaean strata, lying under one of Late Helladic III, strengthen our belief that the site was continuously occupied in the Bronze Age. Finally, the fact that Middle Helladic debris here lies at water level, whereas only 10 m. to the north in Trench E we found Neolithic and Early Helladic wares much higher (*ca.* 5 m. A. T.), indicates an important topographical anomaly which calls for investigation.

## AREA A

Area A, the second of our principal areas of excavation, is situated in Square G 7, near the southeastern edge of the roughly level ground at the top of the hill (Fig. 1). Immediately beside it is one of the large circular gun emplacements of the Second World War. From this a deep trench ran westward in a dog-leg to an underground shelter or depot, cutting through earth and debris of the ancient settlement and revealing some evidence of the stratification. The bank of the military trench thus first attracted our attention, offering a favorable place to dig with a modicum of foreknowledge, as was the case beside the railway cutting in Area D. In the brief campaign of 1952 Mrs. Caskey opened our Trench A, *ca.* 2 m. wide and 5 m. long, on the north side of the dugout, and carried it down step by step to a maximum depth of 5 m. below the surface (i. e. *ca.* 1.80 m. A. T.). This sounding gave us satisfactory and promising samples of many successive deposits, particularly those of the Middle Helladic period. A much larger space, measuring some 8 m. by 15 m. with a few irregularities in outline, was therefore laid out for investigation in 1953.

The ploughed surface of the ground along the north edge of Area A lay at an average of 7.10 m. A. T., along the south edge *ca.* 0.75 m. lower. In the campaign



of 1953 this whole space was excavated to 5.70 m. A. T. and the western part of it about 1 m. deeper. Our attention was focussed first on the clearing of a large apsidal building, House M, of the Middle Helladic period (Fig. 2). This proved to have had several phases of occupation, and in spite of destruction by the artillery emplacements on east and south it was remarkably well preserved. At the close of the season we

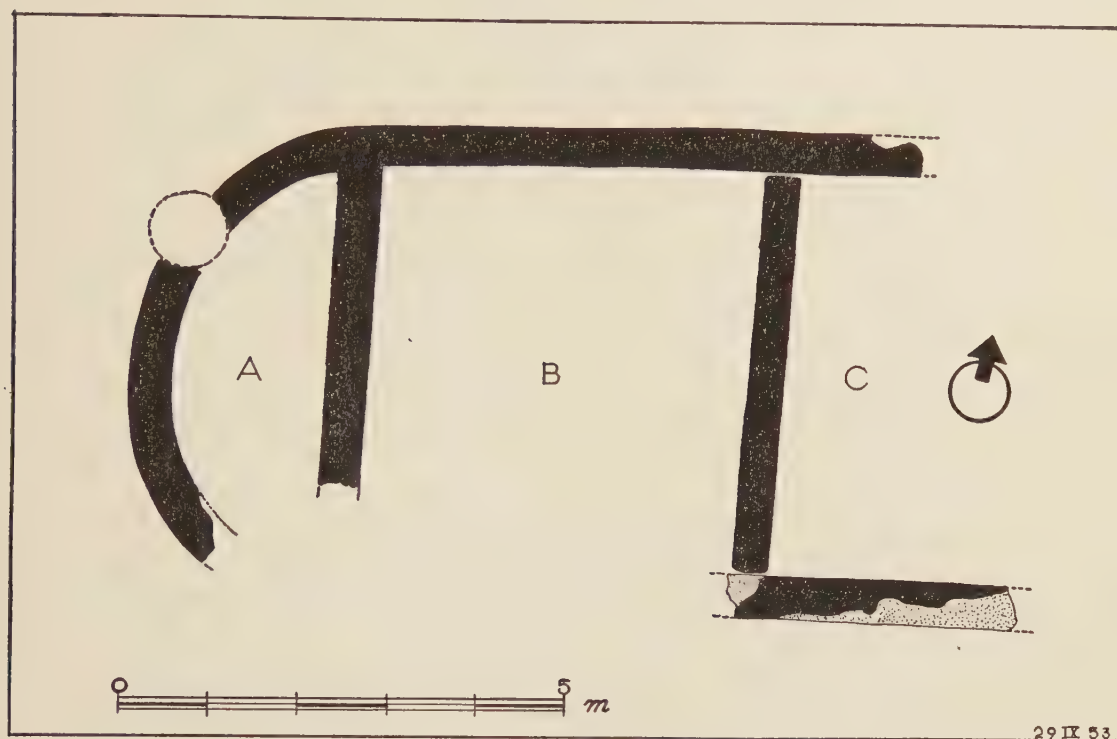


FIG. 2. House M in Area A; Diagrammatic Plan.

left it standing, having cemented the walls where necessary in order to preserve them as long as possible. Remains of habitations later than House M were scanty in this region; those of contemporary and preceding phases, behind its apse on the west, were abundant but woefully ruinous. In the following account we present an abbreviated summary of the various habitation levels, beginning with the latest.

Only a few potsherds of the Mycenaean and succeeding ages were found in the disturbed earth over the surface of Area A. A well, apparently of the Hellenic period, was discovered to have cut through the curving wall of House M (Fig. 2); it is unlined and could not be dug out this year. All the other remains in this region were pre-Mycenaean. First to be mentioned are three cist graves and several plain interments which came to light not far below the surface. Only one of them held an offering, but by analogy with other burials on the site they are all assignable with

probability to the latest phases of the Middle Helladic period. The three cist graves form a compact group. The smallest, A.9, was that of an infant; slabs which may once have covered the cist were found piled at the south end. Under this, with one corner overlapped, was a much larger grave, A.1, which contained two skeletons on their right sides, heads to the east and legs bent at the knees (Pl. 3, b). Grave A.10, a little to the southwest, its place apparently marked by two upright slabs at the foot, contained the skeleton of a young person, also on its right side, with head to the north. In front of the skull was a two-handled jar <sup>28</sup> (Pl. 8, d) of rough fabric, coated with orange-red glaze; on the rim is a row of white dots, under the rim a band of purple with white dots, and on the side a series of hooked spirals in white; altogether an unusual color scheme, but clearly related to the types of polychromy that were fashionable at Lerna. Among the simple interments, three were so disturbed as to be almost unrecognizable; a fourth (A.5), of an infant, was surrounded by bits of crude bricks; and a fifth (A.7), another infant burial, resting on a pebble paving, was marked by an upright slab of stone (Pl. 3, c).

Below Grave A.10 were broken house walls and a bothros that had destroyed the end of one of them. The stage or stages represented by these remains may have followed the destruction of House M or may have been contemporary with its last occupation.

House M (Fig. 2) was a large, well constructed building. Aligned roughly east and west, it had long parallel walls on the north and south, a broad apse on the west, and cross walls dividing the interior into separate rooms; there were at least two partitions of this sort after the first occupation of the house, making three rooms, or two rooms and a deep porch. The over-all width of the building as preserved is 5.50 m.; the length from the vertex of the apse to the easternmost limit of the floor beside the gun emplacement is 10.50 m. All the east end, much of the south side, and a bit of the apse were cut away by the military installation (Pl. 3, a). The stone walls, which are clearly socles for superstructures of lighter material, stand to a maximum height of 0.80 m. and vary in thickness from 0.35 m. to 0.50 m.

These walls, as we now have them, were not all built at the same time. The north wall, the curve of the apse, and the western internal partition, which is bonded with them, belong to the original construction, whereas the eastern partition and the remaining stretch of the south wall are bedded about 0.10 m. above the first floor level and are not bonded. The earlier construction is particularly firm and strong: at the bottom are fairly large flat stones arranged in about six irregular courses, and above these are much smaller stones set sloping inward from each side, prepared to hold the superstructure of clay or crude brick. The later partition wall is made with large blocks on the east face and much smaller stones on the west. In the south wall, of which only

<sup>28</sup> Inv. L.91; H. 0.10, D. 0.14.

one or two courses are standing, there are traces of reddish clay or brick almost to the bottom.

The reconstitution of the plan of the building presents various problems. If the apse was symmetrically curved, as one might expect it to be, the original south wall must have stood 0.50 m. to 0.70 m. further out than the later south wall which has been partly preserved. This would give the main hall (Fig. 2, B-C) an impressive width of more than 5 m., and an uncomfortably long span for horizontal beams. There were no signs of internal supports, however, and it is fairly certain that the eastern partition wall had no predecessor in the initial phase since potsherds lay on the first floor, under its bottom course. The position of the doors is also uncertain. There was presumably an opening at the south end of the western partition wall, giving access from the main hall to the small room in the apse, A. The principal entrance to the house may well have been at the east in the first phase, but in the second and later phases the central room, B, must have been entered from the south, since the continuous eastern partition is preserved to a height of 0.45 m. The questions raised by these features of the plan and their implications about the form of the building at various stages will require further study.

In each of the three rooms there was a succession of floor levels, each covered with burnt debris. Evidently the house was destroyed four times by fire, and on each occasion until the last the good solid stone foundations encouraged the owners to rebuild and repair it. Pottery and other objects have been collected from all the strata; detailed analysis has not yet been undertaken, but an interesting series can undoubtedly be established, illustrating a period of at least two or three generations, and perhaps longer.

The original floor of House M lay at an average of about 5.70 m. A. T., rising in general toward the walls and containing various small rubbish pits and broad hollows. Many of the latter held white ashes and may possibly have served as fire-places; there were no traces of a built hearth. The small room in the apse was probably used for storage and perhaps for cooking; a number of pots and other objects were abandoned there at the time of the conflagration. Among these were a hoard of 10 flints with serrated edges, two spindle whorls, several fragments of mother-of-pearl; two cups, a small bowl, a large basin, and a ring-stem of a large goblet, in Gray Minyan ware; a small stemmed goblet of Minyan shape with highly lustrous surface, mottled red and black<sup>29</sup>; a spouted vessel<sup>30</sup> (Pl. 8, a) and a large jar<sup>31</sup> (Pl. 8, b) in Matt-painted ware; fragments of a jar coated with black glaze and decorated with linear patterns in dull white and purple; and a small rounded cup in plain brown ware.

<sup>29</sup> Inv. L. 14; H. pres. 0.128, D. 0.199. Illustrated, *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 102, fig. 7 (there wrongly ascribed to an "Early phase" of M.H.).

<sup>30</sup> Inv. L.40; H. 0.22, D. 0.265.

<sup>31</sup> Inv. L.41; H. 0.35, D. 0.352.



From the second floor deposit of Room A were recovered a number of very large knuckle bones. Over the third floor were many flat slabs of stone lying compactly but not in perfect order; they may have been placed as a raised paving or may possibly have fallen from the superstructure. On the third floor of Room C was the skeleton of a small child who may conceivably have perished there in the fire. In the fourth period additions were built against the east faces of the curving wall in the apse and the western partition wall, either as buttresses or to support pieces of permanent furniture.

In the western part of Area A we found a complex of ruined walls resting at *ca.* 5.85 m. A. T., apparently contemporary with the second phase of House M. In the time of the first occupation a street came toward it from the west and forked to pass on either side. To the south of this street was another house, S, of which we found a small room. Two building periods were represented, the earlier possibly antedating phase 1 of House M. The masonry of House S showed examples of herringbone construction. A further group of walls on the north side of the street was almost certainly earlier.

Clear evidence of a distinct phase of the Middle Helladic settlement, antedating those mentioned above, was found both under and west of House M. Trench A, excavated in 1952, revealed a curving wall, presumably part of an apse, just below the western partition wall of House M; a second, straight and running north to south, was observed *ca.* 3.25 m. further east; and the northern side wall of the same building could be traced in 1953 just at the floor level of House M and at the scarp toward the east. The south side was of course lost in the military dug-out. This building, which we call D, may be interpreted with some confidence as another apsidal house, the predecessor of M but considerably smaller. It had a floor at *ca.* 5.10 m. A. T. and possibly one or two others somewhat higher. In one place at least the north wall still stands to a height of 0.70 m. From the habitation deposits of House D were recovered considerable quantities of pottery, including part of a lustrous Black Minyan bowl <sup>32</sup> (Pl. 7, c) and a fragmentary Matt-painted jug <sup>33</sup> (Pl. 9, b) with cut-away spout and a bold, if crude and hasty, pattern of decoration. This is probably the earliest Matt-painted vessel yet found at Lerna. With the above came part of a Gray Minyan jar and a small, crude stemmed cup in coarse ware.

In the western part of Area A an approximately contemporary building, House Q, was discovered in 1953. Having been remodelled at least once and being in a poor state of preservation, this house was not easy to understand in all its details. It was small, some 3.20 m. wide and probably 4 to 5 m. long from north to south, with side walls bowed outward. The north end may have been curved, the south open as a porch. A dividing wall ran across the middle, with a doorway at the west side. At an

<sup>32</sup> Inv. L.7; H. 0.17, D. 0.33.

<sup>33</sup> Inv. L.9; H. pres. 0.227, D. 0.189.

earlier stage the west wall seems to have been aligned differently and the house to have lacked the cross wall. The uneven floors lay at an average of 5.50 m. A. T., sloping southward, in the later period; in the earlier they were at least 0.10 m. lower. No whole pots were found here.

Below House Q was another stratum, distinctly separated, with house walls and debris of habitation resting at an average level of 5.12 m. A. T., sloping downward in this case toward the north. Parts of a rectangular building, House A, could be traced near the western limits of our area. It appeared to have at least two rooms. On the floor of one were found a miniature cup <sup>34</sup> (Pl. 9, e) in plain brown ware with handle set upright on the rim, a cup <sup>35</sup> (Pl. 9, d) in burnished coarse ware with high-swung handle, a miniature jar <sup>36</sup> (Pl. 9, f) with two horizontal lugs, five obsidian blades, a bone spatula, and a conch shell. The other room produced six obsidian blades, a small stone polisher or pestle, and most of a black bowl <sup>37</sup> (Pl. 9, a), slipped and polished, with two small ribbon handles. Fragments of Gray Minyan ware were present in this stratum but there was no Matt-painted ware.

Part of a street or courtyard paved with small pebbles lay under the walls of House A, and next to this paving, on the west, were walls of a still earlier building which we have labelled House B. These walls have not yet been disengaged but were left in place at the end of the campaign, excavation having reached a level of *ca.* 4.85 m. A. T. A few sherds of Gray Minyan ware occurred at this depth, as well as a good many of Early Helladic fabrics; but the material has not yet been examined in detail.

The exploratory trench of 1952 gave us only an uncertain glimpse of the layers below this level. A wall resting at 4.40 m. A. T. could be assigned to the Early Helladic period. Lower there was a massive but unintelligible stone structure, and under this a broad pit full of gravel which yielded Early Helladic sherds down to 2.20 m. A. T. In the next 0.40 m., which we could test only in a very small sounding, we found a few sherds of Neolithic glazed ware. A remarkable terracotta figurine, found with Early Helladic material at 3.80 m. A. T. is illustrated in *Archaeology*, VI, 1953, p. 102, fig. 10.

### TRENCH C

The only investigation undertaken up to now in the north central part of the mound is a trial trench, C, excavated in Square E 5 (Fig. 1) during the preliminary campaign of 1952. Oriented approximately east and west, it was 2.50 m. wide and

<sup>34</sup> Inv. L.92; H. 0.048, H. to top of handle 0.058, D. 0.057.

<sup>35</sup> Inv. L.93; H. 0.077, H. to top of handle 0.098, D. 0.093.

<sup>36</sup> Inv. L.94; H. 0.074, D. 0.091.

<sup>37</sup> Inv. L.95; H. pres. 0.112, D. rim 0.178. For the shape, cf. a bowl in Gray Minyan ware, Pl. 9, c, which was put together from fragments found in 1950 projecting from the bank of a military trench at about this level. The fabric of L.95 is not that of the black Argive Minyan class (e. g. L.7, Pl. 7, c) but rather resembles certain black slipped wares of the Early Helladic period.

just over 5 m. long at the top but contracted by steps as we dug deeper. A diagrammatic sketch of the stratification as seen from the south is presented in Figure 3. The area was too restricted to give us the plans of houses, and some of the strata of habita-

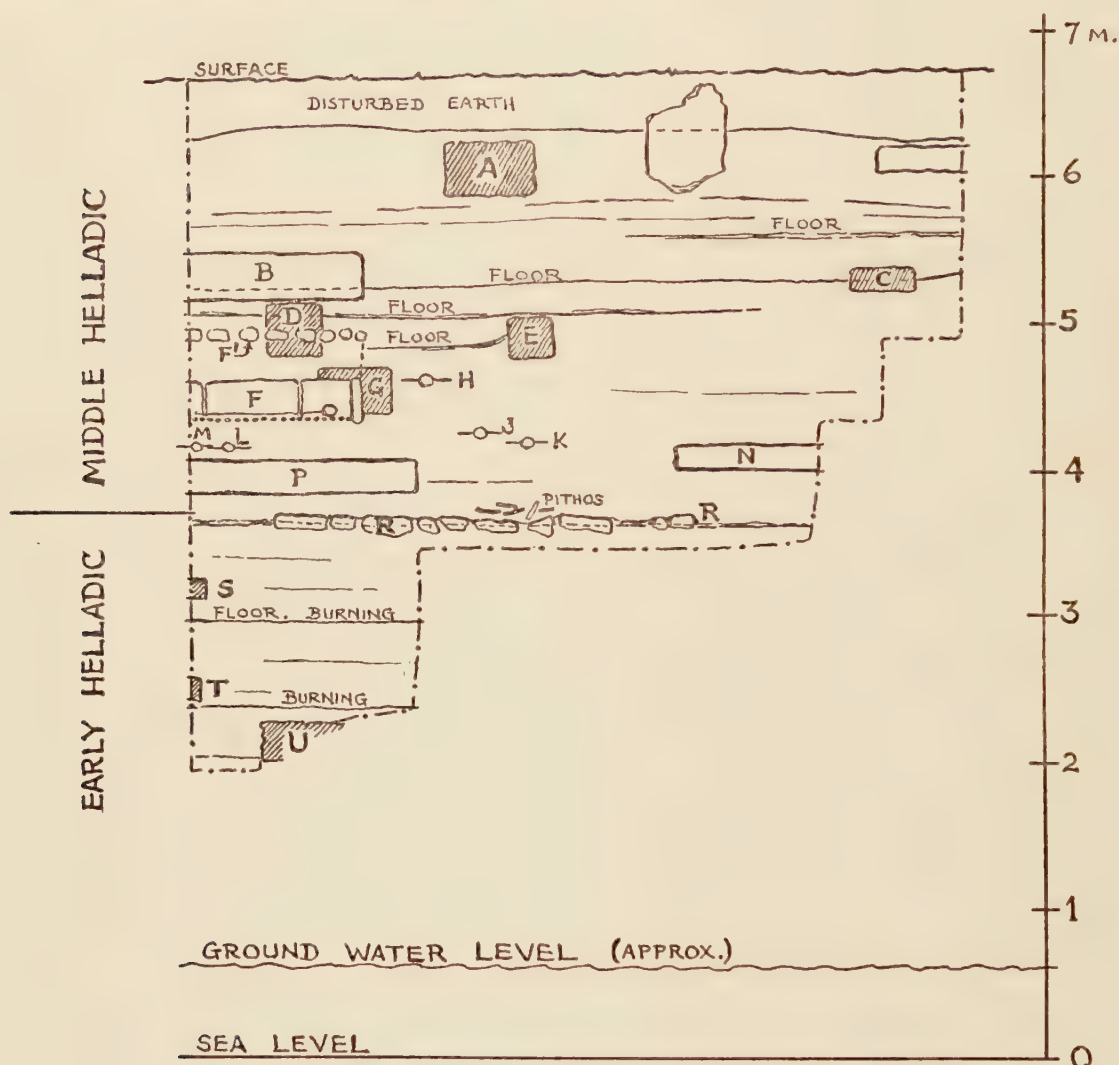


FIG. 3. Diagram of Stratification in Trench C; Section as Seen from South.

tion deposits had been cut by the digging of graves, but in general the sequence of layers and building periods could be clearly observed.

For about 0.45 m. below the ploughed surface of the ground (6.75 m. A. T.) the earth was disturbed and the deposits mixed. Notable among the potsherds recovered here were a half-dozen fragments of early Mycenaean vessels (L.H. I and L.H. II; Pl.



6, g). The first architectural remains were encountered around 6.25 m. A. T., consisting of a substantial house wall, A, and various groups of stones of uncertain significance. One large slab, found erect in the north bank of the trench, may have been part of a cist grave or, possibly, a rude stele used as a grave marker. The pottery from this level was all assignable to the Middle Helladic period, but not necessarily to the very latest phase; other subsequent strata may have been lost through ploughing or erosion.

The next earlier building level—we may not designate it with assurance as a phase of the Middle Helladic period on the evidence of so limited an observation—was represented by Walls B and C and associated floors at *ca.* 5.25 m. A. T. Immediately below, there was a third set, Walls D and E, at *ca.* 4.80 m. A. T. Gray Minyan ware, Black (Argive) Minyan, and Matt-painted wares occurred plentifully in these strata. Also present in appreciable quantities were fragments of hand-made pots of good quality bearing linear patterns in lustrous dark paint on a light ground, sometimes with added lines in dull white, and others of the same fabric wholly or largely coated with a dark lustrous slip, over which the patterns were painted in dull purple and white.

At 4.90 to 5 m. A. T. we found a ring of small stones, labelled F' in Figure 3, near the southwest corner of the trench. The ground within the ring was soft, and some 0.35 m. directly below it we came upon the top of a cist grave, F. It had no covering slabs but was well made and had a floor (4.40 m. A. T.) of small beach pebbles, on which the skeleton of an adult lay on its left side, with head to the east and legs drawn up. A spindle whorl was found behind the shoulders and a shallow one-handled cup beside the left elbow. This cup <sup>38</sup> (Pl. 8, e) is made of light clay, coated with black glaze that has a grayish metallic sheen, and is decorated with two horizontal bands of dull red and with bands, strokes, and—on the bottom—a large petal rosette, in dull white. This is an example of the polychrome style which we are finding not infrequently in Middle Helladic strata at Lerna. Part of a Gray Minyan jar was found just outside the cist. Grave F belongs clearly to the time of Walls D and E, i. e. to one of the middle phases of the period as observable in Trench C.

Wall G, which was cut by Grave F, was obviously somewhat earlier. The ground to the east of it was disturbed by another burial, H, a simple interment, which may have been made from the level of Walls D and E or from that of Walls B and C. Slightly lower, at 4.45 m. to 4.20 m. A. T., were four other interments, J, K, L, and M, all without offerings. Skeletons L and M lay side by side with their heads toward the south, the bodies certainly having been buried together (cf. Grave A.1 in Area A, above).

The fifth and earliest Middle Helladic level in Trench C was represented by

<sup>38</sup> Inv. L.13; H. 0.051, D. 0.096, Th. of walls 0.0035.

Walls N and P, the latter resting at 3.85 m. A. T. At this depth there was no polychrome or Matt-painted ware; Gray and Black Minyan, and coarse wares both rough and burnished, occurred plentifully, along with a sprinkling of Early Helladic fabrics which presumably had come up from the underlying deposits.

The top of the Early Helladic layer was clearly marked in this area by a stratum of habitation debris at 3.70 m. A. T. A platform of stones, R, some 2.90 m. in length, occupied the north side of the trench. Around it were a trodden floor and many chunks of yellow clay; fragments of a pithos lay just above, and in the surrounding debris we found a one-handled jar of coarse burnished ware, a small hand-made black chalice with a disproportionately large pedestal base <sup>39</sup> (Pl. 10, a), three millstones, a flake of obsidian, and a bone pin. There were no signs of conflagration at this level.

Below Platform R we were obliged to restrict the sounding to a very small space at the west end of the trench. At least two building periods were apparently represented by traces of walls, S and T, each of which rested just above a burnt stratum. A more substantial wall, U, marking a fourth Early Helladic level, was encountered at 2.35 m. A. T. It seemed to rest at 2.05 m. A. T., where we stopped digging.

The small trial excavation in Trench C has thus given us a useful key to the sequence of certain layers in this part of the mound. At the top are five Middle Helladic levels with a total thickness of *ca.* 2.60 m. Below them, we were able to sample four strata of the Early Helladic period in a total depth of 1.70 m. Other Early Helladic levels may exist still lower. A few sherds of Neolithic wares were found in almost every lot collected from the earlier strata in this trench, but pure Neolithic deposits were not reached.

## TRENCH H

Trench H, in Square D 7, was opened in order to test the strata near the surface and to show which settlement was uppermost in this region on the southwestern slope of the mound (Fig. 1). The cutting was 4 m. long from northwest to southeast; 2 m. wide at the start, it was soon expanded to 3 m. The surface of the cultivated ground averaged 5 m. A. T. along the northeastern side. Deep sounding was not undertaken, excavation stopping at 3.80 m. A. T.

Just below the loose topsoil, walls of Middle Helladic houses began to appear, one running lengthwise, another crosswise in the trench. They were in a fairly ruinous condition and were not investigated in detail. Near the southeast corner was a grave, H.1; its floor of pebbles at 4.10 m. A. T. lay so close to the surface that the skull and the rim of a pot which stood beside the skeleton had been chipped by passing ploughs. A few stones lay around and over the bones, all probably out of place. The skeleton,

<sup>39</sup> Inv. L.42; H. 0.14, D. 0.10. Other examples of this type have been found in E.H. strata elsewhere at Lerna.



that of an adult, lay on its left side with head to the southwest and legs drawn up tight. Accompanying offerings were small but more numerous and varied than in any other Middle Helladic grave yet found on the site. They included, besides a single Matt-painted jug, two chips of obsidian (probably intrusive), two small polyhedrons of dark brownish-gray crystalline stone, one elongated and three spherical beads and a spiraliform bit of glass paste, the ends of two flat bone implements pierced for suspension, three fragments of bone pins, two tubular bone beads, and twelve seashells.

## AREA B

Trench B, one of the four soundings excavated in 1952, was laid out in the northern part of Square E 7, on sloping ground near the crest of the hill. It measured 5 m. in length from north to south and was 2 m. wide. At the upper end, remains of the Middle Helladic settlement were found just below the surface (*ca.* 6.90 m. A. T.), but at the downhill end, where the ground was about 0.60 m. lower, only Early Helladic deposits were encountered. At a level of 5.55 m. A. T. Mr. Charitonides came upon the corner of what appeared to be a very substantial building; the socles of the walls, 0.90 m. thick and solidly constructed of rough flat stones laid horizontally, ran north and east into the banks of the trench. The masonry, standing 0.70 m. above its bedding, had been coated with clay and had borne a superstructure of crude brick, and on the ground to south and east of the walls were hundreds of fragments of rectangular terracotta plaques and slabs of bluish- or greenish-gray schist. It being obvious that these remains must be left in place for further investigation, work was thereafter restricted to the southern half of the trench, where a pit was excavated step by step to a final depth of 4.60 m. below the surface (1.70 m. A. T.). The space within the pit was so narrow—scarcely 1.50 m. by 2 m.—that excavation became increasingly difficult, but an interesting series of potsherds was recovered. Not far below the foundations of the big Early Helladic building, fragments of late Neolithic wares (Pl. 10, d and f) began to appear; toward the bottom of the pit the deposits were purely Neolithic and contained a few sherds of “Variegated” or “Rainbow” ware. Many small stones and several bits of construction which we took to be house walls appeared at descending levels, but the strata were too confused to provide reliable information about the chronology. The one conclusion to be drawn with certainty was that the site had been inhabited in more than one phase of the Late Stone Age.

Having thus obtained a preliminary survey of the stratification in this region, we set out to make a more extensive investigation in 1953, paying particular attention to the Early Helladic building. Mr. Charitonides was again in charge and gave the work his unremitting personal supervision. Beginning with trial trenches east and north of Trench B, he gradually expanded the area, now known as Area B, to a

roughly rectangular space 15 m. long, east to west, by 8.50 m. wide (Fig. 1); only the northeast corner of the oblong remained undug this year. The average surface level along the north side was 7.30 m. A. T., on the south 6.50 m. A. T.

Apart from a mere handful of Mycenaean and Classical sherds in the disturbed surface layers, the only evidence of the later settlements found in Area B was a well, unlined like those noted in Areas A and D. Its upper filling held many glazed and unglazed tiles and fragments of pottery, apparently Hellenistic in date. We have not yet attempted to dig it to the bottom.

Two cist graves and two or three simple interments, all without offerings, came to light near the surface. They are undoubtedly Middle Helladic, but since the whole layer assignable to that period is thinly preserved in Area B they probably represent a middle rather than a late phase, the latest strata having been removed altogether by erosion. Only one clear architectural stratum was found below the graves, almost exclusively in the northern part of the area. Fragmentary house walls resting at an average level of 6.40 m. A. T. could be associated with patches of floors a few centimeters higher. A well, which we had to leave undug, appeared also to be assignable to this initial phase of the period. Many sherds of coarse fabrics and some Gray Minyan ware occurred at this level.

Among the utensils and miscellaneous implements recovered here is one of special interest, a thin strip of bone, 0.106 m. long, with seven hemispherical knobs on one flat side (Inv. L3.11; Pl. 9, g). The strip is slightly bowed in its length, rounded at the tips, and well polished; otherwise it is undecorated, and it is not pierced for attachment or suspension. There can be no doubt that it belongs to a class of objects already known outside Greece, about which there has been much speculation. Three were found by Schliemann at Troy, one purportedly in debris of the Second Settlement;<sup>40</sup> several others came from tombs excavated many years ago in Sicily;<sup>41</sup> and still another was recovered more recently at Tarxien in Malta.<sup>42</sup> Our example from Lerna is, to the best of my knowledge, the only one yet found in Greece. Its finding place is fixed exactly at 6.40 m. A. T., in the earliest floor deposit that contained Gray Minyan ware, immediately above a stratum in which only Early Helladic pottery occurred.

Two successive Early Helladic levels overlay the ruins of the great building which we were seeking particularly to examine. The upper was marked by a few ruined and apparently unrelated walls and a floor strewn with broken pottery at

<sup>40</sup> Two found by Schliemann were in Berlin (H. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, Nos. 7953, 7954), the third in Istanbul (H. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, No. 49); see also a comparable though by no means identical piece found by the Cincinnati expedition in Stratum IIg (C. W. Blegen, *Troy*, I, p. 363, No. 35-528).

<sup>41</sup> P. Orsi, *Ausonia*, I, 1906, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>42</sup> References and a discussion of the chronological problem are given by K. Bittel, *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, pp. 57-58.



6.10 m. to 6.20 m. A. T. One fragmentary vessel, found at this level in 1952, deserves special attention. The shattered pieces, of reddish-brown clay that tended to split and chip, comprised parts of the cylindrical collar-neck and globular body of a two-handled jar with plastic spiral ornaments that curved upward to broad free-standing hornlike attachments<sup>43</sup> (Pl. 11, b). This is a vessel of well known Trojan type, and the style and fabric leave no doubt that it was in fact manufactured at or near Troy.<sup>44</sup> Exact dating is unhappily not possible, since the shape occurs there in the Second, Third, and Fourth Settlements; but the porous texture of the clay, particularly as it appears on the inner surface, make its ascription to Troy IV seem most probable.

The next earlier level, a clearly distinguishable stratum of trodden earth without walls, was about 0.30 m. under the first at an average of 5.80 m. to 5.90 m. A. T. Here we found several rows of stones which may have marked the limits of outdoor enclosures, foundations of house walls, a hearth, a stone structure that resembled a small rough table or bench, and a remarkable series of bothroi. Not less than 17 of these were discovered in various parts of the area. Roughly circular, averaging 0.80 m. to 1 m. in diameter and 0.70 m. in depth, they were full of carbonized matter, animal bones, shells, and fragments of pottery (Pl. 3, d). All had penetrated the underlying debris and some had cut through the standing walls and floors of the big building, as became evident when parts of the latter were wholly cleared (Pl. 4, a).

### *The House of the Tiles*

The big building whose corner we had come upon by chance in Trench B proved to be far more extensive and elaborate than any of us had guessed. By the end of the campaign of 1953 fully 13 m. of its south wall, 6.50 m. of its west wall, and *ca.* 55 sq. m. of the interior had been cleared without revealing the northern or eastern limits or giving even a hint of the full size and plan of the building. The style and scale of construction became evident, however, and some other interesting bits of information could be gained. One of the most remarkable features was the great quantity of tiles that lay scattered and broken in the ruins; from them the building soon came to be known among the excavators as the House of the Tiles, though we use the word "house" only in its most general sense.

A diagrammatic plan of the excavated part of the building is presented in Figure 4. The walls were found standing to a height of *ca.* 0.70 m. and all around them, in the rooms and corridors and beyond the outer walls, was burnt debris reaching the same level, 5.80 m. A. T. Clearly the whole area, in which the debris was probably

<sup>43</sup> Inv. L.22; H. pres. 0.28, D. 0.29. In the partial restoration shown in the photograph only the shape of the base and the height of the horn are uncertain.

<sup>44</sup> H. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, No. 1949 (cf. also Nos. 433, 527, 529, 830, 1044); C. W. Blegen, *Troy*, I, fig. 389, Nos. 35.1160, 35.561; *Troy*, II, fig. 81, No. III-147 and fig. 164, No. 37.1226; D. Levi, *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1952, p. 347, fig. 47 (jars from Poliochni in Lemnos).

heaped even higher just after the conflagration, was graded to this level in the succeeding phase when the stratum with the bothroi was made. Besides the fragmentary tiles of terracotta and slate, which will be described in more detail below, the debris consisted of fallen bricks and clay much reddened from burning, gray and black ash, and carbonized wood. One of the bricks which could be extracted whole<sup>45</sup> measured 0.36 m. square and was 0.13 m. thick. The debris contained numerous fragments of

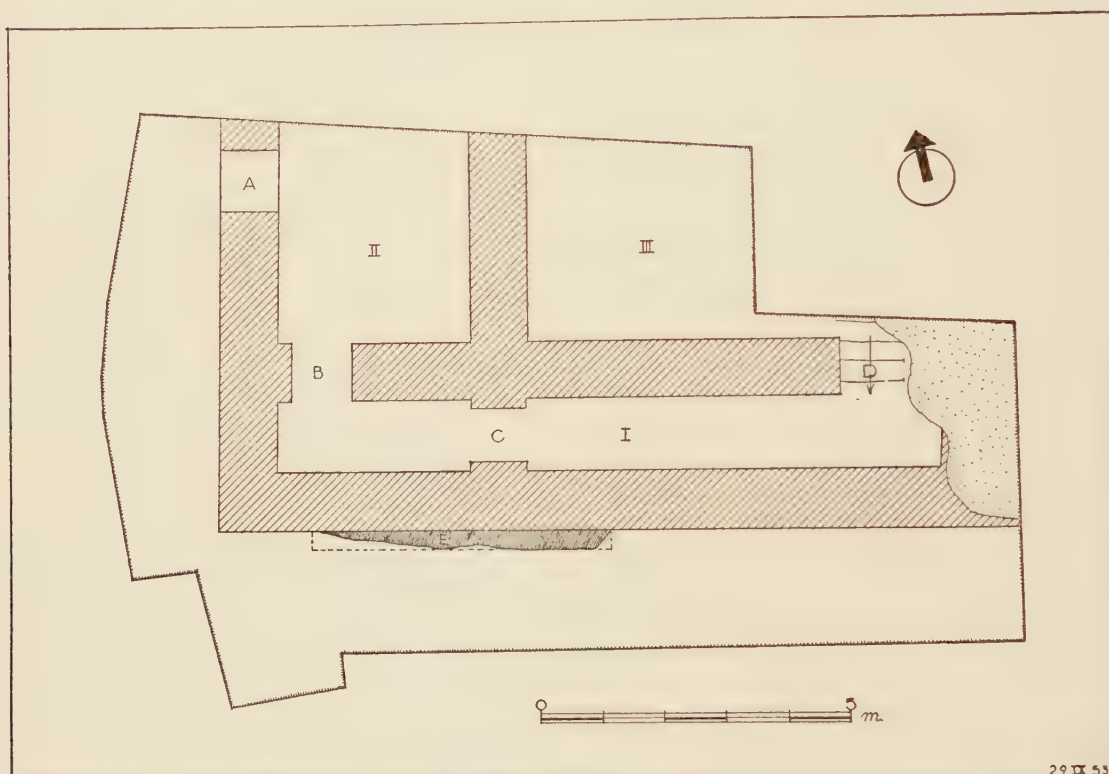


FIG. 4. House of the Tiles in Area B; Diagrammatic Plan of Parts Excavated in 1953.

one or more large pithoi and a piece of clay with seal-impressions (Inv. L3.10, Pl. 10, c), but very few sherds of small pots.

The southwestern part of the building—all that has been cleared—consists of three principal divisions. A long corridor (Fig. 4, I), 1.15 m. wide, ran along the south wall and opened through a doorway (B) at its west end into a room (II) on the north; this room, 3.15 m. wide, had another doorway (A) leading out to the west; beyond the partition on the east was a second room (III), apparently larger, from which a flight of steps (D) rose through an opening in its south wall (Pl. 5, a). This

<sup>45</sup> It lay in the southwest corner of Room II, near the west jamb of Door B (Fig. 4).



stairway probably gave onto a landing within the width of the corridor and then continued upward toward the east or doubled back toward the north; the ground here was disturbed by bothroi and the space was too cramped to allow complete excavation in 1953. Striking elements of construction, giving a remarkably sophisticated air to the building, are the pair of projecting anta-like jambs of a doorway (C) in the south corridor (Pl. 4, b), in line with the partition between Rooms II and III, and a similar projecting jamb on the west side of Door B between the corridor and Room II.

The walls are of uniform thickness. They have socles 0.90 m. wide, neatly and carefully constructed of unworked stones, upon which rest the remains of superstructure in crude brick. The socles of the external walls rise *ca.* 0.45 m. above the floor level, those of the inner partition walls being slightly lower. On the outer faces are well preserved patches of a thick stucco of yellow clay; inside the rooms there are many traces of another coating of reddish-brown clay, combed in sweeping curves (Pl. 4, c). These surface coatings increase the thickness of the walls to about 0.95 m.

In an exploratory trench and in cuttings left by bothroi in Room II we observed a layer of stones about 0.15 m. below the floor, set carefully as if to form a solid foundation (Pl. 4, a, at left). The floor itself, at an average level of 5.10 m. A. T. in both rooms and in the corridor, consisted of a thick layer of yellow clay and a thinner coating of reddish-brown. Yellow clay also coated the threshold of Door A and the steps, D. The floor was smooth and hard, baked by the fire. On it we found none of the domestic litter that usually appears in the living quarters of ancient houses. A few fragments of pottery, chiefly from plain open bowls of the commonest Early Helladic type, were all that came to light.

In the narrow strips excavated outside the house on the west and south there were evidences of ground levels corresponding approximately with the floors inside. At some places it even appeared that a clay paving, like those within, had been laid down. Against the south wall were remains of a solid bench of reddish clay, nearly 5 m. long and *ca.* 0.30 m. in width and height (Fig. 4, E). It was certainly an addition, since the yellow facing of the wall was continuous behind it.

Fragments of terracotta tiles and of bluish- and greenish-gray schist, referred to above, were found in fallen debris outside the walls of the building as well as inside (Pl. 5, b and c). We made an effort to gather all the pieces, although in some parts of the area they were strewn so thickly that the work was tedious. Quite obviously, none were in place; all had fallen from above and very few were unbroken. From the area excavated so far 128 basketfuls have been collected. By laying out the contents of a basket in a tight mosaic we discovered that that quantity covered a rectangle of just over 0.80 m. by 1 m., and consequently that our whole collection if placed in a single layer would cover more than 100 sq. m. If we reckoned the fragments lost through the digging of bothroi and those still in unexcavated ground to the west and south, the figure would be much higher. The area of the house as excavated up to

now, including the thickness of the walls, is about 75 sq. m. Thus we see that the tiles must have overlapped by nearly one third, if not considerably more.

The terracotta tiles are essentially flat and rectangular, though not perfectly regular. They are by no means uniform in size (Pl. 5, e): the thickness varies, among samples measured, from 0.011 m. to 0.019 m.; the width and length from *ca.* 0.16 m. to 0.28 m., many tiles being nearly square and many others distinctly elongated (e. g. 0.191 x 0.20, 0.268 x 0.27, 0.179 x 0.20, 0.244 x 0.28, 0.162 x 0.257). The material is rough, full of tiny particles of stone, and is brick-red or brownish-red, sometimes mottled with gray; in several cases lines of weathering are visible across one face (Pl. 5, e, left). All the tiles are baked to a hard even strength, not as a result of the conflagration but by deliberate firing. The edges were cut with a sharp blade, which sometimes made only a deep groove, leaving the tiles to be broken apart. Evidently the clay was laid out in large sheets<sup>46</sup> and then marked into rectangles. The state of the broken edges gives a distinct impression that the whole sheet was fired before being divided into single tiles, but a process so cumbersome seems highly improbable; more likely, the sheet was dried very hard in the sun before being broken for firing. The edges are never hooked, except accidentally and very slightly by the pressure of the cutting blade, and there are no holes for fastenings.

Splinters and small fragments of schist occurred frequently enough to be noticed but in no great numbers within the limits of the house. Outside, however, and particularly along the southern flank, they lay in considerable profusion. A few were unbroken. They are fairly heavy slabs of stone, larger than the terracotta tiles; averaging 0.02 m. to nearly 0.03 m. at the thickest part, they taper toward the edges, which are straight and trim. One complete slate measures 0.305 m. by 0.33 m.; others are as narrow as 0.17 m.; the largest piece yet found is 0.23 m. wide and is preserved to a length of 0.42 m. Some of these, like the last, have one or two holes drilled in them, by which they could be held in place with small pegs (Pl. 5, f).

Stone of the kind here used is not native to the immediate region of Myloi, but we were told by our workmen that in villages on the slopes of Mt. Parnon, some six or eight hours away, many houses are roofed with slates of the same sort.

There is little room for doubt that the House of the Tiles was indeed roofed with a combination of terracotta and stone slabs. The exact form of construction is not yet known, but there is a reasonable hope that further evidence may be forthcoming. It may be taken as certain that the tiles and slates were laid in a bedding of clay, chunks of which were found adhering to one or both sides of many pieces. Several such masses furthermore retained impressions of the overlapping tiles, which may shed light on the pattern of their setting; and certain wedge-shaped accretions of clay, showing a plane surface at an angle of about 30 degrees with that of the tile, may

<sup>46</sup> A few fragments show one uneven rounded side which must have been at the edge of the sheet.



possibly indicate the pitch of the roof (Pl. 5, d). That there was in fact an appreciable pitch, steep enough to shed water readily but not enough to require that the tiles be individually fastened, is suggested by all the evidence so far observed. The big slabs of slate with holes for pegging may well have been used at the eaves, where extra stability would be desirable, and, incidentally, just above the place where we found many of them lying.

### TRENCHES G AND GA

Trial Trench G, 4 m. long and 2 m. wide, was excavated in the sloping ground between and a little south of Areas A and B, at the northern border of Square F 8 (Fig. 1). The surface here was 5.45 m. A. T. at the northwest corner, 4.95 m. A. T. at the southeast. This region had been traversed and disturbed by military trenches, which had been refilled since the war, but along the north side of our cutting we came upon a massive and well built stone wall running roughly east and west. Where measurable it proved to be 1 m. to 1.05 m. thick and to be standing almost 1 m. high. In it there was a gap, probably a doorway, 1.40 m. wide, flanked by trimly squared ends or jambs. The debris next to it showed signs of burning; the floor was not found but numerous fragments of Early Helladic pottery came to light around 4.20 m. A. T.

Led on by the impressive appearance of this structure, we opened another trench, GA, 1.50 m. wide and 7 m. long, running north and south a little to the west of G. Miss Livermore, who supervised the digging, here found the same sort of debris. In spite of intrusions from recent military installations, the big wall was seen to continue westward; there were many signs of burning, reddened bits of bricks, black and gray ash, and potsherds. Also present were fragments of terracotta tiles and greenish-gray schist of the sort found in Area B. A hard stratum was noted at 5.20 m. A. T., but, more important, a patch of undisturbed floor was found in the north end of the trench at 4.45 m. A. T. The black debris just over it yielded several unbroken blades of obsidian, five pieces of polished bone tubes, two small open bowls, most of a very large open bowl or basin, and an exceptionally fine askoid vessel <sup>47</sup> (Pl. 11, a). This last, delicately made and very light, has a flattened-spherical body, a spout rising obliquely from the edge of the upper side, and a small plaited handle formed of two continuous twists of clay. The light buff surface, smooth and lustrous, bears a decorative pattern of single lines, zigzags, and lozenges in a dull reddish-brown paint.

The building of which we have here caught a glimpse is obviously one of importance, deserving thorough investigation. It belongs to the Early Helladic period, and would seem to be not inferior in size and style to the House of the Tiles. The wall found in Trenches G and GA is very nearly parallel to the east-west walls in Area B; possibly they may prove to be joined in a single complex of vast extent.

<sup>47</sup> Inv. L.96; H. 0.157, D. 0.226.

## TRENCH E

In an attempt to find undisturbed remains of the Neolithic settlement, the presence of which was indicated by discoveries in Trench B in 1952, we dug a shaft 4 m. long and 2 m. wide in the southern part of Square E 7, *ca.* 10 m. from the south edge of Area B. This we called Trench E (Fig. 1). The ploughed surface of the ground at its north side was 5.30 m. A. T., at the south slightly lower. Trench E was excavated to a depth of nearly 4 m., reaching a level of 1.35 m. A. T.

Immediately below the ploughed earth we began to find strata of various thicknesses and colors, containing many small loose stones and many potsherds, and these continued in sequence as far as we dug. There were no walls or floors of any sort. The pottery consisted almost wholly of Neolithic wares: fragments of rounded bowls in Variegated ware of the early type that is known from Corinth, Nemea, and elsewhere;<sup>48</sup> sherds of red and black burnished wares; at least a few pieces of Gray Monochrome ware;<sup>49</sup> and a great many pieces of pots that were wholly coated with glaze paint ("Urfirnis") or bore rectilinear patterns, drawn in the same substance, which turned orange-brown or dark brown to black according to the thickness of the application (Pl. 10, e). This category has been shown to be characteristic of the later phases of the Neolithic period<sup>50</sup> and is obviously out of context when found with Variegated ware. Telling evidence of the mixed quality of the deposit was supplied, moreover, by a small number of Early Helladic sherds which occurred persistently in all the lots collected, down to the lowest.

Clearly this whole mass of earth, at least 4 m. deep, is a filling taken from some part of the Neolithic settlement and placed here in the Early Helladic period. Since none of it appeared, even at a much lower level, in Trench F only 10 m. to the south, we must presume that it was heaped behind some sort of retaining wall and formed a level terrace. The facts remain to be ascertained by further excavation. If our conjecture about the terrace is correct, we shall try also to discover the region from which the earth filling was taken. One is led to guess that it was moved in connection with the building of the House of the Tiles, but as yet this is only an inference from the proximity.

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<sup>48</sup> S. S. Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 493-495; L. W. Kosmopoulos, *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*, pl. Ia; C. W. Blegen, *Art and Arch.*, XXII, 1926, p. 134.

<sup>49</sup> S. S. Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-509. Mrs. Kosmopoulos refers to this ware as "Proto-Minyan."

<sup>50</sup> E. g. at Corinth, S. S. Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 500-503; at Gonia, the Heraion of Argos, and Hageorgitika in Arcadia, C. W. Blegen, *Met. Mus. Studies*, III, 1930-31, p. 69; at Asea, E. J. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia*, pp. 49-54.



Only a beginning has been made at Lerna. At this stage of the investigation it is impossible to draw general conclusions, but we may summarize a few of the interesting facts that have been ascertained.

The site was inhabited in the Neolithic Age, probably over a long period of time. It may prove difficult to discover and excavate undisturbed Neolithic deposits, since in some parts of the mound they appear to lie at or below water level and in others to have been cut by Early Helladic builders. The Neolithic settlement must, however, be one of the principal objects of our search.

Remains of the Early Helladic settlement present an unexpectedly imposing picture. The House of the Tiles has no close parallel among contemporary structures yet known on the Greek mainland. In scale it would seem perhaps comparable to the great tholos at Tiryns and to the Megara of Troy II, and it is built with extraordinary precision, scarcely any error being discernible in the straightness of its walls and the right angles of its corners. The terracotta tiles and pieces of slate from this building give us, furthermore, a new and welcome body of evidence for the type of roofing.<sup>51</sup> The date of the house, even in relative terms, is not yet known; it appears that two phases of the Early Helladic period succeeded its destruction by fire, and that in the latter of those two the horned jar was imported from the region of Troy. Evidently Lerna was in communication with the outside world. A flanged lid,<sup>52</sup> found in an Early Helladic stratum in Trench A, bears a pattern of lines and tangent-spirals that strongly suggests a Cycladic origin.

The Middle Helladic settlement seems also to have been extensive and prosperous. In Areas A and D we have fine examples of domestic architecture, and the many successive strata observed there and elsewhere give promise of yielding pottery and other objects in reliable chronological sequence. The numerous graves testify to the practice of burying the dead, adults as well as children, in and among the houses; but remains of stone cists, revealed by military trenches on the lower southeastern slopes of Mt. Pontinos, suggest that a Middle or Late Helladic cemetery existed there also. It is too early to make deductions about the dates of the various phases. Our first observations show that coarse pottery predominated at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period; Gray Minyan ware was in use throughout; Black, or Argive, Minyan, with a thick lustrous slip, occurs plentifully; Matt-painted ware is common in the later phases but is rare, if not wholly absent, in the earliest. Alongside the familiar types of pottery in the middle and, especially, the late phases, occur pieces wholly or partially coated with a lustrous dark glaze, on which are patterns in dull white and red

<sup>51</sup> Tiles of the same sort were found at Tiryns (K. Müller, *Tiryns*, III, pp. 85-86) and at Asine (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, p. 233), but not in such quantities or in such clear association with the buildings.

<sup>52</sup> Inv. L.23; H. 0.041, D. 0.135; illustrated in *B.C.H.*, LXXVII, 1953, p. 214, fig. 18.

or purple,<sup>53</sup> and others, of a technically related class, bearing linear decoration in lustrous dark paint on a light ground. No whole vessels of the last category have yet appeared but sherds (e. g. those shown in Pl. 8, f) have been found in almost all areas tested so far.

Remains of the Late Helladic and succeeding periods have been found, up to now, chiefly on the eastern side of the hill. They bear witness to the continuous occupation of the site at least until early Hellenistic times. The topmost layers have suffered and, over much of the ground, have been removed. Cultivation and normal erosion account for a part of the loss, military construction in the recent war for still more. On the last day of our preliminary campaign of September, 1952, a violent wind storm broke over Lerna, coming in hot furious gusts from Arcadia. Windows were broken in Myloi, tables and chairs at an outdoor restaurant were hurled fifty feet or more, and men had to take hold of trees and posts to keep themselves from being knocked down. Whirling clouds of dust rose from the mound and blew eastward into the Gulf. We were told that winds of this sort were not a rare phenomenon in the district. In the course of centuries they have undoubtedly removed much earth from the ancient site.

JOHN L. CASKEY

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

<sup>53</sup> Examples of the same style are known at Mycenae, Berbati, and Asine.



# EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1953<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 12-17)

THE eighteenth campaign conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora was historic in many respects. The field work, which extended from February into June of 1953, represented the last season of excavation on a large scale in the Agora proper. Further exploration remains to be carried out in connection with the study of individual buildings bordering the square, and large areas on the slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus have still to receive their final combing, but within the square proper the ancient levels have been exposed throughout and on the three sides of the square now available for exploration all the major monuments have been plotted.

Field work was concentrated in the south part of the Agora with very satisfactory results for our knowledge of the topographical development. The south side of the square in its earlier form is now seen to have been closed by a row of five public buildings dating from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Two of these buildings appear to have been fountain houses; the third, South Stoa I, is a large and early example of a two-aisled colonnade backed by a row of rooms; the fourth may be identified with a high degree of probability as the *Heliaia*, the largest and most famous of the lawcourts of the ancient city, while the fifth has been recognized with something approaching certainty as the mint of Athens, the *Argyrokopeion*.

<sup>1</sup> The veteran staff remained as last year. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool served again as deputy field director for half the year and supervised excavation during the season; Miss Lucy Talcott continued in charge of records; Mr. John Travlos carried on as architect of excavations and Miss Alison Frantz as staff photographer; Miss Margaret Crosby supervised an area of excavation; Miss Virginia Grace kept up her study of wine jars; Mrs. H. A. Thompson in the spring of 1953 supervised an area of excavation and continued her study of terracottas. Miss Marian R. Holland for a second year served as assistant architect and gave particular attention to the new evidence for the study of the Temple of Ares. Much voluntary assistance was received from fellows and members of the School: Mrs. Glenn R. Morrow, Miss Helen Bacon and Miss Rosemary Hope helping with the records, Miss Eva Brann assisting in the supervision of excavation in the Middle Stoa, Misses Claireve Grandjouan and Elizabeth Chase helping Mrs. Thompson in the study of terracottas, Mr. Charles W. J. Eliot studying the "Donor's Monument" in front of the Stoa of Attalos. Mrs. J. L. Caskey again undertook the identification of coins from the current excavation while Mrs. J. P. Shear and Mr. Sydney P. Noe gave help on specific numismatic problems. To all the above the enterprise owes much.

Professor R. E. Wycherley of the University of North Wales, assisted by a grant from the American Philosophical Society, spent the Easter Vacation of 1953 in the Agora with a view to putting the finishing touches on his publication of the ancient literary testimonia on the monuments of the area.

The success of the season's operations, as in all previous campaigns, has depended on the devotion and energy of the Chief Foreman, Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, and of the technical staff who work under his spirited direction.

The expedition has continued to enjoy not merely the official support of the Service of Antiqui-

Of the great buildings erected in the southern part of the old Agora in the second century B.C. the South Stoa (henceforth to be designated South Stoa II) was this season exposed to its full length, and the foundations of the Middle Stoa were also laid bare throughout.

Just outside the official limits of the square at its extreme southwest corner were explored the ruins of a private house which in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. was occupied by a shoemaker, recognized from the occurrence of his name in a graffito as Simon, perhaps the shoemaker of that name known to have been an intimate friend of Sokrates.

Among the individual finds of the season may be noted a terracotta head, bearded, helmeted and slightly over half life-size, of the mid fifth century B.C.; a score of ostraka; an inscribed base for a statue of the Iliad found in 1869, and a number of fragmentary but exceptionally fine early red-figured cups from the filling of a well.

Work of conservation was carried out on the Great Drain and in the area of the Metroon and Bouleuterion. The east inner frieze of the Hephaisteion was freed of a heavy coat of black grime and made accessible for proper study.

Concurrently with the season's excavation the work of reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos to serve as a permanent museum was actually started. The foundations of the building were drained and reinforced. A large proportion of the requisite stone and marble was quarried and worked and some of the stone was laid. The drainage operations brought to light a number of graves of the Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods beneath the north part of the Stoa while the discovery of a deposit of ballots beneath the north end of the Stoa terrace proves the existence of a lawcourt in that area in pre-Hellenistic times.

ties in the Ministry of Education of the Greek Government, but also the cordial personal interest of its members, particularly of Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzo, Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum, and of Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor.

The start of work on the Stoa of Attalos would have been quite impossible without the whole-hearted and energetic cooperation of Professor A. Orlandos, Director of the Department of Restorations, ably seconded by his assistant, Mr. E. Stikas.

Professor J. L. Caskey, as Director of the School, maintained as always close contact with the routine progress of the excavation and in addition took a leading part in the negotiations connected with the beginning of work on the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos. In this connection particular acknowledgment must also be made to the Legal Advisor of the School, Mr. A. Kyriakides, and his assistant, Mr. V. Melas.

In a year marked by large-scale, costly and difficult operations the members of the staff are more conscious than ever of the degree in which the whole undertaking depends on the vigorous backing of the governing bodies of the School, viz. the Managing Committee and the Board of Trustees, which has been so effectively translated into action by their respective executives: Messrs. C. H. Morgan and W. M. Canaday. No less vital has been the continuing financial support received from many individuals and organizations whose names, though they may not be mentioned here, are none the less remembered with gratitude.



With the end of digging now in sight, preparations for landscaping have begun and a comprehensive design for the treatment of the area has been prepared by a competent landscape architect.

#### BUILDINGS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE EARLY SQUARE

##### *The "Heliaia"*

The earliest and largest of the five public buildings that bordered the early Agora on the south proved to lie directly beneath a double modern house which had for many years served the expedition as workrooms, storerooms and dwelling for members of the Greek technical staff. The demolition of the building was made possible by transferring much of the material and working facilities to the remaining blocks of the Excavation House which lie to the south of the modern Asteroskopeiou Street and so fall outside the market square proper. The area thus made available, a thousand square metres in extent, was excavated under the supervision of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool.

Apart from a large cistern of late Roman date, little in the way of structural remains was encountered between the foundations of the modern houses and those of the ancient buildings, an interval of about four metres. The floor of the ancient structure, however, was overlaid in large part to a depth of half a metre or more by reddish sand sprinkled with tiny particles of corroded bronze. Consultation with the proprietor of a small bronze-casting establishment on the modern Hephaistos Street soon confirmed the suspicion that the sand had been used in making moulds for casting bronze and that the small particles were from the foam of the molten metal. The associated pottery and coins indicate that the metal workers had been active in the latter part of the third century after Christ, i. e. after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 to which the ancient building had fallen a victim. Evidence of metal working of the same date has been observed near the middle of the South Stoa and in the open area of the Commercial Agora. Occasional scraps of ancient bronze statuary found in these contexts point to the grim conclusion that the metal workers had drawn their raw material from the monuments of the then desolate old square. That much of the marble sculpture came to a similar end may be inferred from the existence of several limekilns, albeit of Byzantine date, near the southwestern and southeastern corners of the Agora.

Although the foundations of the ancient building had been thoroughly pillaged in late antiquity and its floor disturbed by innumerable wells and pits, enough remains to indicate the ground plan of its latest phase; the details of its original form have still to be determined by deeper probing (Fig. 1, Pl. 12).

The building was rectangular, approaching a square in outline, measuring actually *ca.* 32.40 m. from east to west and *ca.* 28.30 m. from north to south. It was

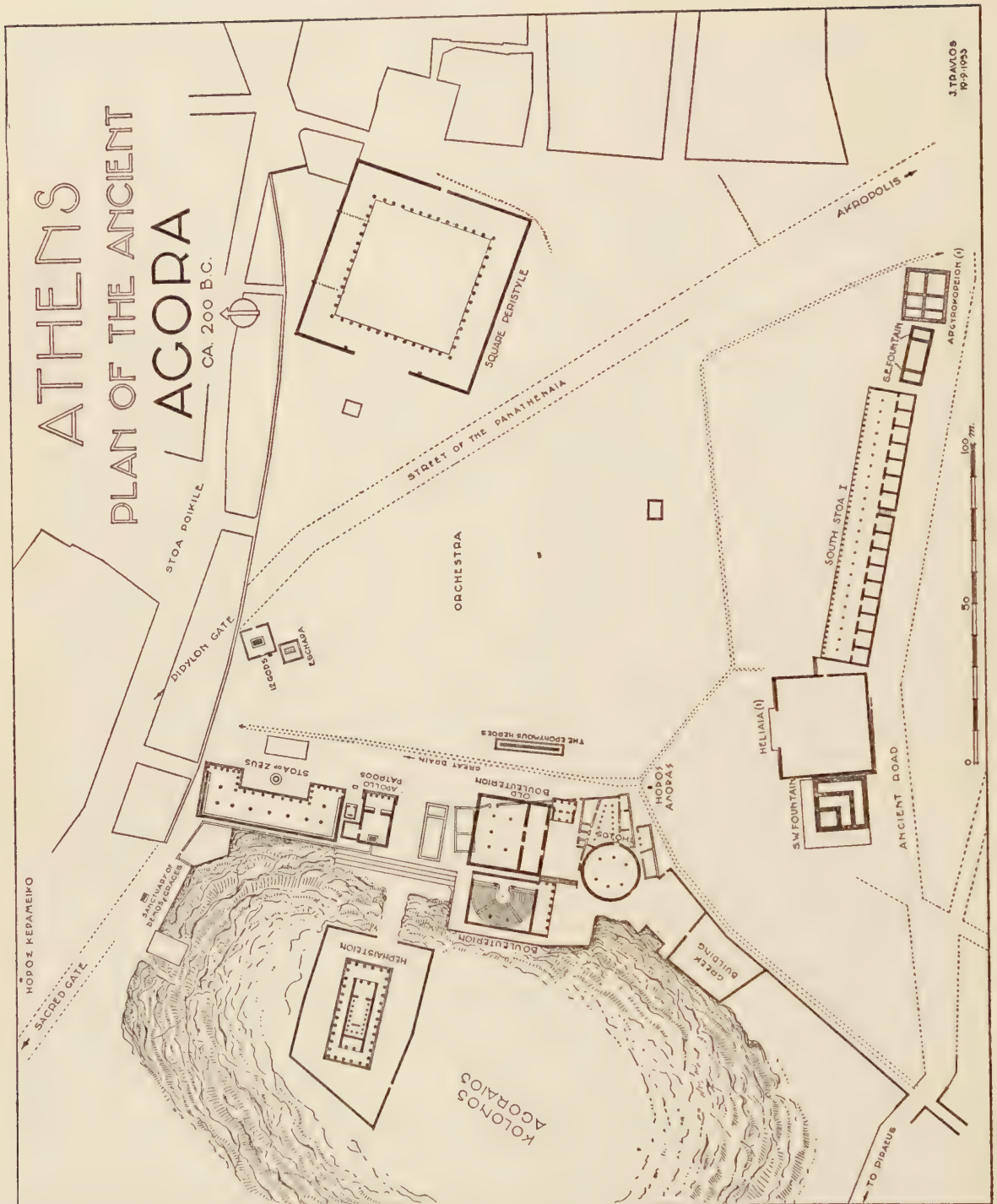


FIG. 1. Restored Plan of the Athenian Agora, ca. 200 B.C.



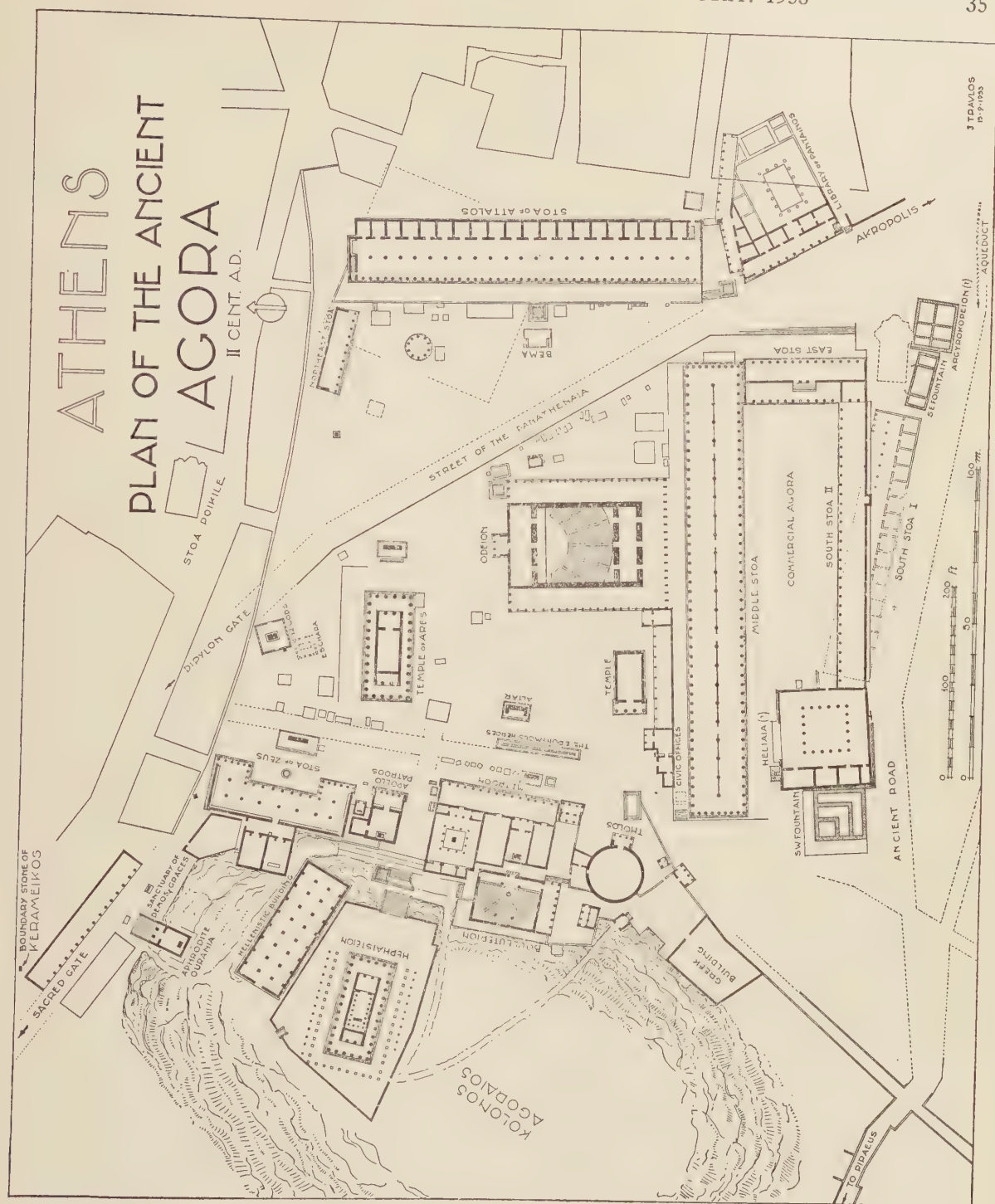


FIG. 2. Restored Plan of the Athenian Agora, 2nd Century after Christ.

approached from the Agora square, which sloped gently up to the north side of the building, by a continuous flight of three, or perhaps four, steps. The nature of the actual entrance or entrances on this side has not yet been determined. A short break in the foundations indicates the presence of a narrow doorway near the middle of the east side. The south side of the building was skirted at a level well above that of its floor by the arterial east to west road. No interior foundations have yet come to light which can certainly be associated with the outer walls in the earliest phase and it is probable that the structure in the beginning was little more than a walled enclosure. This interpretation is strengthened by the comparative lightness of the foundations.

The lowest course of the foundations consists throughout of irregular masses of hard, creamy limestone. The northern steps are of the same material, but they are carefully worked with narrow anathyrosis, the joints being sometimes slightly oblique; the face of the riser is lightly stippled with a band of shallow drafting on the lower edge and on the ends. Near the south end of the east side several blocks of the first wall course remain *in situ*; they are of brownish poros, and one of them has on its end a mason's mark: *epsilon* and *pi* deeply cut in archaic characters. The only tool marks thus far observed were made by the point and the drove (a broad, smooth-faced chisel); the toothed chisel is not yet in evidence.

The foundations of the building invite comparison in respect of material and style of masonry with such buildings as the fountain house cleared last season at the southeast corner of the Agora, with the Old Temple on the Acropolis and with the Old Temple of Dionysos below the Theatre, all structures of the second half of the sixth century. The non-occurrence of the toothed chisel, however, would suggest a date somewhat earlier than that of those buildings.<sup>2</sup> Two wells that have been spotted and cleared within the area of the building had been closed in the early part of the sixth century, and pottery of the same period was found in the stripped foundation trench of a light wall which had been cut off by the steps of the north side. The ceramic evidence from these sources would suggest that the area had been converted from private to public use as early as the second quarter of the sixth century. In this connection it is no doubt significant that the newly found building agrees precisely in orientation with some of the earliest buildings on the west side of the square, viz. those represented by foundations which have come to light beneath the Old Bouleuterion and the Tholos (Fig. 1).

At some time within the fifth century a propylon of steps just over 11 m. in length was set against the original steps at the middle of the north side of the building. The new steps started one course lower than the old; they were of similar, hard creamy limestone but were worked in a more developed style. Little beyond the soft poros

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Casson, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 107 f.; Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 188-193; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 116 f. Dinsmoor notes that the toothed chisel came into general use "fairly late in the Peisistratid period."



core of the addition remains in place but many fragments of the steps were found near by and several whole blocks have survived where re-used in other structures. The position of the new stairway, combined with traces of wear on its steps, indicates that it was a form of propylon intended, presumably, to give a more monumental aspect to the entrance or perhaps to channel traffic through a single entrance. The projection of the supplementary stairway does not appear to be great enough to allow the restoration of columns. It may be observed in passing that the new stairway, being of approximately the same width as the propylon of the fourth-century Pompeion and the two propyla of the Market of Caesar and Augustus, was clearly designed to permit the passage of many people.

At a date probably in the early Roman period radical changes were made in the interior of the structure (Fig. 2). A square peristyle with six columns to the side was inserted, and this was bordered on the west by a row of four rooms of various sizes. The lower foundations of the columns consist of heavy conglomerate blocks resting on a thin packing of field stone. Fragments of a marble Doric capital of a classicizing type were found on the spot, as also a lion-head water spout in terracotta from an outside corner of the building which would appear to be patterned on the lion heads of the Parthenon.

Various hydraulic arrangements in connection with the building remain to be mentioned. At some time apparently in the fifth century B.C. an underground aqueduct built of soft poros was led from the east under the ancient road which skirted the south side of the square. The channel hugged the south side of the building, turned at right angles around its southwest corner and thence continued northward.<sup>3</sup> The primary function of this water channel was perhaps to supply the neighboring building to the west, now labelled the Southwest Fountain House. But it was probably also the source of two small pipe lines which were carried down over the northern steps of the older building near its northwest corner. And it may well have supplied a curious establishment which, in the middle of the fourth century B.C., was set close against those same northern steps in the space between the northwest corner of the building and the propylon. In the eastern part of this structure a shallow stone basin was set at the level of the original bottom step of the building; its plastered interior is heavily coated with water deposit. From this basin the water appears to have been led into a carefully constructed vertical shaft to the west, measuring 0.97 m. square inside with a depth of 2.53 m. The shaft drained near its bottom through a small metal-lined aperture which was accessible by means of a narrow staircase set between the shaft and the west and north walls of the structure. That we have to do with no normal type of fountain house is shown, *inter alia*, by the fragility of the parapet in the front of the shallow basin. A preliminary study would suggest, rather, a time-

<sup>3</sup> On the part of this aqueduct exposed farther to the east cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 32.

measuring device operated by water on somewhat the same principle as the familiar terracotta klepsydra but on a monumental scale.<sup>4</sup>

The identification of the great new building raises a tantalizing problem. No positive clue has been found on the site nor does the structure appear to be mentioned in Pausanias' systematic account of the Agora. On the other hand, its great size and its dominant position high on the south side of the square leave no doubt that it was a public building of major importance. Its proximity to the earliest administrative buildings on the west side, and the striking correspondence in orientation would suggest, though of course it would not prove, that the new building also served some function of government. The possibilities are few, and a little reflection will show that the most likely identification is with one or other of the lawcourts which would appear from the combined evidence of the literary references to have stood on or near the square. If this be so, the structure could scarcely be other than the largest and most famous of all the lawcourts, viz. the Heliaia.<sup>5</sup>

Harpokration described the Heliaia as "the largest lawcourt at Athens in which cases concerning the state were tried, the jury numbering 1000 or 1500." And Pausanias (I, 28, 8), apparently having in mind the situation in his own day, observed that "the largest lawcourt and the one in which the greatest number participate is called the Heliaia." There is good reason to believe that the jurors were seated in this court and that they sat under the open sky. Admission was controlled by grilles and railings. The beginnings of the Heliaia as an institution go back at least to the time of Solon, and even after the establishment of other lawcourts (the *dikasteria*) it retained its importance, as we have seen in Pausanias' reference, down into Imperial times.

The earliest structural remains as yet recognized can scarcely be as early as the time of Solon, but they may have been preceded by some less substantial arrangement. The general scheme of the building, i. e. a great walled enclosure apparently open to the sky, is certainly appropriate to the needs of the court, and its area, approximately three times that of the auditorium in the (new) Bouleuterion of the Five Hundred, would presumably have accommodated as many as 1500 jurors. The abundant provision of water within the building would have been appropriate for the supply of the movable water clocks which were such a characteristic part of the furnishings of a court, and the hydraulic installation set against the north façade, as we have seen, may

<sup>4</sup> Eugene Vanderpool draws my attention to a similar installation in the Amphiareion at Oropos ('Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, pp. 110-113). The terracotta klepsydra found in the Agora in 1936 is published by S. Young in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274-284.

<sup>5</sup> On the history and functions of the Heliaia cf. R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 154 ff., and C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 97 f.; for the topographical problem and the interior arrangement cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 359 ff.; and S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria and the Courts," *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, pp. 1-34.



itself have been a monumental water clock. Nor is it unlikely that the terracotta water clock, which was found in 1936 in a well some 40 metres to the northwest of our building, came from it; certainly no more plausible candidate for a lawcourt has yet been recognized in this area.

Various other considerations of a more general nature are equally favorable to the identification. The traditional curse pronounced at the opening of the meeting of the assembly against "any speaker who should deceive the *Boule*, the *Demos* or the *Heliaia*"<sup>6</sup> indicates the age-old recognition of the three-fold division of government into the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The executive branch, i. e. the *Boule*, was provided with a succession of buildings on the west side of the square, the earliest of them probably dating from the time of Solon. The legislative branch, i. e. the *Demos* meeting in the *Ekklesia*, found a quiet assembly place on the near-by slope of the *Pnyx* hill, starting perhaps as late as the time of Kleisthenes. We should have expected the *Demos* when meeting in its judicial capacity as the *Heliaia* to have had equally adequate accommodation, and such now appears to be available in the newly found building.

The identification here proposed can as yet be regarded as nothing more than a likely hypothesis. It is to be hoped that more conclusive evidence will be forthcoming from the further exploration of the building and its environs.

#### *South Stoa I*

Toward the end of the fifth century B.C. a long building consisting of a row of square rooms behind a double colonnade was inserted between the "*Heliaia*" and the Southeast Fountain House. The building stood until demolished to make way for a one-aisled colonnade without rooms about the middle of the second century B.C. Since it has not yet been possible to attach an ancient name to either the earlier or the later building, but since both could properly be described as stoas, we shall refer to them for the present as South Stoa I and South Stoa II respectively.

South Stoa I, like its successor, was first detected in the campaign of 1936 under the supervision of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool.<sup>7</sup> Some additional clearance was carried out in 1952.<sup>8</sup> In the present season the deep mass of earth filling thrown in by the builders of South Stoa II was stripped from the ruins of the earlier building and some soundings were made beneath its floors. The excavation in this area was directed in both 1952 and 1953 by Miss Margaret Crosby on whose reports I have drawn freely for the following account.

The floor level fixed for South Stoa II was two and a half metres lower than that of the older building, so that a great deal of bedrock had to be cut away, and

<sup>6</sup> Demosthenes XXIII, 97.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f., fig. 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 28 f.

with it went the west end and most of the north side of the fifth-century building. Enough remains, however, to establish the existence of at least fourteen rooms in the early structure and, on the assumption that a narrow alley was left between this building and its neighbor to the west comparable with that which is well attested between this building and its eastern neighbor, the total number of rooms may be restored as sixteen and the length of the building as *ca.* 87 metres. Its width was 15.02 metres. Between the seventh and eighth rooms from the east was a corridor 1.40 m. wide; a stairway set in this corridor led up from the colonnade to the street that bordered the back of the building.

Plate 13, a will show the state of preservation: a few blocks in the south and east walls, a good many blocks in the median wall and in the cross walls between the rooms, a short length of pillaged foundation trench for the stylobate on the north side.

The wall foundations consist of a single course of large blocks of rather soft gray poros laid flat. On these rested one or two courses of similar blocks laid on edge, and these in turn carried the upper wall of sun-dried brick. There are striking irregularities in the quality of workmanship, but in general the wall construction shows signs of haste and frugality. Here and there are traces of repairs and rebuilding, natural enough in view of the long history of the building.

The rooms measure on the average *ca.* 4.80 m. (probably 16 feet) square inside. Each opened on the porch through a two-leaved door, the poros thresholds of which in several cases remain in place with slots in their tops to support simple wooden jambs. In all the rooms where enough is preserved to show the position of the doorway, it falls somewhat off centre toward the east. The rooms were floored with brown clay. The floor level rose on the average about half a metre in the lifetime of the building; the thresholds were raised accordingly.

The outer row of columns stood on a simple poros stylobate of which some four blocks have been found, only one retaining its full dimensions. At the east end of the building the levels indicate that there were no steps below the stylobate; farther west, however, the downward slope of the terrain would have called for steps. On the tops of some of the stylobate blocks are lightly dressed circular beds for unfluted columns with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.52 m. A fragmentary Doric capital, found on the floor of the colonnade toward its east end, probably belonged to one of the outer columns (Fig. 3). It is of soft gray poros and seems not to have been stuccoed. Flutings were cut on the lower part of the capital, though this does not necessarily imply that the shafts also were fluted.<sup>9</sup> Nothing of the shafts has been found, nor of the entablature. The column spacing in the outer row may be presumed to have been one half of that in the inner row, or 1.75 m.

<sup>9</sup> In the Middle Stoa of the Agora, a building of the second century B.C., fluting is similarly cut on the capitals though the shafts were left smooth.



The bedding blocks for the five easternmost interior columns were found in place. The first block is centered *ca.* 3.10 m. from the inner face of the east end wall of the building; thereafter the spacing is 3.50 m. centre to centre. The bedding blocks are each a single piece of poros measuring 0.82 to 0.92 m. square and *ca.* 0.30 m. high.

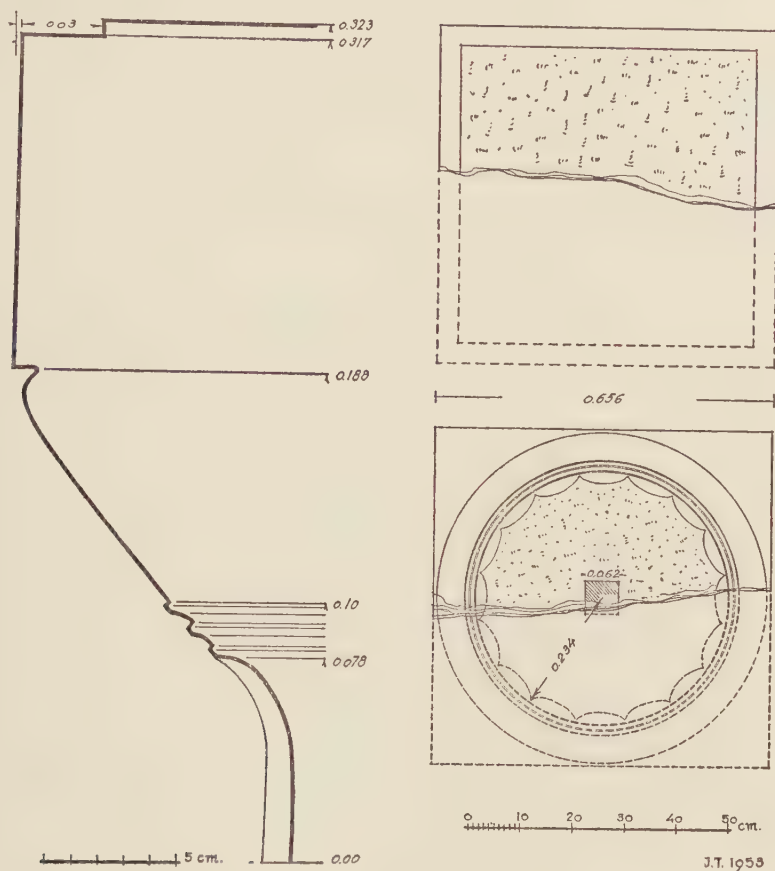


FIG. 3. Doric Capital of Poros from South Stoa I.

Their tops were flush with the original floor. Pressure and weather marks on the tops of the blocks attest the use of unfluted column shafts with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.57 m. Of the stone shafts nothing remains, but several fragments of fine, white, marble-dust stucco with convex profile and a calculated diameter of *ca.* 0.56 m. probably derive from the shafts. No capital has yet been recognized so that the order of the interior columns is problematic. The analogy of normal practice in double stoas would suggest the Ionic. It is to be observed, however, that the imprint of the lower part of the second column from the east is preserved in the rubble masonry of a screen wall which was built around it in the later history of the building and there is no trace

of an Ionic base. The greater thickness of the shaft in the inner columns as compared with the outer (0.57:0.52 m.) will have corresponded, no doubt, to the greater height necessitated by the rising roof.

Several lion-head water spouts of painted terracotta found in the debris of the building are presumably from its roof; they are of more than one period. Pieces of one or more terracotta statues also picked up in the area of the building are possibly to be associated with it.

Within the colonnade are remains of two large pedestals dating from early in the history of the building: a long, narrow base, of which a few blocks remain, between the two rows of columns in front of the three eastern rooms, and an almost square base attested only by its plundered foundation pit between the front of the fourth room and the inner row of columns.

Somewhat later in the life of the building a curtain wall of rubble masonry was carried across the colonnade on the line of the second interior column from the east. It is altogether likely that this wall returned eastward to close the openings between the easternmost four columns of the outer row, thus forming a large room in the east end of the colonnade. Within this area, between the bases for the first and second interior columns, are a number of small stone bases of various shapes and sizes.

Evidence for the date of the building comes chiefly from a considerable mass of pottery found beneath the original floor levels at the east end. This material, though it has not yet been closely studied, appears to date chiefly from the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., to run down into the last quarter but to stop short of the end. The implication, therefore, is that the building was erected within the last quarter of the century, a date which would be compatible with the profile of the Doric column capital and with the working of the foundation blocks. The great accretion of flooring, the heavy wear on the thresholds and the multiplicity of monument bases in the colonnade combine to indicate that the building was much used in its life span of two and a half centuries.

From the point of view of architectural design the building is interesting as an early example of a row of rooms fronted by a two-aisled colonnade.<sup>10</sup> It may indeed be the earliest known example of this architectural type, at any rate on a large scale; for in respect of ground plan there is little with which to compare it before the construction of the South Stoa at Corinth in the second half of the fourth century.

As in the case of the older building to the west, the size and prominent position of the structure may be taken to show that it was a public building of great importance. Although no specific clue has yet come to light, one is inevitably tempted to speculate on its function. It may be remarked, in the first place, that a building of this type is not likely to have been designed simply for shops at so early a date, though it may well

<sup>10</sup> On the development of the type cf. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 454-458, Table III.



have been so used in its later history. The combination of rooms and colonnade also marks it off from such a fifth-century building as the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora which was presumably intended as a sheltered promenade for the citizens at large. It is particularly striking to have so great a colonnade as that of the new building erected on a site which called for a northern exposure, obviously less desirable than a southern. Can it be that the situation was determined by some functional relation between the new building and one or other of its neighbors? On the hypothesis that the great enclosure to the west was the Heliaia, one will see at once the desirability of having a capacious shelter conveniently near for the large number of jurymen who might be dispersed by sudden rain. It was apparently about this time that the stoa behind the scene building of the Theatre of Dionysos was erected to supplement the shelter previously supplied to the theatre-goers by the Odeion of Perikles and to be supplemented some two centuries later by the Stoa of Eumenes. Great colonnades, apparently for the shelter of attendants at the Ekklesia, were begun, though never finished, on the top of the Pnyx hill in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.<sup>11</sup> The citizens in their judicial capacity are not likely to have been more immune to the vagaries of the weather, and the newly found building would be ideally placed to serve their needs.

What, then, of the rooms back of the colonnade? The most striking feature of the chambers in their present condition is the asymmetrical placing of the doors. In buildings of similar ground plan when the rooms were intended primarily as shops, e. g. the Stoa of Attalos at Athens, the North Stoa at Priene, the door was placed on axis. Occasionally, as in the case of the inner rooms of the South Stoa at Corinth and the front rooms of the lowest storey of the great market building at Aegae, the door was set to one side to leave room for a window. But in these cases the door was shifted to the right of centre rather than to the left as in our building, an arrangement consonant with the normal Greek practice of using the right-hand leaf of a two-leaved door. A more likely explanation for the asymmetrical disposition of the doors in our building is that the rooms were designed to receive dining couches.<sup>12</sup> A simple calculation will show that a room of this plan would accommodate seven dining couches of normal proportions with the utmost economy of space and with regard for the Greek practice of reclining at meals on the left side so as to keep the right hand free (Fig. 4). Such an arrangement is well attested for several public dining rooms in other Greek cities, of which those in the so-called Banqueting House at the Argive Heraion and in the Asklepieion at Corinth provide the most illuminating parallels.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 269-301.

<sup>12</sup> This observation was first made by John Travlos who has long been engaged in a special study of ancient Greek dining rooms both private and public. The restored drawing in Fig. 4 was prepared under his direction by Piet de Jong.

<sup>13</sup> A. Frickenhaus, "Griechische Bankethäuser," *Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 121-130; C.

Several pieces of evidence that would favor the restoration of couches were observed in the course of the excavation: rough stone packing beneath the floor of the easternmost room adjacent to the walls, a certain amount of ash and charcoal on the floors of the rooms such as might have spilled from the braziers commonly placed in the middle of such dining rooms, and several small stone bases with sockets in their tops which

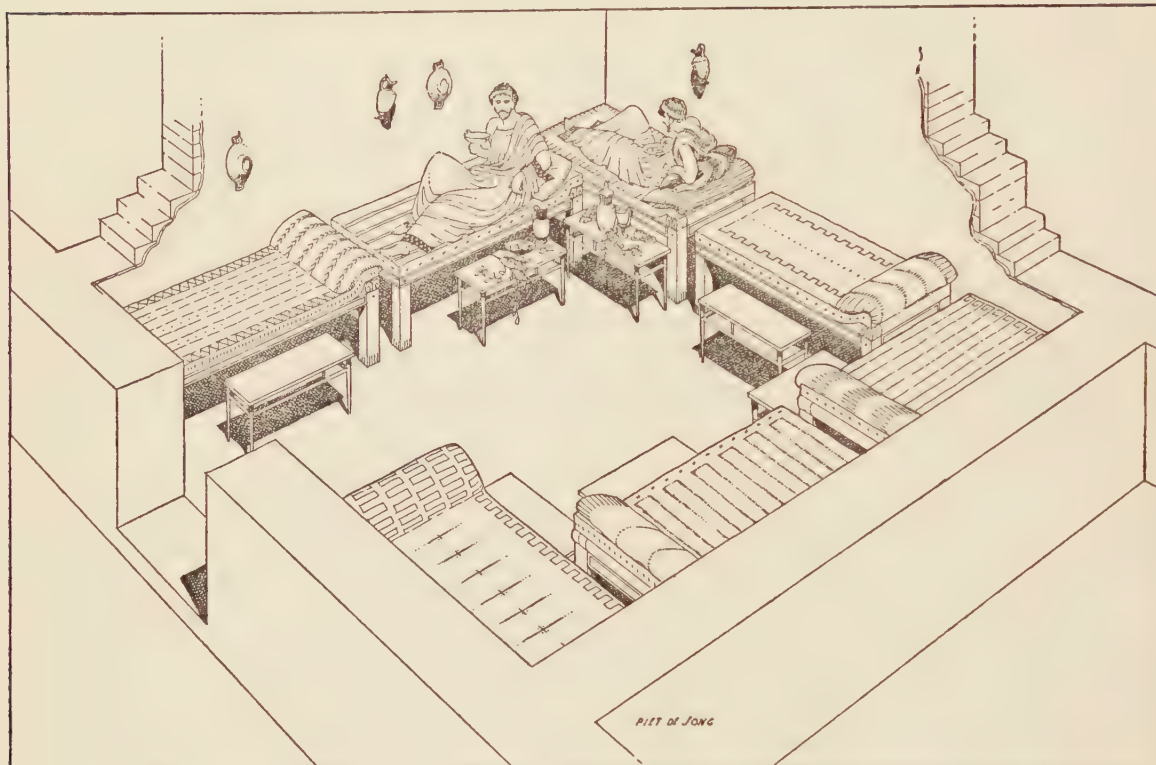


FIG. 4. Room of South Stoa I restored with Dining Couches.

may have supported dining tables in front of the couches. Beyond this, however, no trace of couches remains and it is quite possible that long before the final abandonment of the building the rooms were stripped of their original furnishings and used for other purposes.

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that we have to do with a building that was designed as a public dining place, one capable of accommodating upwards of one hundred guests at a time. Who these guests were we have at present no way of knowing since the identification of the building is as yet quite uncertain. There is no

Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 51-55. The stone couches in the Asklepieion are 0.80 m. wide, 1.82 to 1.89 m. in length. Cf. also the small dining rooms in the Asklepieion at Troizen: G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia*, Berlin, 1941, pp. 31-33.

reason to suspect here any cult connection such as accounts for the presence of the large dining rooms in the Asklepia of Epidauros, Troizen and probably also of Athens. The scale of accommodation, moreover, seems too ample for the needs of any single board of magistrates.<sup>14</sup>

Can it be that the construction of the building is to be connected with one or other of the constitutional convulsions which occurred in the closing years of the fifth century and that the dining rooms were intended originally for some panel of citizens or councillors? If this was so, it would be easier to understand why the rooms ceased to be used for dining purposes in the later history of the building and why corresponding rooms were not included in the new building, South Stoa II, which took the place of the old structure in the second century B.C.<sup>15</sup> But here we must leave the problem for the present in the hope that more specific evidence will eventually be forthcoming.

### *The Mint of Athens (?)*

While considering the identification of the early buildings along the south side of the square, we may revert briefly to one which was cleared in 1952 at the east end of the row of five.<sup>16</sup> This rectangular structure, measuring about 13.60 m. x 16.60 m. overall, is now seen to have been divided by interior cross-walls into six rooms of various sizes (Fig. 1). The foundations are of massive poros masonry; the date appears to be the second half of the fifth century B.C. As previously reported, there are clear traces of industrial activity within the building including the remains of two furnaces and of at least two water basins set down in the clay floor and carefully lined with hydraulic cement. A large tile drain led off from the northeast corner of

<sup>14</sup> One might think of the Thesmotheteion which was one of the three *syssitia* or public mess-halls recognized by Hesychios, the other two being the Tholos and the Prytaneion (s.v. *πρυτανεῖον*: *τρία Ἀθήνησι συσσίτια, θεσμοθέσιον, θόλος, πρυτανεῖον*). In the Thesmotheteion, as we learn from a scholiast on Plato, *Phaidros*, 235 D, the Thesmothetai held their meetings and took their meals: *οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται ξέξι εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ τόπος, ὅπου συνέθεσαν καὶ ἐσιτοῦντο θεμίστιον* (read *θεσμοθέσιον*) *ἐκαλείτο*.

The association is especially tempting in view of the fact that the board of six Thesmothetai, who were responsible for the recording of the laws and for the functioning of the lawcourts, had a particular connection with the Heliaia which is referred to in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 39, line 75 (446/5 B.C.) as "the Heliaia of the Thesmothetai." Apart, however, from the incongruity in the scale of accommodations, it would be difficult to explain why the Thesmotheteion should have been founded so late and why it should have come to so abrupt and so early an end.

<sup>15</sup> It is tempting to suspect some connection between the present building and the scheme for feeding the citizens which Aristophanes put into the mouth of Praxagora as she elaborated the design of the new communistic order in the *Ekklesiazousai* of 393 B.C. When asked where the public meals will be served she replies (line 676): *τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς στοῖας ἀνδρῶνας πάντα ποιήσω*. The Sacred Stoa of Priene, a building of essentially the same ground plan as ours, was used for official banquets as we know from an inscription engraved on its wall (*Inscriptionen von Priene*, No. 113, line 59: *κατακλείας τε π[άντ]ας τοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐπὶ τὰ δίπνα κληθέντας ἐ[ν τῇ] ἱερᾷ στοᾷ τῇ ἐ[ν] τῇ ἀγορᾷ*). For other instances of dining in stoas cf. Martin, *L'Agora grecque*, pp. 498 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1953, p. 29.



the building and water could easily have been drawn from the underground aqueduct which flowed beneath the street to the south of the row of early buildings.

In the summer of 1953 workmen engaged in clearing the ancient drain at the northeast corner of the building produced a clue to the nature of the industrial activity that had gone on within. Immediately beneath the latest ancient ground level outside the building appeared a mass of small pieces of bronze covered with corrosion. Their appearance after cleaning will be apparent from Pl. 14, b. Eight of the pieces prove to be discs which had been painstakingly severed from a rod about the size of one's finger by repeated strokes of a chisel. There are, besides, two fragments of such discs, perhaps broken in the process of cutting, and the tail end of a rod which had presumably become too short to hold.<sup>17</sup> Light facets on the edges of the discs and the remnant of the rod show that the rod had been forged by hammering.

Discs like those described above have long been recognized as the flans for the making of coins. Forty-three of them, of bronze, were found in the ruins of a building tentatively identified as the mint at Chersonesos Taurika in the Crimea; they were dated by the excavator in the Greek period.<sup>18</sup> Others, of silver, have come from Eretria.<sup>19</sup> Three, of bronze, had been found earlier in isolated contexts in the Agora.<sup>20</sup> The laborious method of severing the discs from the rod was presumably intended to

<sup>17</sup> The diameter of the discs varies from 12 to 14 millimeters, their thickness from 7 to 10 millimeters, the average being about 8. The eight complete discs range in weight from 5.5 to 7.7 grams, the average being 6.525. The stub end of the rod weighs 17.1 grams.

I am indebted to the Misses Margaret Crosby and Mabel Lang for weighing and measuring the bronzes.

<sup>18</sup> D. N. Kościuszko-Walużnicz, *Numismatic Miscellany of Moscow Numismatic Society*, III, 1914, pp. 2 ff. The pieces found here measured 14 to 17 mm. in diameter and 2 to 3 mm. in thickness. These dimensions are close enough to those of the bronze coins of Chersonesos dated to the fourth century to support the excavator's claim for a date within the Greek period. Some at least of the group had been smoothed by hammering preparatory to being struck with the dies. I am grateful to Miss Margaret Thompson of the American Numismatic Society for drawing this publication to my attention and to Mr. Richard Breaden, Librarian of the Society, for translating the Russian text.

On the technique of ancient coinage in general cf. G. F. Hill, "Ancient Methods of Coinage," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 5, vol. II, 1922, pp. 1-42.

<sup>19</sup> Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 11; C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London, 1933, p. 21, pl. I, 4. Professor William P. Wallace has kindly shown me a piece from this find now in his possession; it proves to be identical with the Agora flans in the preparation of the rod and the cutting of the discs.

<sup>20</sup> 1. Found in Section Theta, March 6, 1933, no. 27, probably in the construction filling of the Middle Stoa (mid second century B.C.). Weight 5.8 grams, diameter 11 mm., thickness 9 mm.

2. Found in Section Iota, June 30, 1933, no. 6, in a disturbed context with material as late as the seventh century after Christ. Weight 3.55 grams, diameter 10 mm., thickness 6 mm.

3. Found in Section Sigma Alpha, May 9, 1949, no. 6, in a disturbed context in the area of the Stoa of Attalos. Weight 9.5 grams, diameter 17 mm., thickness 6 mm.

The edges of No. 2 are much worn. No. 1 shows the same technical characteristics as the pieces found in 1953. No. 3, after being severed from the rod in the same manner as the others, had been flattened slightly by being struck with a smooth hammer like those from Chersonesos.

preclude the flan from being deformed in the process. The preliminary hammering noted on one of the pieces found earlier in the Agora and on some of those from Chersonesos would have assured a cleaner die impression. The analysis of one of the fragmentary discs found in the Agora in 1953 shows a relatively high admixture of lead and a touch of zinc, the relative proportions of the various metals being close to those previously established for Athenian bronze coins of late Hellenistic and early imperial date.<sup>21</sup>

The fact that so many of the discs were found in a very limited area together with a remnant of the parent rod makes it altogether probable that the material originated near by. There is, in fact, little room for doubt that it came from the six-roomed building beside which it was found. The small furnaces are exactly what we should have expected for the preparation of the metal in its various stages, and the ample provision for water was equally essential to the technical processes. No less appropriate is the very substantial construction of the building itself in which at times considerable quantities of bronze and probably also of the precious metals must have been stored, not to mention the dies.

Additional evidence for the localization of the mint at the southeast corner of the Agora is provided by a fragmentary marble inscription recording a decree of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. which was found in 1937 in the filling of the "Valerian Wall" above the south end of the Library of Pantainos, i. e. *ca.* 40 meters to the northeast of the six-roomed building.<sup>22</sup> Though much mutilated, the decree clearly had to do with matters concerning the mint; there is mention of Laurion, gold,

<sup>21</sup> The analysis reads as follows:

Copper .....	66.54%
Tin .....	7.09%
Lead .....	25.63%
Iron .....	0.13%
Nickel .....	0.07%
Cobalt .....	trace
Zinc .....	0.10%
Silver .....	0.08%
<hr/>	
Total .....	99.64%

The analysis was carried out by Mr. Wallace H. Deebel, a graduate student at the Ohio State University, under the supervision of Professor Earle R. Caley, to both of whom I am greatly indebted. Professor Caley points out that in the development of Athenian bronze coinage through Hellenistic and Imperial times the proportions of copper and of tin decline while that of lead rises in a fairly consistent trend; he also observes that the presence of zinc normally indicates a late rather than an early date.

On the whole subject cf. E. R. Caley, *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*, (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XI), Philadelphia, 1939.

<sup>22</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 119-122. I have profited from discussion of this document with Professor Meritt.

the exchange of currency, bankers, etc. The part of the inscription specifying the place where the decree was to be set up has suffered perhaps beyond hope of certain restoration, but it may be taken as altogether probable, in view of the subject matter, that the document was displayed in front of the mint, as was certainly the case with the more familiar and somewhat earlier decree prescribing uniformity of weights, measures and currency throughout the Athenian empire.<sup>23</sup> The topographical evidence to be drawn from the discovery of any single object found in the "Valerian Wall" (of the late third century after Christ) is not, to be sure, by any means conclusive, but the present discovery, when it accords so well with the other evidence, may be regarded as significant.

As things now stand, it appears highly probable that the six-roomed building served as a mint for the coining of bronze, and presumably also of gold and silver, from the fifth century B.C. to the time of its destruction by the Herulians in A.D. 267. Further exploration, we may hope, will add to our knowledge of the interior arrangements of the building, permit of more precise dating and furnish other positive clues to its identification.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE COMMERCIAL AGORA

##### *South Stoa II*

The season's work has made more impressive both on the ground and on paper the bold remodelling of the square carried out in the second century B.C. in the course of which the southern part of the old square was separated from the northern by the construction of the Middle Stoa and was then closed to east and south by lesser colonnades so as to constitute an independent plaza which appears to have served as a Commercial Agora or market place.

In the course of the season the last masses of accumulation of the late Roman period were stripped from the floor of the long, one-aisled colonnade, South Stoa II, which now took the place of South Stoa I, and the west end of the building was at length exposed (Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> Like its predecessor, South Stoa II was fitted in between

<sup>23</sup> Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, 1949, pp. 61-68 (D 14). A copy of the law was to be set up ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ[ς πό]λεως [ἐκάστης] and in Athens [ἐμπροσθεν] τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου. Cf. M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1946, No. 67. The records of the exchange of money, foreign for Athenian, were to be inscribed on tablets and these likewise were to be displayed ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου.

<sup>24</sup> On the situation of the Athenian mint, or mints, cf. C. Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, Cambridge, 1924, especially pp. 64-70. L. Robert, in his article "Les drachmes du Stéphanéphore à Athènes" (*Études de numismatique grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 105-135) has at last demolished the connection between the mint of Athens and a hero, Stephanephoros. The view, occasionally maintained, that the civic mint was at times located at Sounion or on the Acropolis, even in the Parthenon, seems highly improbable, but the further discussion of this point had best be deferred until the newly found building has been made to yield more of its secrets.

<sup>25</sup> The building had been discovered and in large part cleared in 1936: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f. Further clearance, at the east end, was carried out in 1952: *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 37 f. Both Mr. Vanderpool and Miss Crosby have worked in this area.



two earlier buildings, in this case the archaic "Heliaia" on the west, and the East Stoa, which was only very slightly earlier in date than South Stoa II itself, on the east. Its over-all length proves to be 93.60 metres, which permits the restoration of thirty columns spaced almost exactly three metres from centre to centre. Its single aisle has the generous width of 8.50 metres measured from the face of the back wall to the front edge of the stylobate. This figure corresponds closely to the width of each half of the Middle Stoa which suggests that a certain degree of symmetry was aimed at as between the north and south sides of the Commercial Agora.

The façade throughout its length rose from a stylobate and one additional step, both members being of gray poros. The stylobate is preserved over a length of two column spaces at the east end; elsewhere the stylobate and even much of the step are missing. Of the columns only a single sliver has thus far been identified; it comes from a fluted Doric shaft of gray poros. A couple of small fragments of triglyphs are of the same material.

The back wall of the stoa, sheltered by the higher ground to the south, is relatively better preserved than the façade. In its lower part it consisted of a massive retaining wall of reddish conglomerate faced with fine ashlar masonry of gray poros. Late in the history of the building, probably in the first half of the second century after Christ, a length of about  $20\frac{1}{2}$  metres of the conglomerate backing of the wall near its middle<sup>26</sup> was rebuilt in massive concrete which was brought to a smooth and level finish 5.04 m. above the level of the stoa's stylobate. It is not yet clear whether this concrete work represents a repair or some alteration, such as the addition of a second storey in the mid part of the building.

A niche in the face of the back wall of the stoa, somewhat to the east of centre, originally accommodated a small fountain consisting of a basin with a parapet in front into which water was fed through a pipe-line coming from the south. Subsequently the water was cut off, the parapet removed and the area treated as a simple niche.<sup>27</sup>

For the date of the stoa much new evidence has been gathered in the removal of the vast mass of earth filling thrown in by its builders behind its back wall to level the area. A preliminary study of the pottery and stamped amphora handles from this context would indicate a date but little lower than that of the Middle Stoa, and probably close to the middle of the second century B.C.

It was observed last year that South Stoa II was the latest to be erected of the three colonnades that bordered the Commercial Agora. The reason for this sequence would now appear to have been the desire to retain the old building, South Stoa I, until such time as equivalent new accommodation was available in the Middle Stoa and

<sup>26</sup> The middle of the rebuilt section falls 2.80 m. east of the mid point of the stoa.

<sup>27</sup> A similar fountain existed in the back wall of the Stoa of Eumenes.

East Stoa. The decision to replace the old building was probably not based merely on a Hellenistic penchant for tidy, rectangular planning. We have already commented on the flimsy nature of the construction of the old stoa; one can readily believe that, after a life of two and a half centuries, the foundations had settled unevenly, that the building had begun to look down at the heels and that maintenance charges were high. It is interesting to note that the colonnade of the new building had almost the same floor space as that of the old. The rooms, however, were dispensed with in the new design; were they perhaps compensated for by the rooms in the Stoa of Attalos?

### *Middle Stoa*

The laying-out of the Commercial Agora in the second century B.C. entailed a very ingenious manipulation of levels. In its original natural state this whole region had sloped gently down from south to north and from east to west. It was obviously desirable, however, to have the court of the Commercial Agora level. This involved setting South Stoa II, as we have seen, some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres lower than its predecessor. It also meant raising, by as much as 3 metres, the area between the old "Heliaia" and the new Middle Stoa; this was effected by throwing in a great mass of earth filling. Another of the major considerations in the operation was the desirability of having a level approach from the Panathenaic Way to the east end of the Middle Stoa terrace. The terrace, maintaining its level throughout its length while the ground sloped down, then proved to be some 5 metres above the market square at its west end. This outcome suited the designer well, for it meant that, in the days before the erection of the Odeion, citizens strolling on the terrace commanded a splendid view of the great northern square, comparable with that to be had from the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos. On festival days thousands of spectators standing on the floors and terraces of these two stoas must have enjoyed to the full the processions that swept up between them on the Panathenaic Way.

In order to examine the structure of the Middle Stoa in its western parts and to recover the configuration of the area in pre-Stoa days, the earth filling thrown in by the stoa builders has been removed from within the limits of the Stoa in its western half and from the area between the Stoa and the "Heliaia." The exploration within the Middle Stoa, as also around its northwest corner, was supervised by Mrs. Thompson with the assistance of Miss Eva Brann and Miss Clairève Grandjouan. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool was responsible for the area between the two buildings. From the stratification in these areas could be read off the exact sequence of operations in the construction of the Stoa foundations.

Still more interesting was the emergence of the firmly gravelled earlier floor of the Agora throughout the area. Its configuration as found by the Stoa builders had already been established as early as the fourth century B.C., at which time the contours had been adjusted, partly by shaving off and partly by filling, so as to create to the

north of the "Heliaia" a smooth floor that sloped gently away from the building and that terminated eastward in a slightly defined rim which passed between the eighth and ninth central piers of the later Middle Stoa, counting from the west. The remains of a small altar, its walls made of marble slabs set on edge, came to light beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa to the south of the easternmost room of the Civic Offices (below the "E" of "OFFICES" on the plan, Fig. 2); it may be thought to have stood at the focal point of this theatral area. Marks of very heavy traffic suggest that the place was much used. It is tempting, indeed, to suppose that this was the scene of many public gatherings. Here, too, when notable trials were in progress the citizens undoubtedly milled about awaiting the decision and eager to hear something of the speeches.<sup>28</sup> Nor is it unlikely that ostracism took place here; a large proportion of all the ostraka found thus far have come to light along the west edge of the area.

In and beneath the earlier floor of the square in this region the excavation revealed an amazing sequence of water channels, of stone, of terracotta and of lead, that had carried water northward from the Southwest Fountain House into the square. Almost equally numerous were the drains, both stone-built and of terracotta in various schemes. The significance of these many systems could be demonstrated, however, only by means of detailed plans.

Exploration in the deeper levels around the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa brought to light a complex of small rooms and yards which, to judge from their relationship to the boundary stone of the Agora (HOPOS AGORAS of Fig. 1), had stood just outside the official limits of the square (Pl. 13, b). Their slight construction and the informality of their plans would suggest that they were private rather than public buildings, in all likelihood houses or shops, or, as was commonly the case, a combination of the two. Their history can be traced from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. down to the end of the fourth century B.C.

We learn much about the inhabitants of these houses from the contents of two wells which had served the houses in succession. One of the wells, which had been cleared already in 1933, proved to have been in use in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; from it was recovered the terracotta klepsydra that has been mentioned above. The other well, which was cleared in the summer of 1953, contained at its bottom a number of complete water jars, black-glazed pitchers and black-figured vases of various shapes datable to the first quarter of the fifth century. Two characteristic specimens are illustrated (Pl. 15, i, j): a late black-figured neck-amphora decorated with a quadriga on one side, three warriors in combat on the other,<sup>29</sup> and a black-

<sup>28</sup> On the crowds that gathered outside the courts cf. S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria and the Courts," *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Inv. P 23200. This piece may be regarded as a product of H. R. W. Smith's "one busy firm" which produced so many late, black-figured neck-amphorae (*C.V.A., University of California*, fasc. 1, pl. XX, 1-4).



figured kylix with banqueting scenes on the exterior, a running Silen in the medallion.<sup>30</sup> The latest material from the accumulation of the well's period of use is comparable with that from a number of other deposits in the Agora which have been associated with the Persian destruction of 480 B.C.<sup>31</sup> It would appear, therefore, that the well went out of use at that time and was filled up soon afterwards. The filling contained a large proportion of field stones, perhaps remnants from a collapsed curbing. For some two generations thereafter the residents must have drawn their water from elsewhere until eventually they opened a new well, that cleared in 1933.

Among the few pieces of pottery found in the rocky upper filling of the early well are several fragments of red-figure of which eight are illustrated on Pl. 15, a-h.<sup>32</sup> All eight may be dated within the last two decades of the sixth century B.C., which may, therefore, be taken as the time of the construction of the curbing, and, except for Pl. 15, g and h, assigned to the Pithos painter, all appear to have been painted by artists whose work now reaches us for the first time. Several of these pieces are of interest both for the competence of the drawing and for the subjects represented. Plate 15, a shows a dancer reclining at a banquet, the pose familiar from several larger and well-known works of about the same time; she still holds the krotalon with which she had marked the rhythm of her dance. Plate 15, b depicts a hoplitodromos with knees bent and feet close together poised at the moment of the start of the race. The study of a woman at her bath (Pl. 15, e) is remarkable for its freshness and strength, and the large scale female head (Pl. 15, f) is a welcome example of this rare and effective method of decorating a tondo. Further details of these cups are given below:

Pl. 15, a (Inv. P 23133). From a cup of type A. Part of floor and start of stem preserved; ring at junction of stem and bowl set off by two scraped grooves. Max. dim. 0.055 m.

A nude woman reclining left; her left elbow probably rested against cushions; she holds a krotalon in her left hand. Her right arm is outstretched, perhaps with the elbow resting on her raised right knee. She wears a triple fillet tied at the back in long loops, and disc-earrings.

Relief contour; red for fillet. The outline of

the hair above is rendered by incision. Light red clay; good glaze. The underside of the floor, within the stem of the foot, reserved and decorated with a glazed circle.

Other more or less contemporary representations of women reclining at symposia are (1) on the shoulder of the hydria by Phintias in Munich, with an inscription toasting Euthymides (Munich no. 2421: *ARV* 22, 5; Pfuhl, fig. 385); compare the pose of the right hand figure there with that of the new piece; (2)

<sup>30</sup> Inv. P 23199. On such late black-figured cups cf. F. Villard, "L'Evolution des coupes attiques à figures noires," *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XLVII, 1945, pp. 153-181, pl. III, 15 and 16: (*dates de grande diffusion*: 500-480 a.J.C.).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. especially the upper filling of the "Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft," which has been dated, largely on the basis of the associated ostraka, in the first two decades of the fifth century (E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 265-336).

<sup>32</sup> The following account of the red-figure was prepared by Barbara Philippaki and Lucy Talcott.

on the cup by Oltos in Madrid (no. 11267; *ARV* 38, 46; Pfuhl, fig. 319); and (3) on the psykter by Euphronios in Leningrad (no. 644; *ARV* 17, 12; Pfuhl, fig. 394), where the toast is to Leagros.

520-510 B.C.

Pl. 15, b (Inv. P 23172). Part of floor and of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

Within a narrow reserved border a hoplitodromos, to right. He stands with knees bent and feet held tight together; he wears greaves and carries his shield. This attitude of the hoplitodromos at the start is classified by Sir John Beazley as type *a* (*B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 10 ff.).

Part of an inscription in red is preserved:  $\text{H}\text{I}\text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{M}\text{E}[\Delta\text{O}\text{N}]$ . The restoration is Beazley's (*Paralipomena*, p. 1955); he suggests that we may have here a new kalos-name, though neither the restoration nor that the name was followed by *kalos* is certain. He notes that Hippomedon is the name of a youth on the calyx-krater with athletes by Euphronios in Berlin (2180: *ARV*, 16, 4; Pfuhl, fig. 396).

Relief contour; pinkish buff clay fired grey in places; good glaze.

ca. 510-500 B.C.

Pl. 15, c (Inv. P 23151). Part of floor and of stump of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.052 m.

A bearded man reclining right plays a seven-stringed lyre: his left hand plucks the strings, his right holds the plectrum which is attached to the lyre by a long cord. His lower body is wrapped in an himation.

Relief contour; anatomical markings indicated both in relief line and in dilute glaze. Red for the bridge of the lyre and for the cord. Pinkish buff clay and good glaze.

510-500 B.C.

Pl. 15, d (Inv. P 23166). Mended from two pieces. Part of floor and start of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.082 m.

Male figure seated on a couch left, leaning forward to offer or to grasp something of which a trace only is preserved in his extended right hand; in his left he holds a cup with offset lip.

An himation around his lower body; on the wall a provision basket covered with a cloth.

Relief contour. Red for the tassels of the basket. Pink clay fired grey in places; good glaze, but the surface of the picture much scratched.

The dry drawing of the drapery somewhat recalls the cups by the painter of Agora P 1275 (*ARV*, 67, V; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XXX, especially nos. 34 and 35), though these are slighter pieces.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, e (Inv. P 23165). From a cup of type C. Most of floor and stem preserved; ring at junction of stem and foot set off by two scraped grooves. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

A naked woman kneeling on her right knee bends forward to wash in a large lekane. The profile of the basin, with concave upper wall, is unusual. To the right, the tip of an uncertain object, possibly a wine-skin.

Relief contour. Pink clay; good glaze.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, f (Inv. P 23146). From a cup of type C. Mended from two pieces. The tondo, part of the stem and of the ring at junction of stem and foot preserved, the ring set off by two scraped grooves. P. H. 0.047 m.; diam. as preserved, 0.095 m.

Within a reserved border the head of a woman to right; she wears a patterned sakkos with folds over the forehead. The ear was not drawn in. Two lines at the base of the neck could be a necklace.

Relief contour. Pinkish buff clay; the glaze rather dull on the inside, good on the outside.

Large heads to fill tondi of cups are very rare in Attic vase-painting (cf. Watzinger, *F. R.*, III, p. 370). A well-known example is on a cup by the Elpinikos painter in Bonn (Inv. 63: *ARV*, 86, 2; *CV*, pl. 3, 5 and pl. 4, 5). A second fragmentary cup of this same class (Inv. P 23330) came also from our well, but of the tondo only the woman's neck is preserved; she wears a necklace with small pendants.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, g (Inv. P 23125). From a cup of type C. Mended from several pieces; most of the floor preserved; the stem and foot, one handle, and much of the rim missing. P. H. 0.055 m.; diam. at rim est. 0.165 m. Only the tondo is illustrated.

Within a reserved border a warrior to left, kneeling on his right knee and defending himself with his shield. Attic helmet; shield device, two concentric circles. Nonsense inscriptions in red in the field.

Relief contour except for feet; anatomical markings both in relief line and in dilute glaze. The inside of the handle and the handle-space reserved. Pinkish buff clay; good glaze.

Attributed by Sir John Beazley to the Pithos painter (*ARV*, 116-117); added as no. 8 bis in the list of the painter's works (*Paralipomena*, p. 1951).

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, h (Inv. P 23178). From a cup of type C. Part of floor, stem and foot preserved, the foot chipped. P. H. 0.04 m.; diam. of foot 0.074 m. Short thick stem and heavy disc foot;

two scraped grooves define a flat ring at the junction of foot and stem. For the profile compare Bloesch, *F.A.S.*, pl. 32, 3 a-b (Berlin F 2044: "Kleine Schalen C, konservative Richtung").

A naked male, squatting to right, both arms outstretched, very likely a satyr at a wineskin.

Relief contour. Pinkish buff clay, the glaze fired greyish or brownish in places. The outer face of the foot, the resting surface and the space inside the foot at the top reserved.

Attributed to the Pithos painter by Sir John Beazley (oral communication of summer, 1953); he notes that the foot is unusually heavy for this painter.

A number of other pieces by the Pithos painter have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, several of them in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft; for the pose of the figure on the new piece compare especially the satyr at a wineskin, Inv. P 1382 bis (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XXXI, 39). The subject is a favorite with this painter.

ca. 500 B.C.

In a yard associated with one of the houses of the complex opened an unlined pit about 1½ metres in diameter and about the same in depth. Whatever its purpose (sump hole, rubbish dump?), it had been maintained from the late sixth into the early fifth century B.C. Among the field stones with which it was filled were found some 22 ostraka including the names Aristeides, son of Lysimachos (3), Hippokrates the Alkmaeonid (3), Themistokles of the Phrearrhian deme (2) and Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos (9), a combination of names which has frequently occurred in other deposits of ostraka and which points to the ostrakophoria of 482 B.C. when Aristeides was the victim.

At levels of the late fifth and early fourth century B.C. in the same yard as the pit with the ostraka were found a great many short, broad-headed, iron tacks which can scarcely be anything but hobnails. With the tacks were associated a number of small bone rings, conceivably used for securing the cords of sandals. The hobnails alone were sufficiently numerous to justify the view that the establishment had been occupied for a time by a shoemaker. It is perhaps the name of this shoemaker that occurs, in the genitive case,  $\Sigma\text{IMONO}\Sigma$ , incised in letter forms of the late fifth century, on the underside of the base of a black-glazed cup (Inv. P 22998) which was found at an appropriate level in the area. Diogenes Laertius, in his *Lives of the Philosophers*,



II, 122, tells of one Simon, a shoemaker, who was known to Perikles and had often been host to Sokrates. Simon made notes of his conversations with Sokrates and later worked them up for publication as dialogues; Diogenes records 33 titles: Of Virtue, that it cannot be taught, On Guiding the People, On Good Eating, On the Art of Conversation, etc. Apart from the reference in Diogenes Laertius, Simon is a very shadowy figure, but, if any reliance at all is to be put in Diogenes, one can scarcely resist the association with our establishment: a cobbler's shop of the appropriate period on the very edge of the market square in which Sokrates spent much of his time.

#### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS

In previous reports reference has been made repeatedly to the project for reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos to serve as an Agora museum.<sup>33</sup> After lengthy discussion the proposal had been adopted by the governing bodies of the School, tentatively approved by the Greek authorities and warmly welcomed by the people of Athens. A great deal of archaeological exploration had been carried out in the deeper levels beneath and around the building and vast quantities of earth had been removed. A small amount of Piraeus limestone had been assembled on the site.

There remained the task of raising the necessary money, a sum in the neighborhood of one million dollars, which, judged by academic standards, seemed indeed a formidable problem. By the spring of 1953, however, a number of the friends of the School had emulated the Philhellenism of the original donor of the building to the point where a start on actual construction was felt to be justified.<sup>34</sup> A substantial sum of money must still be raised, but it is hoped that as the work progresses the undertaking will so commend itself as to elicit the additional support.

In the month of June 1953, Mr. Ward M. Canaday, President of the Board of Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies, being in Athens, conferences were held with the Ministers of Education, of Finance and of Coordination in the Greek Government, all of whom expressed their approval of the project and pledged their support in its implementation. Involving as it does the reconstruction of an ancient monument, the project will be carried out under the general oversight of the Department of Restorations in the Ministry of Education, but at the cost of the School. With the resources now in hand and in prospect, the restoration of only the northern two thirds of the building is at present envisaged, with the expectation that the remainder will be completed as the means become available. On this understanding the Archaeological Council has granted its approval in principle.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. especially *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 226-229; XIX, 1950, pp. 316-326; XX, 1951, pp. 49-53; XXI, 1952, pp. 85 f. and *Archaeology*, II, 1949, pp. 124-130.

<sup>34</sup> This situation has been achieved through the generous support of Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr., Mr. Arthur V. Davis and Mr. Ward M. Canaday, to whose munificence the building itself will be a monument.

The architectural firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum of New York City has been charged with carrying out the reconstruction; Mr. Manuel A. Tavarez has been sent to Athens as supervising engineer and the construction firm's representative on the spot. Mr. W. Stuart Thompson, a former Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies, has had abundant experience of construction in Greece; of particular value for his work on the Stoa will be his experience in erecting the Gennadius Library (1923-26), a marble building in the classical style. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School's Excavations, has assumed responsibility for recovering and following faithfully the original design of the building. Mr. George Biris, who had made a detailed technical study of the structure in 1950, has been named consulting engineer. The supervision of the marble and stone work has been entrusted to Mr. Constantine Mastoras who had long ago participated in the work of reconstruction on the Acropolis and Hephaisteion and had been in charge of the marble work on the Gennadius Library.

The authorization for the beginning of work having been granted by the Greek Government, negotiations were at once opened for securing the necessary limestone and marble. A limestone quarry on the peninsula of Akte close by the east side of the entrance to Piraeus Harbor was made available by the Municipality of Piraeus to be worked in the name of the Ministry of Education at the cost of the American School. A force of quarrymen was speedily organized by Mr. E. Stikas of the Department of Restorations and masses of gray limestone, closely comparable with that in the original building, were soon being blasted out and roughly shaped in the quarry. Since there are traces of ancient quarrying on the spot, it is not by any means impossible that Attalos drew his stone from this same area. The blocks are carried by motor truck from the quarry to the Agora where they are brought to their final form by a team of skilled marble workers seated in the shelter of a great stoa-like workshed. In order to speed up the supply of stone, and to secure a harder stone for those places where it will be subject to greatest strain in the building, a contract was entered into with a commercial firm operating at Drapetsona on the western outskirts of the city of Piraeus overlooking the Straits of Salamis. From here, too, a steady stream of gray blocks is now making its way to the Agora.

For the supply of marble an experimental short-term agreement was entered into with the Dionyso-Pentelikon Marble Company whose quarries lie on the side of Mt. Pentelikon remote from Athens. Up to the end of the calendar year 1953 some 37 cubic metres of marble had been delivered at the site of the Stoa.

Another of the most urgent preliminary operations was the drainage of the stoa area. The region had become waterlogged, chiefly through wastage from the modern network of pipes in the area to the east. Deep drains parallel to the Stoa have been carried along both the east and the west side of the building, so designed as to catch

the ground water before it reaches the foundations and to pour it into the drain beneath the railway tracks which skirt the north end of the Stoa.<sup>85</sup>

The ancient foundations have been exposed throughout to permit of a thorough examination. Faulty blocks have been removed and gaps in the masonry caused by late intruders have been made good with concrete.

A number of early burials and evidence for the identification of a pre-Stoa law-court which came to light in the course of these operations will be described in subsequent sections.

By the end of the calendar year 1953 work was well advanced on pouring the concrete footings for the additional interior piers required to support the ceilings of the basement storerooms. A start has also been made in laying the newly cut limestone blocks in the walls. The troublesome problems relating to the substructure once out of the way, work will be pushed rapidly on the superstructure in the hope that the reconstruction may be completed by the end of 1956.

### *Early Tombs beneath the Stoa of Attalos*

Drainage operations and the examination of the ancient foundations have brought to light a number of early burials beneath the north half of the Stoa and in the areas immediately behind and in front of the Stoa. These clearly represent the eastward continuation of the extensive cemetery of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age which is now known to have underlain most of the market square of classical times.

Some ten tombs of the Late Helladic period were opened up to the end of 1953. They range from pit graves with but a single skeleton to chamber tombs with three or four skeletons and as many as twenty vases. Apart from a few stone beads and pendants and an ivory comb, the offerings consisted of vases which run in date from LH II or III A into LH III C, i. e. from the late fifteenth into the twelfth century B.C., the majority being LH III A or B. The two vases of Plate 16, b come from a pit grave with a single skeleton to the west of Stoa Pier 12, counting from the south. They are a useful pair: a wine jug and a drinking cup. The beaked pitcher with spirals on its shoulder is a good example of one of the most widespread and most pleasing shapes of the early Mycenaean period.<sup>86</sup> More unusual is the shallow cup

<sup>85</sup> We are much indebted to the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway Company for granting this facility.

<sup>86</sup> Inv. P 23587. Height 0.29 m., diameter 0.253 m. Trough spout. Strap handle ridged down the middle and with a bulge at the lower attachment. Slightly defined ridge around base of neck. Greenish buff clay. Black glaze, somewhat flaked.

Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm, 1941, Type 144 (III A: 1), Motive 49. Furumark (pp. 361 f.) points out that the stemmed spirals owe something to the disintegration of a lily design. Parallels for the shape might be quoted from elsewhere in Attica (cf. Stubbings, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 49), the Argolis, Thebes and Rhodes.



with its two high swung handles and band of tangential spirals on the wall.<sup>37</sup> Both vessels may be dated late in LH II or early in LH III A, i. e. in the late fifteenth century B.C.<sup>38</sup>

A group of three burials of the Protogeometric period, probably a small family plot, was encountered deep beneath the colonnade of the Stoa to the northwest of Stoa Pier 19 from the south. One of the three had been laid over a Mycenaean chamber tomb of LH III A-B date, the roof of which had previously collapsed. Two of the graves were lined and floored with thin stone slabs; the third was a simple trench. Their mouths would appear to have been closed only with a layer of small field stones. The best preserved of the three is illustrated in Plate 16, a and the vases from it in Plate 16, c. The skeleton, flat on its back with head to south, was that of a child, presumably a girl. Over each shoulder was a long pin, head up, clearly for fastening the peplos; one pin was of bronze, the other had an iron shaft with a bronze ball near its top. Each wrist wore a bronze bracelet; on a finger of the left hand was a bronze ring. Three small lekythoi had been placed, one beside the head, one over the heart and one by the left knee. A larger lekythos was found in the upper filling of the grave and an oinochoe at its edge.<sup>39</sup> These are modest but carefully made pieces of early Protogeometric style to be dated, no doubt, somewhere in the tenth century.<sup>40</sup>

#### A LAW COURT AT THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE AGORA

On the day after Thanksgiving, 1953, workmen engaged in preparing the foundations for the basement storeroom to be inserted beneath the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, at a point about 15 metres from the north end of the terrace, exposed the corner of an earlier room (Pl. 14, d). The walls had been of sun-dried brick on a socle of rubble stone covered with clay plaster; the floor was of clay. From the mass of brick fallen from the upper walls emerged a pair of water channels, rectangular in section, ca. 0.60 m. long, standing upright at a little distance from one another, with

<sup>37</sup> Inv. P 23588. Height of bowl 0.06 m., height with handles 0.127 m., diameter 0.142 m. The rim is sharply offset. Yellow clay. Glossy brown glaze.

The shape is hard to match. It is covered by Furumark's Type 241 (III A:2) and this version of the running spiral is his Motive 46, no. 50. One of the few even fairly close parallels is C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 429, no. 779, fig. 354. The shape is perhaps to be thought of as a kylix without a stem rather than as a shallow cup with an extra handle.

<sup>38</sup> I am grateful to Professor Alan Wace for comments on the Mycenaean pottery. For his present views on the chronology of the Late Helladic period cf. A. J. B. Wace in E. L. Bennett, "The Mycenae Tablets," *Proc. of the Amer. Phil. Soc.*, XCVII, 1953, p. 424, note 8; Wace, *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, note 22.

<sup>39</sup> The large lekythos (P 23559) is 0.144 m. high, the oinochoe (P 23560) as restored 0.18 m., the small lekythoi (P 23556, 23557 and 23558) range from 0.106 to 0.115 m. Buff clay; glaze black to brown, flaked but lustrous.

<sup>40</sup> These graves and their contents will be dealt with in detail by Mrs. E. L. Smithson in her comprehensive study of the Protogeometric material from the Agora.

their concave sides turned inward. Their lower ends were firmly imbedded to a depth of several centimetres in the clay of the floor. On the floor, within the hollow of one of the tiles, lay five bronze dikastic ballots of the familiar wheel shape, all with solid hubs, hence all for acquittal; a sixth ballot, likewise solid, lay near by on the floor (Pl. 17).<sup>41</sup> Such a concentration of ballots, hitherto unparalleled, could scarcely occur outside of a lawcourt. The evidence of the new discovery is strengthened by the finding, in earlier seasons, of three other ballots and one dikast's name plate at various points within the same general area.<sup>42</sup>

Less certain, and fortunately of less significance, is the determination of the function of the re-used water channels. In view of the awkward shape and the absence of any proper floor, it is hard to believe that they were designed as a container for ballots. A more likely interpretation is that they formed the support for a table top of wood or marble on which would have rested a container, conceivably the bronze urn for the reception of the ballots that counted or the wooden vessel for the discards.<sup>43</sup> Why the five ballots happened to have come to rest within the hollow of the water channel we can scarcely hope to learn. These few had perhaps spilled from one of the containers to the floor and had subsequently been put here, out of sight, by an attendant.

The room in which the deposit of ballots was found lay just to the south of the curious round poros base ringed with sockets which was cleared in 1950.<sup>44</sup> And there can be little doubt that it formed part of the same complex as the large gravelled courtyard bordered by a shed on the north side and a stone water channel on the south

<sup>41</sup> B 1055: inscribed *ψηφος δημοσία* on one face, stamped ⊙ on other face

B 1056: plain on one face, cast with a large E on other face

B 1057: inscribed *ψηφος δημοσία* on one face, stamped E on other face

B 1058: as B 1057

B 1059: inscribed *ψη[φος δημοσί]α* on one face, stamped (twice) Γ (?) on other face

B 1061: plain on one face, cast with a large Γ on other face

The individual letters stamped on the ballots have long been recognized as designations of the dikastic sections, numbered, according to Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., LXIII, 4, from one to ten. It may be supposed that difficulty in reading the small letters led to the use of a bolder format illustrated by two of the newly found ballots.

<sup>42</sup> B 947: ballot with pierced hub, from a context of the fourth century B.C. above the unfinished west foundation of the Square Peristyle beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos.

B 922: ballot with pierced hub found under the Stoa, area of Pier 19 from the south. Inscribed *ψηφος δημοσία* on one face, stamped on the other face with the letter O (for ⊙?).

B 1000: ballot with solid hub. Inscribed *ψηφος δημοσία* on one side, stamped ⊙ on other side.

B 1003: fragmentary dikast's name plate found in Stoa filling in Shop IX from the south.

I am indebted to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool and Miss Mabel Lang for useful notes on all this material. Miss Lang also observes that various fragmentary terracotta vessels found in the same general area and marked with indications of volume may have been used in connection with *klepsydrai*.

<sup>43</sup> Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., LXVIII, 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 49, pl. 24 b.

which had been cleared in previous seasons beneath the Stoa of Attalos a little to the south.<sup>45</sup> Both the courtyard and the adjacent rooms appear to date from the close of the fifth century B.C.; they were razed to make way for the great Square Peristyle in the latter part of the fourth century.<sup>46</sup> There are indications that adjustments were made in parts of the old structure to permit its continued use even during the early stages of the construction of its successor, and the surprisingly flimsy nature of the installation in which the ballots were found perhaps marks it as another makeshift expedient dating from the final days of the old building. Work on the Square Peristyle was broken off, perhaps by the military situation in the late fourth century; subsequently only the north part of the building was carried above the foundation level and that in a very economical style.

In previous reports both the early building and the Square Peristyle which succeeded it were tentatively identified as market buildings. In the light of the new evidence, however, it may be taken as virtually certain that the older building was a lawcourt, and as highly probable that its successor, the Square Peristyle, was designed for the same function. The plan of this later building, as far at least as its foundations were laid, comprised merely a great square court surrounded on all four sides by a deep colonnade; there are indications that it was to have been entered from the side of the square through a broad propylon and there is clear evidence of a lesser doorway in the opposite wall. Are we perhaps justified in regarding this building as a combination of the elements contained separately in the "Heliaia" and in South Stoa I, i. e. a spacious court, in which perhaps the jurors would have sat, and an equally roomy colonnade in which they might take shelter from the weather? It is to be observed that the "Heliaia" in its latest form did actually combine these same elements in itself.

A word, finally, about the name of the lawcourt. The one court that is known from a dependable literary reference to have stood in or on the Agora is the Parabyston. The earliest reference to it is in Antiphon's fifth oration.<sup>47</sup> Since the early date and prominent position of the great rectangular enclosure on the south side of the square recommend its identification as the Heliaia, the building at the northeast corner of the square becomes a strong candidate for the name of Parabyston. Some supporting evidence of a most tantalizing nature is provided by very fragmentary inscriptions painted on equally fragmentary roof tiles which were found at a couple of points among the debris of the building. Two of the inscriptions might be restored to read Πα]ρα[βύστο and τὸ Πα]ραβύστο.<sup>48</sup> The Parabyston, after the

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 324 f.; XXI, 1952, p. 100.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1952, p. 101.

<sup>47</sup> Antiphon V, 10. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 365-7.

<sup>48</sup> Inv. A 1668 and 2011. The tiles were of a simple convex and concave (Laconian) type. The inscriptions, written freehand in paint of which only the stain remains, are to be compared with those on a set of similar tiles which were found near the Tholos and are inscribed ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, *The Tholos*, pp. 78 f.).



Heliaia, was the oldest Athenian lawcourt of which we have knowledge. In it the Eleven presided, and here were tried, among others, thieves and robbers caught in the act.<sup>49</sup> Pausanias includes the Parabyston in his list of lawcourts in such a way as to leave little doubt that the court was still functioning in his day, though only for trivial cases.<sup>50</sup>

A thread of structural continuity can, in fact, be traced in the existing remains from the fifth century B.C. down into the second century after Christ. The building in which the deposit of ballots was found dates from the late fifth century and made way for the Square Peristyle in the late fourth century. Although only the north part of the Square Peristyle was completed to the point of usability, this may have served the court until the construction of the Stoa of Attalos. The original plan of the Stoa, comprising only the length of the eighteen southern shops, would have spared this fragment, but the addition to the Stoa of the three northern shops greatly curtailed its area. A remnant of the early building, however, still remained behind the Stoa and continued in use until overlaid by an enormous structure with concrete foundations, which was erected probably in the second century after Christ, but quite possibly after Pausanias' visit in the middle of the century.

#### A WARRIOR'S HEAD IN TERRACOTTA

The head illustrated in Plate 14, a was found, in over sixty fragments, among the ruins of the water basin (see above, p. 37) which was set against the north façade of the "Heliaia" in the middle of the fourth century B.C. and which was demolished at the time when the Middle Stoa was erected some two centuries later. The scale of the head is slightly over half life-size.<sup>51</sup> Traces of a beard and drooping moustaches are just visible. The helmet is of the so-called "Thracian" type much in vogue in the second quarter and middle of the fifth century. We may restore a low crest springing from a point well back of the forehead. The cap of the helmet came far down over the brows and was strengthened by a frontlet which swept back on either side to terminate above the ear in a prominent volute. Two small round holes in either

<sup>49</sup> Harpokration, *s. v.* παράβυστον· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτό τι τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις δικαστηρίων ἐν ᾧ ἐδίκαζον οἱ ἰά.

<sup>50</sup> I, 28, 8: ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον δόξης ἤκοντα (as the Areopagus). τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον παράβυστον καὶ <τὸ> τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς πόλεως ὃν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα (read τὸ ὄνομα?).

<sup>51</sup> Inv. T 3253. Total height as preserved 0.213 m.; height from middle of mouth to top of nose 0.05 m.; width 0.132 m. Both head and neck are hollow. The wall consists of a layer, *ca.* 1 centimetre thick, of greenish yellow clay containing fine brown grit tempering; it was surfaced with a coat of extremely fine yellow clay 1 to 5 millimetres in thickness. Traces of purple paint remain at many points on the helmet. Brown paint, now dull, was used for the eyebrows, the edges of the lids and the interior markings of the eyes.

I am indebted for many useful observations on the head to my wife who will publish it in more detail together with fragments of a number of other terracotta statues from the Agora excavations.

cheek will undoubtedly have served to fasten raised cheek guards. On either side of the cap a red-figured Pegasos springs into flight; in red-figure technique also is the maeander on the sides of the crest.

In sculptural style the head is to be placed perhaps a trifle before the Parthenon metopes, and close to the great bronze from Artemision. A date in the neighborhood of 460 B.C. would also be consistent with the close similarity between these Pegasoi and the horses of the red-figured masters of that time, e. g. the Penthesilea Painter.

In view of the present condition of our piece it would be difficult, and perhaps even rash, to try to determine the attitude of the figure. The wide open eyes and the slightly parted lips might be taken, however, to suggest the strain of action, hence perhaps a figure in combat and conceivably a group of two. The use of terracotta, and the evident traces of ancient weathering suggest that the statue adorned the roof of a building, most probably as an akroterion. It would seem possible, though there can scarcely be certainty, that the work is to be associated with some one of the many periods in the history of the great building near which it was found. However that may be, the piece forms a notable addition to the very limited number of terracotta statues known from Athens. It is admirable in its own right for the heroic dignity and the monumental quality which utterly belie the modesty of its scale and substance.

#### THE ILIAD BASE

The yield of marble inscriptions was meagre this season as was to be expected in view of the fact that most of the excavation was carried out in the area of the Commercial Agora which has been much less productive of inscriptions than the great northern square.

One piece, however, proved to be of outstanding interest on various accounts. This marble (I 6628) came from a well of the Byzantine period which was encountered within the area of the Middle Stoa toward its east end, near the third interior pier counting from the east. The treacherous nature of the formation had necessitated the curbing of the well. The curb took the form of a great square shaft constructed of ancient stones and marbles. Among them were fragments of sculpture, inscriptions, and architectural members, including a number of bases and capitals apparently from the Gymnasium which had been erected above the ruins of the ancient buildings in this area *ca.* A.D. 400. The inscription in question was cut in the front of a statue base of Pentelic marble which has been reconstructed from over sixty fragments (Pl. 14, c).<sup>52</sup> The statue had been carved in one piece with the base, and there remains part of the left foot, of life size, clad in a heavy boot and supported on a high protuberance with a point toward the front of the base; the outline of the right foot may be distinguished in its proper place on the top surface of the base. A left leg, though it

<sup>52</sup> Height in front 0.195 m.; width *ca.* 0.902 m.; depth front to back 0.785 m.

does not actually join the foot, may be regarded as certainly belonging. On the front of the block is inscribed the distich:

Ἰλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὅμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου]  
Πάρσταντις ἱδρυμαι τῷ με τεκόντι νεώ[ι]

"The Iliad, I that was both after Homer and before  
Homer, have been set up alongside him that bore me  
in his earlier years."

We have to do, clearly, with a personification of the Iliad. From the second line we may at once infer the existence of a statue of Homer as part of the same group, while the emphasis on the fact that the Iliad was the child of the poet's youth or prime immediately implies the presence also of the Odyssey which, according to the ancient view represented, for instance, by Longinus, was a work of Homer's old age.<sup>53</sup> We may therefore restore the group with a standing Iliad and Odyssey to either side of the poet who will, no doubt, have been seated (and so of greater scale), with sceptre and scroll in his hands.

The group thus restored may be compared with two other representations of Homer in company with the Iliad and Odyssey. On the relief with the "Apotheosis of Homer," carved by Archelaos of Priene and now in the British Museum, Homer appears seated, sceptre in left and roll in right hand.<sup>54</sup> Beside the throne on the poet's right crouches the Iliad carrying a sword in her right hand; on the other side the Odyssey in the same attitude holds up the *aphlaston* from a ship's stern.<sup>55</sup> On a silver goblet from Herculaneum Homer is born aloft on an eagle flanked on his right by the Iliad wearing helmet and lance, on his left by the Odyssey with rudder in hand and sailor's conical cap on her head.<sup>56</sup>

We need not, however, go so far afield. In the year 1869 the Archaeological Society in Athens brought to light at a point just to the south of the Stoa of Attalos, and about forty metres to the northeast of the well from which the inscribed base was recovered in 1953, a pair of statues of Pentelic marble representing female figures in armor. Heads, legs and forearms are broken away but the torsos are well preserved.

<sup>53</sup> *On the Sublime*, 9, 13: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, οἶμαι, τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος γραφομένης ἐν ἀκμῇ πνεύματος ὅλον τὸ σωματίον δραματικὸν ὑπεστήσατο καὶ ἐναγώνιον, τῆς δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς τὸ πλεόν διηγηματικόν, ὅπερ ἴδιον γήρως. My attention was drawn to this passage by Mr. N. G. L. Hammond.

<sup>54</sup> British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, no. 2191, pp. 244 f.; Cf. Watzinger, 63. *Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1903; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, pp. 148 f.

<sup>55</sup> Behind the enthroned poet on the relief are figures labelled Chronos (Time) and Oikoumene (the World). Are we to read some similar implication of time and space out of the first line of the epigram on the newly found base?

<sup>56</sup> V. Spinazzola, *Le Arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Milan, Rome, Venice, Florence, 1928, p. 231.



Some twenty years later the figures were recognized by Georg Treu for what they surely are, viz. personifications of the Iliad and the Odyssey.<sup>57</sup> The clue to the identification was given by the representation of Scylla, Sirens, Aiolos and Polyphemos, all appropriate to the Odyssey, on the armor of one of the figures. From traces on the left shoulder Treu inferred that this figure had carried a steering oar.

The companion piece wears plain armor, but the remains of a sword on her right side, taken in conjunction with the fact that she is a pendant of the Odyssey, amply serves to establish her identification as the Iliad. It is evident from the set of the thigh that the left foot was raised. Although no direct join has been established between this figure and the inscribed base, their complete correspondence in material, scale and workmanship puts their association beyond doubt.

In restoring our group we should, no doubt, on the analogy of the relief of Archelaos and the silver goblet from Herculaneum, assign to the Iliad the place of honor on the poet's right. It is perhaps significant that the figure of the Iliad is slightly larger in scale than the Odyssey, as would be appropriate for the elder sister.

Treu, writing in 1889, dated the statues, on the basis of style, to the time of Trajan or Hadrian and suggested that they might once have stood in the Library of Hadrian. We now know of a more probable place, viz. the library erected by T. Flavius Pantainos in or about A.D. 100 just to the south of the Stoa of Attalos and within a few yards of the points where both the statues and the inscribed base were found.<sup>58</sup> The close similarity in lettering between the statue base and the lintel of the Library would suggest that there was but little difference in date. No trace of an appropriate pedestal has come to light in the part of the Library thus far explored, but there can be little doubt that the principal room of the building was in its eastern part which still lies deeply buried outside the zone of excavation. In view of the monumental scale of the Homer group one would be inclined to think of it as the principal ornament of the Library and as such, according to the well attested practice in ancient libraries,<sup>59</sup> it should have stood in the corresponding room. In the plan of the building as restored in Figure 2, the group would therefore have stood in the central room on the east side looking out on the colonnaded court. One is inevitably reminded of the *Homereion* in New Smyrna described by Strabo, immediately after his mention of the library, as "a quadrangular portico containing a shrine and a wooden statue of Homer."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, pp. 160-169. The statues are at present in the magazines of the National Museum in Athens where I have been enabled to examine them through the courtesy of the Director, Dr. Chr. Karouzo.

<sup>58</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330-333; IX, 1940, pp. 294 f.; XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 268-272.

<sup>59</sup> Schefold, *Bildnisse*, pp. 25, 191; C. Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III, 1944, p. 189.

<sup>60</sup> XIV, 1, 37: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεὸν Ὀμήρον καὶ ξόανον.

One would gladly know the epigram that must have been cut on the pedestal of the central figure of the poet in the Athenian monument. Its tenor may be surmised, however, from an epigram preserved in the Palatine Anthology, which was culled, no doubt, from a similar monument in Kolophon: "Homer, son of Meles, thou hast won eternal glory for Hellas and thy fatherland Colophon, and these two daughters didst thou beget by thy divine soul, writing from thy heart the twain tablets. The one sings the many wanderings of Odysseus in his homecoming, and the other the Trojan War."<sup>61</sup>

#### CONSERVATION

In keeping with the practice of recent years, work of conservation was carried out last season on certain buildings which had been long exposed and already studied. The first structure to receive attention this past season was the Great Drain, both the main channel, which runs northward from a point opposite the Tholos, and the east branch which has been traced from the extreme southeast corner of the square to the point where it joins the main channel opposite the Tholos. These two sections have a combined length of close to 350 metres. The ancient channel was built of stone throughout, i. e. walls, floor and ceiling, and measured internally from two to three feet in both width and height. Through much of its course the drain was found intact. Where the stonework had been removed the gaps were made good either with stone masonry or, more commonly, with concrete sewer pipes having an internal diameter of 60 centimetres. This great cloaca is now functioning again as the principal drain of the area. It catches both the surface and the ground water that comes down from the slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus and pours it into a large drain beneath the railway tracks whence it is carried to a low-lying area in the outskirts of the city.

The Tholos having been put in shape in 1950 and the Stoa of Zeus and Temple of Apollo in 1952, a start was made in 1953 on the conservation of the remaining buildings of the west side, viz. the Metroon and the Bouleuterion. The general appearance and the intelligibility of these two famous but extremely ruinous buildings have been greatly improved, but, since the work had not been completed at time of writing, a more detailed account will be deferred to the next annual report.

Mention may be made in this section of the cleaning of the east inner frieze of the Temple of Hephaistos which was carried out in the months of June through September, 1953, under the direction of Miss Alison Frantz. This band of sculpture in

<sup>61</sup> Υἱὲ Μέλητος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάση  
καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρη θήκας ἐς αἶδιον,  
καὶ τὰσδ' ἀντιθέψ ψυχῇ γενήσαιο κόουρας,  
δισσὰς ἐκ στηθέων γραψάμενος σελίδας·  
ὑμνεῖ δ' ἣ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσεύος πολύπλαγκτον,  
ἣ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.

*The Greek Anthology*, XVI, no. 292 (trans. by W. R. Paton in Loeb Classical Library).

high relief, comprising twenty-nine figures rather more than half life-size, depicts a battle between Greeks and barbarians in the presence of six divinities. Although the occasion of the battle, if indeed there is any kernel of historical or even mythical truth, has never been recognized with certainty, the frieze is of great interest artistically as the best preserved and most elaborate in point of composition among the various units of sculptural adornment on the building. Yet its study, and even its photography, had been greatly interfered with by a thick deposit, almost black in color, left by the rain water which through the centuries of neglect had dripped down through the cracks in the marble ceiling.

The work of cleaning was begun after consultation with the technicians of the National Museum in Athens, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and of the British Museum in London, and after chemical analysis of the deposit.<sup>62</sup> The simplest means soon proved to be the most effective. When it became apparent that the deposits softened somewhat under soaking with plain water, the figures to be worked on next were kept swathed in wet burlap. For the actual removal of the crust, experiments were made with implements of hardwood, bone, copper and brass; but it was eventually learned that the speediest and safest method was a flaking process effected by a light steel chisel in the hands of a reliable technician. In this way it has been possible to expose the original surface throughout with an absolute minimum of injury. The surface of the lovely Parian marble proves to be in a surprisingly fresh condition. Flecks of color here and there indicate that the background was once a deep blue, that red was used on the drapery and that the rocks on which the divinities sat were green.

The most gratifying result of the cleaning, however, has been the revelation of previously unsuspected delicacy of modelling and painstaking perfection of craftsmanship. Now at last one may enjoy the monument for its own sake and compare it effectually with the few other comparable monuments of its time. A complete photographic record has been made and will be incorporated in a picture book on the temple now in preparation.

#### LANDSCAPING

The special law of Greece covering the Agora Excavations specifies that "on the completion of the excavation, and insofar as consistent, in the opinion of the Archaeological Council, with the good preservation and the proper display of the ancient remains, the area shall be turned into a park."<sup>63</sup>

Since the actual excavation is now rapidly drawing to a close, serious thought must be given to the question of landscaping. The School has been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, a landscape architect of Pittsburgh.

<sup>62</sup> In this connection I wish to thank most warmly Messrs. Chr. Karouzo, W. J. Young and H. J. Plenderleith.

<sup>63</sup> Law 4212 of March 23, 1929, article 3.



As a former Fellow in Landscape Design of the American Academy in Rome, and as the architect responsible for the landscaping of the United States Military Cemetery at Anzio, Mr. Griswold is well acquainted with Mediterranean flora, climate and soil conditions. After devoting the month of August to an intensive study of the Agora area and to observing landscape practice elsewhere in Athens and in Greece, Mr. Griswold has prepared a comprehensive design for the landscaping of the Agora and its environs, a total area of about 25 acres. One illustration from his report is reproduced in Plate 17.

The problems here posed are difficult and challenging. Cognizance must be taken of the surroundings which include, *inter alia*, the Acropolis and Areopagus, the best preserved of ancient Greek temples, a Byzantine church, and an electric railway, all closely enveloped by the huge modern city. The parking of this area must be related to existing public gardens to the west of the Hephaisteion and on the upper slopes of the hills; it must also be capable of eventual expansion eastward on the supposition that the excavations will one day be extended to include the Market Place of Caesar and Augustus. It will be desirable to distribute the planting in such a way as to help the eye of the visitor who stands on the Acropolis or looks down from an aeroplane to distinguish the ancient square from its surroundings at a glance. By judicious planting it should be possible to define the courses of the ancient thoroughfares that passed through the square, to clarify, rather than to obscure, the scheme of the ancient buildings, and perhaps even to suggest the monuments that once rose from now desolate pedestals. The planting should be of such a sort as to provide perpetual pleasure for the near-by residents as well as an invitation to the passing visitor. In meeting all these desiderata the designer must nevertheless respect the ancient tradition, using only native plants and restoring as far as possible the actual trees and groves which are known from the authors to have formed such a significant and attractive element in the ancient setting of public life.

Here again money is needed: for the building of fences, the laying out of roads and paths, the provision of water, as well as for the planting of trees, shrubs and flowers. At the same time, this program affords a great variety of ways in which individuals or organizations may share in the adornment of both the ancient and the modern Athens. A number of contributions have already been received from Greek and American sources, and on January 4, 1954, Their Majesties, King Paul and Queen Frederika, graciously participated by planting an oak and a laurel respectively on either side of the great marble altar which stood at the focal point of civic life in the ancient square.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON

## PHILINOS

(PLATE 11)

SEVERAL of the ostraka contain names of known Athenians whom one would never suspect of having been involved in an ostracism.<sup>1</sup> Of special interest are the ostraka of this type which can be assigned to the last ostracism, that of Hyperbolos in the spring of 415 B.C.<sup>2</sup> For this is the only ostracism of which we know enough details to give us an idea of the circumstances preceding the event.<sup>3</sup> The literary evidence conveys the impression that Alkibiades, Hyperbolos, Nikias, and Phaiax were involved in what one may call an un-popularity contest. Recent excavations have brought to light ostraka bearing the names of three of these men; no ostrakon of Nikias has been found so far.<sup>4</sup> There are, moreover, some ostraka with the names of other men, which can be associated with the same ostracism: Charias of Paiania, Hippokles son of Menippos, Phileriphos, Philippos.<sup>5</sup> Only one of these is known to

<sup>1</sup> See my general remarks on this group of ostraka in the *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine*, Paris 1952, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> This date (suggested by me in *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 192-3) has been rejected by C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 395-6. Hignett asked two questions: a) 'Why does the speaker (of Andocides, IV) make no mention of Hyperbolos?' b) Why 'should (Thucydides) have omitted to record Hyperbolos' ostracism in its proper place if it had been so closely related to the debates of the Sicilian Expedition recorded at the beginning of Book VI?' The first question can be answered by pointing out that the speech (Andocides, IV) refers to the time before Alkibiades joined with Nikias (and Phaiax) to have Hyperbolos ostracized. Hyperbolos who had urged that an ostracism be held was originally not a 'candidate.' The plot to ostracize Hyperbolos was conceived only after Alkibiades saw that he was himself in real danger. Any mention of Hyperbolos in the speech would have been either impossible (if the speech is genuine) or anachronistic (if it is spurious). Hignett's second question is more difficult to answer. I have already emphasized (*op. cit.*, pp. 193-4) the close relationship between the speech and Thucydides. I may add now that Thucydides does not include the account of a single ostracism within its historical context. Surely, the ostracisms of Kimon and of Thucydides, let alone that of Themistokles, would have deserved inclusion as much as that of Hyperbolos.

<sup>3</sup> The main sources are Andocides, IV; and Plutarch, *Aristides*, VII, 3; *Nicias*, XI, 1-4; *Alcibiades*, XIII, 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> Alkibiades: E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 3, nos. 7-9.

Hyperbolos: T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 246, fig. 47; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 186-7.

Phaiax: W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 78-80, no. 149; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 411.

On the absence of Nikias ostraka I have commented briefly, *op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Charias: E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 396-7, no. 6.

Hippokles: W. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 86, no. 164.

Phileriphos: W. Peek, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-1, no. 150.

Philippos: A. Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 25, no. 50.

have been active in public affairs: Hippokles, who was general in 413/2 (Thuc. VIII, 13). This list has been enriched by the discovery of an ostrakon with the name of the famous Kleophon who thus appears to have been politically active before the Sicilian Expedition.<sup>6</sup> A recent find, of the summer of 1953, has added still another name to the list, that of Philinos son of Kleippides, who was evidently a brother of Kleophon.<sup>7</sup> The inscription Φιλῖνον Κλειππίδο (Plate 11) as well as the shape and decoration of the cup on which it was engraved points to a date early in the last quarter of the fifth century.<sup>8</sup>

Vanderpool has already suggested that Kleophon's father Kleippides was that Kleippides who served as general in 428 B.C. and who was involved, perhaps as a partisan of Perikles, in the ostracism of 443 B.C.<sup>9</sup> It is now possible to identify Kleophon's brother Philinos with that Philinos whom the speaker of Antiphon's sixth oration successfully indicted for theft of public funds (VI, 12 and 35-8).<sup>10</sup> Since the

<sup>6</sup> E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 114-5. For the beginning of Kleophon's activity, see Andocides, I, 146, a passage disregarded by H. Swoboda, *R.E.*, s.v. Kleophon, col. 792, lines 59-60, but mentioned by H. A. Holden, *Onomasticon Aristophaneum*, 1902, p. 856.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. No. P 23548. Base of a black-glazed cup or bowl with a footring 0.076 m. in diameter. Found on August 14, 1953, in a deposit of the late fifth century B.C. close above bedrock in the northeast part of the Agora, in the same general area in which the ostraka of Hyperbolos and Kleophon were found; compare E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 114, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> The following preliminary statement has been kindly prepared by L. Talcott and has been approved by E. Vanderpool and P. E. Corbett: "The profile of the fragment indicates that it comes probably from a heavy-walled cup-kotyle; the substantial lower member and lighter upper moulding are characteristic for drinking cups of this type (see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 321, pl. 86, nos. 33, 34). On the evidence of the incised decoration, the piece may be regarded as an early version of the shape, made ca. 430-420 B.C." I gather from more informal comments made by our specialists that this piece of pottery is of considerable importance and that it will receive its proper treatment in a more appropriate context.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 114; see also my comments, *op. cit.* (see note 1), p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> The identity of the speaker of this oration is not known. He belonged to the tribe Erechtheis (VI, 13; W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, I/3, p. 110, mistakenly wrote Aegeis instead of Erechtheis) and he must have been a wealthy man since he served as choregus at the Thargelia (VI, 11) and at the Dionysia (VI, 11). Moreover, he had a son-in-law named Phanostratos who also belonged to the tribe Erechtheis (VI, 12). It seems possible that he was Euktemon of Kephisia about whose property Isaeus wrote his sixth oration in 363 B.C. (Isaeus, VI, 14). Euktemon who had died shortly before at the age of ninety-six years (VI, 18) must have been born about 460 B.C. He had a son-in-law, Phanostratos, who belonged to the deme Kephisia and to the tribe Erechtheis; this is deduced from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 1612, 123 and Demosthenes, LIV, 7, passages which refer to Phanostratos' homonymous younger son who is appropriately mentioned as a young man in Isaeus, VI, 60 (I have failed to distinguish between father and son in *R.E.*, s.v. Phanostratos 3). The age of Phanostratos could be deduced from Isaeus, VI, 1, if the man who sailed in 414 B.C. as trierarch to Sicily was Phanostratos. The manuscripts give the name as Chairestratos, except for M and the Aldine which have Menestratos (see W. Wyse's edition, p. 489); P. Roussel has argued convincingly (*Isée*, p. 107) that Riske's emendation of Φανόστρατος for Χαρέστρατος (or Μενέστρατος) be accepted. Phanostratos would have been a young man when he served as trierarch (Isaeus, VI, 1) and helped his father-in-law with his choregia (Antiphon, VI, 12), and he would have been very old when



court oration against Philinos<sup>11</sup> (VI, 37-8), as distinct from the eisangelia (VI, 12 and 35), was also composed by Antiphon,<sup>12</sup> it may be assumed that Philinos was a political opponent of Antiphon, which is exactly what one would expect of the brother of the demagogue Kleophon.<sup>13</sup> The date of the trial and conviction of Philinos and of the sixth oration of Antiphon has been established by Meritt as 419 B.C. on the basis of the calendar equation contained in §§ 41-46 of the speech,<sup>14</sup> and I can see no reason for rejecting this date.<sup>15</sup> The ostrakon of Philinos seems to support a date before the Sicilian Expedition because it shows that Philinos was already politically active when Hyperbolos was ostracized.<sup>16</sup>

The discovery of the ostraka of Kleophon and Philinos and their association with the ostracism of Hyperbolos raises one more question, that of the voting procedure. These two men were evidently partisans of Hyperbolos, and one wonders what people

he served for the last time as trierarch (Isaeus, VI, 27) and when Isaeus' sixth oration was delivered. Neither of these assumptions is impossible since even a choregus of a boys' chorus did not have to be more than forty years old in the fifth century (see H. M. Ten Berge, *Antiphon's Zesde Rede*, pp. 154-5), and since men commanded boats and armies even at an advanced age (see B. D. Meritt *et alii*, *A.T.L.*, III, p. 115). The identification of the speaker of Antiphon's sixth oration and his son-in-law with Euktemon and Phanostratos of Kephisia would provide us with the demotic of Euktemon's adversary Philokrates and of his young brother Diodotos, for they were of the same deme as Phanostratos (Antiphon, VI, 12).

<sup>11</sup> The identification of this Philinos with the Philinos mentioned by Eupolis (*Poleis*, frag. 28), suggested by Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 347, note 3, is doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> See especially the fragment preserved in Harpokration, *s.v.* Ὀῆτες; compare B. Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX, 1894, p. 337.

<sup>13</sup> See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sb. Ak. Berlin*, XXI, 1900, p. 408.

<sup>14</sup> B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar in the Fifth Century*, pp. 121-2; J. Geerlings, *Cl. Phil.*, XXV, 1930, p. 79; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 336; B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents*, p. 174; K. J. Maidment, *Minor Attic Orators*, I, pp. 236-7; E. Cavaignac, *R.E.G.*, LVII, 1944, p. 53; H. M. Ten Berge, *Antiphon's Zesde Rede*, p. 303. Meritt's date is in general agreement with that previously suggested by Wilamowitz, *Sb. Ak. Berlin*, XXI, 1900, p. 409, and in precise agreement with that suggested independently by W. Aly, *Philologus*, Suppl. XXI/3, pp. 160-1.

<sup>15</sup> K. J. Dover rightly rejected (*Cl. Qu.*, XLIV, 1950, pp. 44, note 1, and 60) not only W. Vollgraff's suggestion to date the speech in 411 B.C. (*Mnem.*, I, 1948, pp. 261-3), but also the claim of W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer (*The Calendars of Athens*, p. 108) that the date of the speech cannot be determined at all on the basis of the calendar equation.

<sup>16</sup> Some of the other chronological indications contained in the speech may be briefly mentioned here, although none of them is conclusive:

1) Lysistratos (VI, 36) has been identified by Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX, 1894, p. 339, with the Lysistratos mentioned by Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1301, but Wilamowitz, *Sb. Ak. Berlin*, XXI, 1900, p. 408, note 3, has questioned this identification. Cavaignac, *R.E.G.*, LVII, 1944, p. 53, note 1, identified Lysistratos with one of the Hermokopidai mentioned by Andocides, I, 52 and 67, and concluded that the speech must be earlier than 415 B.C., for Lysistratos fled at that time. Whatever may be the verdict on these identifications, the same political trick which was played against Lysistratos and against the speaker of Antiphon VI was also employed in 415 B.C. against Alkibiades. When the ostracism failed to remove him from his leading position, a non-political court action

expected to accomplish by voting against Kleophon and Philinos<sup>17</sup> rather than against Hyperbolos. Scatter votes such as these tend to confirm the view that Plutarch's account of the voting procedure (*Aristides*, VII, 7-8) is substantially correct, and that the law of ostracism provided for a quorum of six thousand participants and for a simple majority among the votes cast.<sup>18</sup> In this case, it was the aim of those who worked for an ostracism both to get a sufficient number of citizens to participate and to persuade a majority of them to vote against a particular candidate. Their slogan, one may imagine, was the same as ours: Vote as you please, but vote!<sup>19</sup>

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with religious overtones was initiated. This similarity in procedure may reveal one master mind, perhaps that of Kleophon.

2) Aristion (VI, 12 and 35) has been identified by Aly, *Philologus*, Suppl. XXI/3, pp. 160-1 with the archon of 421/20.

3) The *poristai* (VI, 29) were thought to be a magistracy established only after the Sicilian Expedition; see R. Schoell, *Comm. phil. in honorem Th. Mommsen*, p. 454. J. Beloch, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIX, 1884, pp. 249-59, suggested that Kleophon's official position was that of a *poristes*; see G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 904, note 3, who referred for confirmation to Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., 28, 3. Cavaignac, *R.E.G.*, LVII, 1944, pp. 52-3, failed to conclude that the *poristai* must have existed before the Sicilian Expedition, to judge from the date of Antiphon's sixth oration in which they are mentioned. It now appears the Kleophon's brother Philinos and the *poletai*, the *praktores*, and the *poristai* were involved in financial transactions which made them liable to the charge of larceny. It seems reasonable to assume that the popular leaders who followed Perikles held positions of financial rather than of military importance, a condition which is well illustrated by Aristophanes in his *Knights*.

<sup>17</sup> Or any of the others whose names occur on ostraka which were cast on this occasion; see, above, note 5. The question may be asked in general concerning the scatter vote; see my comments, *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 64-5. It may be answered in connection with the ostracism of Hyperbolos because we know more about this ostracism than about any other; see, above, note 3.

<sup>18</sup> See the judicious remarks by O. W. Reinmuth, *R.E.*, s.v. Ostrakismos, cols. 1678-9; A. Calderini, *L'Ostracismo*, pp. 37-9; C. Hignett, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 165-6. I have argued, *Cl. Phil.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 204, that Philochoros (frag. 30, Jacoby) also referred to a quorum of six thousand when he wrote: διαριθμηθέντων δὲ ὅτῳ πλείστα γένοιτο καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω ἑξακισχιλίων, τοῦτον ἔδει . . . μεταστήσαι τῆς πόλεως ἔτη δέκα.

<sup>19</sup> Ὅστρακον λαβὼν ἕκαστος καὶ γράψας ὃν ἐβούλετο μεταστήσαι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφερεν εἰς ἓνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς . . . (Plutarch, *Aristides*, VII, 4); τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος ἅπασιν Ἀθηναίοις μέτεστι (Andocides, IV, 4).

# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

I, B AND C

(PLATES 18-24)

## PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

TO continue the study of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora that was begun two years ago,<sup>1</sup> this article will deal with two small groups. The first, which we may call from its most striking object, the "Hedgehog Well," offers a varied collection of figurines roughly contemporary with those published in the Coroplast's Dump. The second, interesting chiefly for the ritual character of most of the figurines, will be called the "Demeter Cistern." It also produced several pieces that show the trends of taste in the last decades of the fourth century B.C.

### B. THE HEDGEHOG WELL

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

On the north slope of the Areopagus, about fifty meters west of the cistern that yielded the Coroplast's Dump, a small stone-curbed well was excavated in 1938.<sup>2</sup> Its diameter, roughly 0.60 m. by 0.70 m. was smaller than that of the usual Athenian well, which approximates three Greek feet. It was also shallow, reaching a total depth of 6.25 m., of which the lowest 0.50 m., cut in bedrock, were uncurbed. No water-level was detected. It may therefore have proved a failure as a well and subsequently served only as a storage pit, which the presence of a complete wine jar and of fragments of others would suggest.

#### CHRONOLOGY

The complete wine jar, from Thasos, has been dated by Virginia Grace as little, if at all, after 350 B.C. and the two other stamped jar handles as not later than the last quarter of the fourth century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff., Part I: A, The Coroplast's Dump. The photographs of the present article are by Alison Frantz except two, as noted in the text. I am under considerable obligation to Lucy Talcott and to my husband for checking many matters for me in Athens. I have also made a final check myself with the terracottas here discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Designated as Section  $\Psi$ , well at 37/KA, on the new grid as O 18. It was excavated by Eugene Vanderpool. It was mentioned in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 118, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Miss Grace for giving me this information. The jar is inventoried P 13570;



The rest of the pottery and lamps for which no stratification could be detected is entirely consistent with that dating. A characteristic selection is presented to indicate the range of the most significant pieces <sup>4</sup> (Pl. 24) :

1. Kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, a.

Inv. P 13528. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.11 m.

Spur of one handle restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; grooved resting surface with a scraped line in the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

The shape shows a definite advance over the latest examples from Olynthos (e.g. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XIII, Baltimore, 1950, no. 513, pls. 184, 185), but is somewhat less developed than Kantharos no. 2 from the Demeter cistern (our Pl. 20, b). Third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

2. Kantharos. Pl. 24, b.

Inv. P 12698. H. 0.083 m., D. 0.083 m.

A scraped line at the top of the smaller moulding of the foot; grooved resting surface with a broad scraped line irregularly in and around the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

No example of this type is known from Olynthos, but by comparison with the kantharoi with moulded rim, above, the vase should belong to the third quarter of the century.

3. Kantharos. Pl. 24, c.

Inv. P 12699. H. 0.076 m., D. 0.085 m.

Resting surface flat; the profile of the foot oblique on the inside. Glazed all over except for a roughened ridge around the outer edge of the resting surface, from which the glaze has chipped away. Glaze firm but dull.

Both shape and fabric are non-Attic. The vase is probably Boeotian, though superior in glaze and technique to the average Boeotian kantharos. Compare the examples from Rhitsona, e.g. P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, London, 1913, pl. IX, Grave 76, no. 21 and *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, London, 1927, pl. X, nos. 36.18, 114a.12, 34.37.

4. Skyphos, Corinthian type. Pl. 24, d.

Inv. P 12700. H. 0.095 m., D. 0.087 m.

Fragments of lip and foot restored. Above the foot, a reserved zone, cross-hatched. Underside reserved, with two unevenly drawn glazed circles.

About the same stage of development as an example from a pyre in the area west of the Areopagus (Inv. P 16602: *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 5) found with a cup-kantharos with moulded rim and the kantharoid cup-kotyle closely paralleling Nos. 6 and 7 here. Third quarter of the fourth century.

5. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 24, e.

Inv. P 22671. H. 0.097 m., D. 0.101 m.

Both handles restored, with parts of rim, wall and foot. Resting surface unevenly glazed; underside reserved, with two coarse glazed circles.

One of the latest vases from this well; compare Inv. P 1829 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 320, fig. 5,

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the handles, SS 8210-8211. These will appear in the final publication of the stamped amphoras from the Agora.

<sup>4</sup>I owe the analysis of the pottery and the selection of the plate to Lucy Talcott and to Peter Corbett of the British Museum, who is studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. He found that this group fell very close to that from the Coroplast's Dump and did not date later than the end of the third quarter of the fourth century.

A 26) and no. 3 from the Demeter Cistern (Pl. 20, c). End of the third quarter or beginning of the last quarter of the fourth century.

6. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, f.

Inv. P 12690. H. 0.085 m., D. at lip, 0.10 m.

A reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a shallow groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, a rouletted circle.

More advanced than the latest examples from Olynthos (e. g. *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 506, pls. 187, 189); a good parallel is Inv. P 16601 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 4) noted above under No. 4 here.

7. Kantharoid cup-kotyle. Pl. 24, g.

Inv. P 13530. H. 0.063 m., D. 0.10 m.

Part of one handle restored. Rilled base; scraped line around wall just above foot; a groove in the unevenly glazed resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

More advanced than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 498, pls. 184, 187. Compare Inv. P 16600 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 3) cited above under No. 4.

8. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, h.

Inv. P 13531. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.10 m.

Most of one handle restored, and fragments of rim and wall. Rilled foot similar to that of No. 7. A broad reserved line just above the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

See No. 9.

9. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, i.

Inv. P 22670. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.089 m.

Parts of rim and wall restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface.

The development of this shape, which was never very popular, has not yet been established in detail, but the available evidence suggests that its history began near the middle of the fourth century and continued for perhaps fifty years.

The two examples shown here, Nos. 8 and 9, belong to the third quarter of the century, No. 9 being the later. A further stage is represented by a vase from the Demeter Cistern, No. 3 (Pl. 20, d), which is probably to be dated in the last quarter of the fourth century.

10. Cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, j.

Inv. P 13529. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.085 m.

Part of one handle and fragments of rim and body restored. Broad reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a light groove in the reserved resting surface.

Markedly more developed than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 497, pls. 184, 185, hence well on in the third quarter of the century; but less advanced than examples from the last quarter, e. g. Inv. P 572 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 345, fig. 26, no. B 46).

This selection is characteristic for the pottery from this well, and includes the latest pieces noted. The group is thus a fairly compact one, with a lower limit close to the end of the third quarter of the fourth century, or perhaps in the opening years of the last quarter. For the reader's convenience in checking the chronology, on Plate 24 is added the pottery from the Coroplast's Dump discussed in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 122, note 23: P 19530, P 19531, P 12406.

The lamps also date from this period.<sup>5</sup> There were seven pyramidal and six conical loom weights. No other significant material was found and not a single coin.

The pottery and the figurines appeared together from depths 3.10 m. to 6.25 m.

<sup>5</sup> These will appear in the publication of the Agora lamps by Richard Howland: L 3397, 3398, 3418, 3566-3568.

and must have been thrown in all at one time. The range of date for this well group, then, extends over about a quarter century, from *ca.* 350 to 320 B.C.

### TECHNIQUE

This small group does not lend itself to such full analysis as was possible for the Coroplast's Dump. No moulds were found. In general, the fabric of the figurines is similar to that described in the preceding article. The backs of the figures are moulded but unmodelled, except that of No. 1. Three base fragments show the early block and stepped forms, as in the Coroplast's Dump. Nine other small scraps have been left unidentified and uncatalogued. The technique of the plastic vases, though not exactly that of the figurines, brings them in close enough relation to coroplastic art to warrant their inclusion in our discussion. Indeed, a full study of the interrelation of the two classes and techniques just at this period would be most illuminating and deserves much fuller treatment than is possible here.<sup>6</sup>

The condition of the pieces from this well suggests that the "doll" fragment (No. 1), the bits of drapery (Nos. 5 and 6) and the heads (Nos. 7-9) are the oldest specimens. The fresher examples, such as the male torso (No. 2), the male head (No. 3), the girl (No. 4), the column (No. 12) and the plastic vase fragment (No. 14) could not have been long discarded before they reached their final resting-place. The mask (No. 10), the hedgehog (No. 11), and the almost complete plastic vase (No. 13) must have been in perfect condition when they were tossed out. These pieces are stylistically well advanced. We may therefore consider that the order of condition (as was also true in the Coroplast's Dump), follows roughly, at least, the order of manufacture.

### TYPES AND SUBJECTS

#### JOINTED FIGURE: No. 1

The battered torso of an articulated nude female "doll" (No. 1, Pl. 18) is characterized by small breasts, a lightly modelled stomach, and a very slight curve from the shoulders to the waist, such as appear on "dolls" from Olynthos of the less developed type.<sup>7</sup> Several more advanced pieces date from about the middle of the fourth century, e. g. from Olynthos, the Pnyx and Corinth,<sup>8</sup> thus indicating that this fragment was old when it found its way into our well. It is noteworthy that the back is fully modelled. These articulated figures must have been immensely popular during the fourth century, for a representative appears in almost every deposit. They also

<sup>6</sup> For a beginning, see P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 338 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 99, Nos. 296, 297, 300.

<sup>8</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 23, No. 257; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 5, 9, 10; Corinth, XI, i, pl. 41, No. 66. Cf. also below, p. 89, Demeter Cistern No. 1, Pl. 20, which is even flatter and more conservative than this.



turn up in cemeteries and in sanctuaries. Their significance has been discussed in a previous study.<sup>9</sup>

#### MALE FIGURES: Nos. 2-3

The fragment from the figure of a heavily bearded man is tantalizing (No. 2, Pl. 18). The loose, realistically rendered beard and moustache drooping over the thick lower lip show that it is not the figure of an actor. It is more like Silens, which are shown even in the form of plastic vases.<sup>10</sup> The closest parallel is the figure of an old man or paidagogue, said to come from Tanagra,<sup>11</sup> which appears to be richly modelled in the finest style so far as one can judge from the drawing. The folds of the cloak of our piece are rendered as long high ridges varied by indented pockets in a style visible also on a terracotta from Olynthos.<sup>12</sup> This style represents a conservative trend based on the more formal sculptural styles of the major arts. It forms an interesting contrast with No. 6, which echoes the contemporary more naturalistic style of the mid fourth century. Yet the two figurines could not have been made at very different dates.

A male head, wearing a tall hat (No. 3, Pl. 18), is an unusual piece. This conical hat is a truncated form of *pilos* with a rolled brim. Presumably it was made of felt like hats from Central Asia of the present day.<sup>13</sup> The physiognomy of our head is evidently not Greek but foreign. It is characterized by deep-set eyes, of which the right shows a marked squint, a thick nose, high cheekbones, and a drooping moustache over a shaved, rather fleshy chin. These features might be those of a Scythian, but most Scythians of this period are shown with long hair and straggling beards. The broad boney face, with moustache, however, appears frequently on representations of Celts and Gauls. Several close parallels to our head come from the Fayum. These Gauls often sit hunched up against their high shields that stand by their left sides in a position such as might have resulted in the angle of breakage of our Agora head.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *TK* II, p. 400, particularly No. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402,3. (H. 0.165 m.)

<sup>12</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 78, No. 244. A fragment from a plastic vase in the Agora (T 1054) is sufficiently similar to suggest that our piece may also derive from this class.

<sup>13</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v. Pileus* (P. Paris), pp. 479 ff., fig. 5669. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 22, No. 382. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 54, fig. 8 and p. 96, fig. 27. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 97, No. 290, a similar *pilos* is shown covered with rounded indentations to simulate leather. Cf. a contemporary representation on a red-figured sherd from the Pnyx (Inv. P 224), to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Bieńkowski, *Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains*, Cracow, 1928, p. 137, fig. 205 (for the face); p. 138, figs. 207-208 (for the pose). These figures wear a hood which is somewhat more pointed than ours. Cf. A. J. Reinach, "Les Galates dans l'art alexandrin," *Mon. Piot*, XVIII, 1910, pl. VIII, p. 77, which Reinach calls a Gaul; cf. figs. 14, 17. I owe this reference to Professor Erik Sjöqvist. Breccia, *Mons. I.1*, pl. XXVI, 1, calls the same head a "European Scythian."

We should like to give our foreigner a name, but despite recent studies on the subject of foreigners in the Graeco-Roman world, we have not yet sufficient knowledge to identify any one of these ancient tribes with certainty. Among many, the one most like our head is that of a "Tokhara" or Indo-Scyth but the profile is straighter.<sup>15</sup> It is indeed possible, considering the movements of the Gauls and Scythians at this period, that one could have been brought to Athens as a slave.<sup>16</sup> In any case, the subject does not belong to the stock-in-trade of the shop, but is a fresh study of a barbarian face with a wicked squint, which caught the observant eye of the coroplast as they moved together among the crowds in the Athenian market-place.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-6

The little figure of a girl holding a bird (probably a duck) in her left hand (No. 4, Pl. 18) has already been mentioned in connection with pieces of this class from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>17</sup> Despite the condition of the surface, it can be compared with the well known statue in Munich of the Girl with the Dove.<sup>18</sup> In the lower part it is treated with the boxpleat type of fold that appears on terracottas from the Pnyx of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>19</sup> That the type, which is a modernized version of the old votary carrying her offering, originated in that creative period seems clear from its absence from the rich variety of types at Olynthos. It soon develops into a wide repertory of scenes of children carrying fruit or birds, to the delight of their pet geese or dogs, which enjoyed great popularity, on stelai and in clay, from the latter part of the fourth well into the third century B.C.<sup>20</sup>

A scrap of which the hand escapes from the drapery (No. 5, Pl. 18) evidently comes from a seated figure of large scale. Presumably this is an example of the same monumental class as the following; it may actually belong to it, as the fabric is identical.

No. 6 (Pl. 18) derives from a sizable draped figure of a woman wrapped in her himation, standing so that her right leg is flexed. The delicate folds, not so formal as the folds on No. 2, belong to the new, naturalistic style of rendering drapery by

<sup>15</sup> Maud Gubiaud, "Les Caravaniers asiatiques et les riverains de l'océan indien vus par les coroplastes de la Smyrne romaine," *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947, pp. 324 ff. and XI, 1948, pp. 123 ff. The head like ours is shown in XI, 1948, p. 129, No. 384, referring to fig. 10 on p. 331, of volume X, 1947. I owe this reference to Professor Harald Ingholt.

<sup>16</sup> Professor Wace makes the attractive suggestion that this might represent an Athenian policeman. For Gaulish mercenaries in Greece after 369 B.C. see *C.A.H.* VI, pp. 93, 130 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 136, note 78, where the context should read: Section Ψ, 37/KA, that is, our Hedgehog Well.

<sup>18</sup> Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 17, pl. 21.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 54, No. 18 and fig. 55, No. 22.

<sup>20</sup> E. g. Early examples: Sieveking, *Samm. Loeb Terrakotten*, I, pl. 60; cf. an early stele from Chatby, Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. XX, No. 23.

the most varied and sensitive modulations of the surface. A piece, similar in type and in scale, but a little less ambitious, was found in the Pnyx deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>21</sup> This is the beginning of the translation of the subtleties of bronze work into the cheaper medium of clay. By setting the Pnyx piece beside the obviously older rendering of the theme in a late figure from Olynthos,<sup>22</sup> as well as by looking ahead at a riper example from the Hellenistic group in the Agora that will be published among third century material,<sup>23</sup> we can place our fragment very near to 325 B.C.

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 7-9

A rubbed head (No. 7, Pl. 18) appears to belong to a traditional type of which good examples can be cited in large numbers.<sup>24</sup> The latest representatives were found in deposits close to ours in date, from the Pnyx and in Corinth.<sup>25</sup> It shows how long it took for the formal Kore of the fifth century to weaken its hold on the heart of the Athenian woman when she chose her dedications for the goddess.

No. 8 (Pl. 18) is also a votive piece, the head, presumably, of an articulated figure, but too large to fit our torso, No. 1. The peak of hair over the forehead, surmounted by a large erect knot of hair which is tied up stiffly behind it, is also traditional, a coiffure popular during the fourth century.<sup>26</sup> This particular form seems most at home on a "doll" which would also, as an entertainer, wear earrings. It probably dates no later than the mid fourth century.

Markedly unusual, on the other hand, is the coiffure of No. 9 (Pl. 18). The left side has unfortunately suffered too much for complete understanding, but it seems to show a broad fillet worn around the head and crossed at the back by a second rounded fillet, over which a wreath of fruit is set. The features of this head are those of a girl: round-faced with wide-open, sharp-lidded eyes and a smiling mouth. It is not possible to guess at the body of this curious piece; the head was turned sharply to the left.

#### MASK: No. 10

This little mask is perfectly preserved, retaining even a good deal of the white sizing (No. 10, Pl. 19). The hang-holes indicate that it is a small votive, but it is

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 55, No. 24; cf. the smaller version, fig. 54, No. 20.

<sup>22</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181 = Kleiner, pl. 4, a and b.

<sup>23</sup> Group B in "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., T 291.

<sup>24</sup> E. g. Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 29, Nos. 264-265; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 19, No. 158.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42 (probably dated too early, as No. 41 seems to be the early fourth century type); *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, No. 259 (from a deposit of the late fourth century).

<sup>26</sup> For earlier versions, *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 33, No. 30; pl. 34, Nos. 31-34, all of the middle of the fourth century. Mrs. Stillwell suggests that Nos. 33-34 were for jointed "dolls." Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 133 and Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 72, No. 591. Many other variants occur.



not a commonplace example. The coiffure is decidedly peculiar. A wreath of pointed leaves is crowned by two bunches of flowers over the forehead. Doubled across the base of these flowers are the ends of broad bands which apparently are drawn up from a turban-like swathing that covers the hair in a large mass. These ends hang from the temples in the way that a woollen fillet hangs from a wreath on a grotesque mask of about the same size that was found in the late fourth century filling of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx.<sup>27</sup>

The face of this mask is unusually well modelled. The shape of the face is a long oval, not unlike that of the Praxitelean canon. The eyes, which slant downward at the outer corners, are lightly modelled, with clear-cut, rounded lids. The classic nose maintains an even width and has rather narrow nostrils. The rather full lips are slightly parted; the upper is bowed. All these features find close analogies on a large terracotta head from Corinth<sup>28</sup> and to a lesser degree in certain head-vases from Olynthos.<sup>29</sup> Our mask should also be compared with a head (No. 9) from the Demeter Cistern, which shows the softening of the type. This "classic" type of face gradually softens even more and becomes smaller of feature, as is evident from a mask-like head from Corinth, presumably of the third century.<sup>30</sup> These examples indicate the trend of the facial canon throughout the fourth century.

#### ANIMAL: No. 11

The little figure of a hedgehog (No. 11, Pl. 19), which gave its name to this well group, is a vividly modelled little creature, decorated with curious knobs on top of his spines. The Greek name for a hedgehog was ἐχῖνος, or "prickly urchin." This species is the *erinaceus vulgaris* (or *europaeus*), the most common of the three varieties known in the Mediterranean region.<sup>31</sup> The prickly character of the hedgehog, though less dangerous than that of the more formidable porcupine, made him seem to the Greeks to be a creature of ill-omen suitable to show beside the scorpion as a warning of impending doom at the departure of Amphiaraios.<sup>32</sup> His cunning was early admired; Archilochos tartly praised his ability to roll into a ball and spike his enemies: πολλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἐν μέγα (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. frg.* 103). That he is sharper than the fox is also pointed out in the Aesop's fable on the Fox and the Hedgehog, which relates how the hedgehog refused to remove the fox's fleas, lest he gather hungrier

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 149, fig. 62, No. 73.

<sup>28</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 122, No. 403; pl. 123, No. 404.

<sup>30</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

<sup>31</sup> The others are: *erinaceus auritus* (large-eared) and *erinaceus aethiopicus* (from the African desert), shown on Egyptian faïences. For full bibliography, see O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, pp. 17 ff. and *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, IV, s.v. *Igel*, cols. 668 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the Amphiaraios Krater, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 179.

successors.<sup>33</sup> The Aristotelean corpus adds to his accomplishments the ability to adjust the entrances of his burrow to the direction of the wind.<sup>34</sup> More clever even than this is the trick reported, so far as I know, first by Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 155): Praeparant hiemi et irenaei cibos ac volutati supra iacentia poma adfixa spinis, unum amplius tenentes ore, portant in cavas arbores. "The hedgehogs also prepare food for winter by rolling on windfall apples, which stick to their spines, and holding one more in their mouths, they carry them into hollow trees." A similar, but more detailed account of this undertaking is given by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 971F, ff.): "Even cleverer (than the trick of rolling up into a ball) is the hedgehog's providence for his cubs. In the late autumn, creeping under the vines and shaking with his feet the grapes from the clusters, to the ground, he rolls around on them and takes them up on his spines. To all of us who have seen him, he has often offered the appearance of a creeping or walking bunch of grapes. Thus filled up, he goes off, loaded with harvest. Then going down into his burrow, he turns it over to his cubs to take from him as stewards, for their use."

It is perfectly clear, then, that our little hedgehog has been loading himself with winter provender. What are the fruits affixed to his spines? The stem and the blossom end are alternately shown.<sup>35</sup> The lateral groove clearly indicates a definite fruit, which cannot be either the apple or the grape. The most likely fruit seems to be the fig, which is characterized by splitting into a marked lateral indentation.

Despite the mention in literature of this amusing habit of the hedgehog, no other representation, to my knowledge, exists from Greek times. Faience figures of hedgehogs are common in Egypt, particularly in the Saite period. These were imitated by Ionic and Corinthian potters, but they show only spines, no fruit.<sup>36</sup> Much later, among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas, appear figures of pig-like hedgehogs covered with irregular bumps, which probably represent spines, not fruit.<sup>37</sup>

This same pig-like species is presumably that shown in a series of Roman rattles. Our hedgehog also contains loose pellets of clay, which may have been introduced in antiquity. These Roman examples, however, all have rounded bodies, large ears, short snouts, and curly tails, like those of hogs; they are covered with irregular protruber-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, I, Urbana, 1952, p. 490, No. 427.

<sup>34</sup> Aristotle, *Anim.*, IX, 5.

<sup>35</sup> I owe this interpretation to Miss Christine Alexander.

<sup>36</sup> Miss Nora Scott of the Metropolitan Museum has kindly looked into the Egyptian evidence for me, but she has found none, either in art or literature, that implies the gathering of fruit on the spines. See in general for the early period O. Keller, *loc. cit.*; M. I. Maximova, *Les Vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1927, pp. 101 ff., pl. VII, No. 24; pl. XXXII, No. 121; pl. XXXIX, No. 147; pl. XL, No. 148; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 74, note 9; p. 176, fig. 79.

<sup>37</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921, p. 148, pl. CXX, Nos. 1,6,7(?) (Cat. Nos. 406-408). Perdrizet identifies the creatures as the long-eared species of hedgehog (*Erinaceus auritus*).

ances filled by bits of colored glass. A typical example is shown on our Plate 19.<sup>38</sup> This rare class of figure has been linked by Lullies, following Robert Zahn, to a class of early Roman pottery that imitates the precious *pocula gemmata* in its ornamentation with gems of glass paste, set *au cabuchon* in barbotine decoration. These small jewel-like cups all come from Italy.<sup>39</sup> The only figurines known to me from this class are those of porcine creatures, which have previously been identified as hogs.<sup>40</sup> But comparison with the Graeco-Egyptian figures mentioned above and with a photograph of the animal itself, implies that a hedgehog might be intended.<sup>41</sup> Not only is there no plausible explanation for the presence on hogs of litter and fruit, which are easily understood on hedgehogs,<sup>42</sup> but the modelling of the head, though formal on all these examples, still shows one characteristic not proper to pigs, namely a sort of cornice over the eyes, beneath which the creature can draw in his head like a turtle, to retreat within the armor of his spines. This appears clearly on a Graeco-Egyptian example<sup>43</sup> and lightly even on our Agora specimen. The fact that the Roman examples and ours were probably rattles also forms a link between them.

Whether or not the Roman examples represent thieving hedgehogs, the story survived into mediaeval times. The earliest example known to me is in a ninth century manuscript of the *Physiologus*, where all manner of fabulous animal stories, some doubtless of ancient origin, are collected and illustrated.<sup>44</sup> A clearer drawing, surpris-

<sup>38</sup> Metropolitan Museum Inv. 17.194.1893. For the photograph and the permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to Miss Alexander and the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. L. 0.089 m. Published Froehner, *Coll. Julien Gréau*, p. 229, No. 1770; Warren E. Cox, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 72.

<sup>39</sup> R. Lullies, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 465 ff. with bibliography. I owe this reference to Miss Alexander.

<sup>40</sup> E. g. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Roman Pottery*, pp. 9 ff., K 63 (L. 0.102 m.) of red ware; with raised leaves modelled on its back and insertions of blue glass; K 64 (L. 0.089 m.) similar, with knobs, like flattened fruit, filled with blue and green glass; *Arch. Anz.*, XLII, 1929, col. 23, No. 66, fig. 24 (L. 0.085 m.), with modelled fruit and wheat on its back, filled with bits of glass.

<sup>41</sup> J. R. Crossland and J. M. Parrish, *Wild Life in Our World*, 1934, p. 182. The *Handwörterbuch des Aberglaubens* also mentions, IV, col. 669, a hog-nosed type of hedgehog, but I have not been able to obtain a picture of this species.

<sup>42</sup> A. C. Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, Leipzig and Vienna, 1890, p. 367 specifically mentions that hedgehogs roll in straw, hay, and moss, which they use for their beds. I owe this reference to Dr. William Heckscher.

<sup>43</sup> Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, pl. CXX, 1 (No. 406) and p. 149.

<sup>44</sup> H. Woodruff, "The *Physiologus* of Bern," *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, p. 249, fig. 36. I owe this reference and much help to Miss Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. Cf. M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 38 f., fig. 15 (a hedgehog, covered with apples, at New College, Oxford). Dr. William Heckscher has also enlightened me on the subject of the appearance and symbolism of the hedgehog in the Middle Ages, referring in general to G. C. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, New York, 1928, pp. 270 ff. The figure on p. 271 shows two hedgehogs climbing on vines and rolling on grapes and apples. This reference was given him by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.



ingly similar in appearance to our representation, comes from a psalter of the fourteenth century in the British Museum <sup>45</sup> (Pl. 19).

Naturalists have long argued about the accuracy of these accounts.<sup>46</sup> Just recently a study of the subject has been made by Dr. Maurice Burton in the *Illustrated London News*,<sup>47</sup> in which the number of apparently trustworthy accounts by eyewitnesses of today make him (and the reader) question scepticism. The only matter really in doubt is the intention of the animal in rolling on the fruit. That problem, however, does not concern us. What we find interesting is that this document from the fourth century B.C. shows a consciousness of zoological fable just at the time when Greek scientists were gathering vast corpora of natural phenomena that were to form the groundwork of later science. Consideration of the exactitude with which the mediaeval illustrations follow the descriptions by Pliny and Plutarch makes us sceptical of their origin in individual observation. We should probably regard the mediaeval pictures rather as evidence of the respect given classical literature at the time when the written word was revered above any single observation. Doubtless the texts were illustrated without a thought of verification.

Nevertheless, the story became part of common folk-lore, for it is interesting to note that the workmen who found our figure instantly identified it as a hedgehog that had rolled on grapes. That grapes were the usual fodder in Greece we can tell from two charming poems in the Greek Anthology. These poems refer to hedgehogs which have been caught in the vineyard and dedicated to placate Dionysos, whose anger no Greek would wish to arouse (*Anth. Pal.*, VI, 45, and 169). We might render the first into English:

Bristling with sharpest of spikes and with arrogant pride,  
This fruit-stealing hedgehog was caught, rolling grapes on his spines.  
Now, as befits such a thief, he hangs crucified,  
Komaulos' gift to great Bacchos, the lord of the vines.

#### MISCELLANEOUS PIECES (Nos. 12-14)

The lower part of a column shaft with its Ionic base (No. 12, Pl. 19) should be compared with the example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 69). The curve of the torus is similar, though the whole is less well modelled. It may have been intended for a leaning figure or it may have been merely votive.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, 1912, pl. 155.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, p. 367, asserts that the tale has often been doubted, but had been observed by Lenz.

<sup>47</sup> August 16, 1952, p. 264 and November 15, 1952, p. 821 with a picture taken from a tenth century manuscript showing hedgehogs rolling on fruit and carrying it into their burrows.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 572, Nos. 392 ff. I owe this reference to Mrs. Stillwell.

Two, possibly three, examples of plastic lekythoi found in this deposit are particularly interesting as coming from a dated Athenian context. This class of vase seems to have been a peculiarly Attic product which was first produced in the late fifth century and continued in great favor all through the fourth century. In this class of vase the Athenian coroplast began to show originality in the creation of sculptural types in clay. Preliminary studies of the subject indicate that the field offers rich possibilities for further investigations into the relationship between the work of potter, metal-worker, and coroplast at this creative period.<sup>49</sup>

The technique of these vases combines, in an ingenious manner, the qualities of both vase and figurine. The back, lip, and handle are usually treated like pottery, decorated in black glaze. The base, however, adjusts itself to the figurine, often taking on a double form or a spool base. The figure or scene is so modelled against the vase as to lend its body to receive the liquid. This figure or group of figures, often sufficiently elaborate as to make up a scene, is treated as a figurine, often with the addition of so much hand modelling as to seem entirely hand-made rather than mould-made. Added flying drapery, background, or ornaments, like rosettes or fruit, besides many details, like hair or objects held in the hand, tend to make the coroplast overexuberant. Likewise, touching the figure parts in color often leads him to excess. Certain of these lekythoi are positively baroque in fussy detail and in the richness of color and of gilding. The best, however, bear a close relationship to metal-work in the precision and finish of their modelling. These stand far above the ordinary figurines of the period and may have played a vital rôle during the middle of the fourth century by developing a taste for miniature sculpture in clay, thus forming a transition between the plastic vases that merely copy metal and those that ingeniously invent a new style, from which the delicate "Tanagras" inevitably develop. More evidence for this development will be offered later.

One piece from the Hedgehog Well (No. 13, Pl. 19) is almost perfectly preserved. It is shaped like a cave, rendered in scallops, decorated fittingly by a grapevine from which clusters hang. Within this cave of the nymphs stands the child Dionysos. The type is fairly common, showing Dionysos, as a child or youth, carrying grapes, cornucopia, or jug, with the phiale.<sup>50</sup> These boys, or Dionysiac youths, are evidently about to pour a libation.<sup>51</sup> Our child, who is probably the godling himself,

<sup>49</sup> P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 338 ff. has sketched the subject and given full earlier bibliography.

<sup>50</sup> E. g. *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 350, fig. 7; *TK II*, p. 245, 4, 5 (= Walters, *Cat. of Vases in the Brit. Mus.*, IV, p. 237, G5) and p. 272, 2 (= *Cat. of Brit. Mus. Vases*, IV, p. 237, G3); p. 198, 3; p. 246 (winged versions, but similar). *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 162, fig. 72, No. 125 and fragments p. 164, fig. 75, Nos. 134-135.

<sup>51</sup> For the type of the god offering a libation, see the recent study, B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *Mitt. d. deut. arch. Instituts*, V, 1952, pp. 39 ff., particularly the list of the Dionysos type on vases, where, however, our child-god is not mentioned.

carries an oinochoe and a large phiale with eight petals in relief. The phiale is very large and seems peculiar in that the omphalos is low and that the eight large petals which decorate the bowl are shown convex rather than, as we should expect, concave. The same features, however, appear on phialai of the late fourth and early third centuries in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Eastern form of low omphalos prevailed. It also appears in a form like ours on the frieze of the Arsinoeion of Samothrace of the early third century.<sup>52</sup> That these are phialai not just rosettes Luschey considers to be proved by their frequent use in alternation with boukrania.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting to see how our little figure echoes the contemporary fashion.

This vase shows an interesting transition in styles. The child's body is slim and rather tall, rendered as that of an ephebe, as on terracottas of the early fourth century.<sup>54</sup> It is not so well proportioned as the examples in the British Museum, G3 and G4, which have almost achieved a childish chubbiness. Our piece attains its child-like effect chiefly by increasing the size of the head, which is rendered as very round-faced. This seems almost the very moment when the coroplast has faced the problem of rendering children in a more accurate manner than was prevalent in the early fourth century, but he has not yet mastered the proportions. This change must come very shortly after the fall of Olynthos, where none of the children is realistically rendered, but where the squatting children already have plump bodies.<sup>55</sup> Our coroplast has also shown a charming feeling for scale, in making the child small within his great cave, a sophisticated device to win our tenderness for the little god, the *κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον*, who appears to us as in the Homeric Hymn,

ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πατὸς ἔκητι  
ἄνθρω ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτοισιν.

Another scrap of a plastic lekythos (No. 14, Pl. 19) is tantalizing. We should very much like to know the type, which seems to be that of a figure seated on a rock. Only the right side and arm are preserved, with drapery flying out behind the arm in an arc, a favorite device in this class of lekythos.<sup>56</sup> This particular fragment gives us a date for the type. Indeed, the third quarter of the fourth century seems to have been a period of great popularity for this class of plastic vase, for the Pnyx deposit of that date contained many examples.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> H. Luschey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Harz, 1939, pp. 68 ff. Conze-Hauser-Benndorf, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1875, I, pl. LXI.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 1945, p. 210, note 1, a list of the early occurrence in architecture of the motive, seen also on grave reliefs, Möbius, *Ornamenten griech. Grabstelen*, pl. 39a. J. D. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 36 and fig. p. 37, a frieze of phialai and boukrania on a vase of the fourth century.

<sup>54</sup> Not quite so slim as the Erotes of *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 34, but rendered on the same lines.

<sup>55</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 56, Nos. 397-398.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *TK* II, p. 199, 2, 4, 6; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 163, fig. 74, No. 126 (Dionysos).

<sup>57</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 131 ff., Nos. 119 ff., figs. 72 ff.



## MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY

A number of miniature vases were also in the filling: two small, well made, black-glazed oinochoai and two similar palmette lekythoi,<sup>58</sup> and also unglazed miniatures: the base of what appears to be a thymiaterion like C.D. 87 (pl. 42) and two kantharoi, shown on our Plate 18.<sup>59</sup> They have slightly more flaring lips than those from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 86), and are a trifle squatter in proportions.

## CONCLUSION

Although the figurines from this well are limited in quantity, they provide a pleasant variation from the routine types that were predominant in the Coroplast's Dump. Only a few of the pieces from the well duplicate those from the Dump: the "doll," a draped female figure, and the column. One traditional type of head (No. 7) is similar to those found on the Pnyx.

Otherwise, the types are original. The piece of drapery (No. 6) shows a beginning interest in folds and texture. Novel head types occur: the foreigner, presumably a northerner (No. 3), and the mask with its strange turban (No. 10). The plastic vase (No. 13), a fine example of its class, dates for us the beginning of the interest in naturalistic representation of the child, its actual proportions and its relation to its environment, as well as in the mystic appeal of its purity, all interests that developed intensely in Hellenistic times. Finally, the hedgehog, unique for its period, attests to the humor and invention of a coroplast who went for inspiration not to the well-worn moulds of his teachers, but rather to the nursery tales or country sights of his youth. All these novelties in a field that hitherto had clung close to the old traditions show that new spirit of curiosity and zest for innovation that stimulated every alert Greek during the days of Alexander.

The only deity of whom the figurines give any indication is Dionysos. The plastic vases, the hedgehog (probably a toy), the Silen (? No. 2) and the mask (No. 10) may all have been intended for the Dionysiac cult. It is tempting to suggest that they may have come from a sanctuary of Dionysos in the neighborhood. But in view of the paucity of evidence for either the relation of figurines to cults or for a sanctuary in that region, we had best make no attempt to explain these peculiar pieces. Their chief value to us is their association with other pieces of the period and the light that they throw on the subjects and styles that were predominant among coroplasts during the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>58</sup> P 12727 and 13557; P 12725 and 12815.

<sup>59</sup> 15. (P 12726) H. 0.021 m., D. 0.043 m.

16. (P 13550) H. 0.03 m., D. 0.05 m.

Both are intact except for one handle. Fairly neatly made of reddish buff clay.

## CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form that was adopted for the publication of the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>60</sup> The clay, unless otherwise stated, is the usual Attic pinkish buff. The fabric is like that of the previous publication. White sizing originally covered all the figurines and is not specifically mentioned in the catalogue. Surviving color is noted where it is preserved. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters H.W., to denote the Hedgehog Well.

*Jointed Figure***1** (T 1730) Nude Female "Doll." Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.059 m. From depth 6.00 m. Brownish buff clay. Made in two moulds. Back carefully modelled.

Most of the torso preserved, from the neck to the thighs. Pierced at the shoulders for articulated arms.

*Male Figures***2** (T 1824) Fragment from a Male Draped Figure. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.063 m. From the dump. Left edge finished off. Inside roughly finished by fingers.

Fragment of the torso to the waist of a bearded man, wrapped in a cloak which covers his bent right arm.

**3** (T 1821) Male Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back flat. Tip of *pilos* broken away. Traces of pink paint on the face.

The head of a man with a squinting right eye and drooping moustache, wearing a cloak and a high hat with rolled brim.

*Female Figures***4** (T 1823) Standing Female. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.083 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back rounded.

The torso, from the neck to the knees, of a standing girl wearing a high-girt chiton with long overfold and holding a bird against her breast with her left hand.

**5** (T 1868) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.048 m. Left side of mould-joint preserved.

A left hand emerges from under an himation, resting on the left draped knee of a seated female figure.

**6** (T 1867) Fragment: Draped Thigh. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.077 m. Right joint of mould preserved.

The draped right thigh to just below the knee of a female figure.

**7** (T 1822) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds, then stuffed with clay.

The head of a woman wearing stephane and earrings. Her hair falls in long locks on her shoulders.

**8** (T 1820) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. From the dump. Forehead chipped. Back of head unworked; solid. Traces of red paint on the hair knot.

The head of a woman wearing large earrings. Her hair is drawn up in a peak over the forehead behind which it is tied up in an erect knot of loose hair.

**9** (T 1866) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. Front mould-made; back carelessly filled out by hand. Solid. Gashed on the left side of the face. Features badly rubbed.

The head of a girl wearing short hair and a wide fillet over her forehead, over which is bound a second fillet with knobs (fruits?).

*Mask***10** (T 1819) Female Mask. Pl. 19.

H. 0.05 m. From the dump. Hollow. Face mould-made; top finished by hand. Two sus-

<sup>60</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 158 ff.

pension holes in the top of the head. Chip off back. Traces of red paint on the mouth.

Mask of a female head, wearing its hair bound with broad fillets as in a turban, on top of which rests a wreath of flowers and triangular leaves with flowers over the forehead.

#### *Animal*

#### **11** (T 1731) Hedgehog. Pl. 19.

H. 0.042 m., L. 0.077 m., W. 0.045 m. From depth 6.00 m. Traces of thick white paste discolored to dull black on back and of yellow on some of the knobs. Feet and one of the knobs missing. Tail, which curled against the body, broken off. Vent hole beneath. Loose clay inside.

The figure of a hedgehog, his eyes and nostrils indicated. His spines indicated by low irregular ribbing. Over his body, also, in three rows were originally ten hemispherical knobs, representing fruit, alternately cut with a deep groove and pierced with a round hole. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 242, fig. 42; *Illustrated London News*, July 9, 1938, p. 59.

#### *Miscellaneous*

#### **12** (T 1869) Fragment of Column. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.052 m., Diam. of shaft 0.015 m. Solid.

Upper part broken away. Bottom finished off smooth.

Shaft and base of Ionic type column with large upper and smaller lower torus.

#### *Plastic Vases*

#### **13** (P 12822) Plastic Lekythos: Dionysos in a Cave. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.095 m., W. 0.062 m. From depth 6.00 m. Made in two moulds. Back rounded. Neck of vase broken away; bottom open; base detached. One bunch of mould-made grapes missing from right side. Back covered with dull black glaze much rubbed off.

The child Dionysos, wearing a high soft cap, a chlamys hanging down his back, and boots (?), and carrying a jug in his right hand and a phiale in his left, stands in a cave, around the face of which hang clusters of grapes. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 242 f., fig. 43.

#### **14** (P 13573) Fragment of Plastic Lekythos. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.072 m., P. W. 0.038 m., T. 0.045 m. Front and back both seem hand-made. Black glaze on the back.

A fragment from the right side of the vase, preserving the extended right arm of a figure seated on rock, with drapery behind it.

### C. THE DEMETER CISTERN

The second group to be considered in this article, from what we shall call the Demeter Cistern, contains only a few figurines, but these claim our attention by their peculiar character. Along with these, for their better elucidation, we shall include also several similar pieces that help to build up our understanding of the group in question.

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In February and March, 1932, a small cistern was cleared at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, some 200 meters to the west of the Coroplasts' Dump, not very far from the Hedgehog Well.<sup>1</sup> It had evidently belonged to one of the small houses in that thickly populated residential district. That sculptors lived near by is attested

<sup>1</sup> Designated during excavation as Section ΣT, Cistern at 9/B; on the new city grid plan as F 16 1. It was excavated by the writer.



by the presence in the filling of two unfinished works roughly blocked out of re-used marble.<sup>2</sup>

The chamber, lined with the usual waterproof cement, was roughly rectangular at the bottom, measuring north side 1.25 m., east side 1.80 m., south side 2.06 m., west side 1.70 m., and reaching a maximum depth of 3.80 m. Except for a small intrusion of the third and fourth centuries after Christ, which filled the mouth, the contents of the cistern were homogeneous, consisting of household rubbish and 22 coins, of which only one was legible, dating *ca.* 294 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

#### CHRONOLOGY

The coin seems to set the lower limit on the material found within this cistern. The lamp fragments all belong to fourth century classes.<sup>4</sup> The pottery includes wares that are characteristic of the period just after the middle of the fourth century B.C. but probably not reaching down to the end of the century. As is so often the case, it antedated the coin found with it.<sup>5</sup> A selection of characteristic examples of the latest types of vases is shown on Plate 20.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> S 195, Mother of the Gods. See below, p. 105 and S 201 Relief Head.

<sup>3</sup> I owe the dating of this coin to Margaret Thompson.

<sup>4</sup> L 417 (Howland Type 25B', which is very close to L 4529 from the Coroplast's Dump); L 429 (Howland Type 25A); L 635 (Howland Type 26A). These references are to the types of lamps set up by Richard Howland, which are to appear soon in his volume on the Agora lamps.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 121, note 21.

<sup>6</sup> I owe this selection and the analysis of the pottery to the kindness of Lucy Talcott and of Peter E. Corbett, who is at present engaged in studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. They supplied the following descriptions of our Plate 20, left to right.

1. Bowl, everted rim. Pl. 20, a.

Inv. P 262. H. 0.035 m., D. at lip 0.088 m.

Small piece missing from rim. Ring foot with groove in resting surface. Rouletted circle on floor. Glazed all over, mottled red to black and in part peeled.

2. Kantharos, moulded rim. Pl. 20, b.

Inv. P 2552. H. 0.11 m., D. at lip 0.095 m.

Part of rim and wall and of one handle restored. Scraped line at the junction of the two mouldings on the lower part of the foot, and the groove in the resting surface scraped. Black to red-brown glaze, in part peeled.

By analogy with kantharoi with plain rims, this piece belongs to the last quarter of the fourth century, but probably before the very end.

3. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 20, c.

Inv. P 318. H. 0.102 m., D. at lip 0.096 m.

One handle restored. The resting surface reserved, and the space inside the ring foot, with two glaze circles at the centre. An X roughly scratched across this space. Glaze fired mostly red, with a pronounced stacking line; considerably peeled on inside and on upper part of outside.

About the same stage of development as Inv. P 12480, from the Coroplast's Dump. Advanced third quarter of fourth century, or just possibly last quarter. Compare Inv. P 1829, perhaps a shade more developed, from Hellenistic Group A (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 319-320, fig. 5, A 26); probably not one of the very latest elements in the group.

## TECHNIQUE

In general, the technique of the figurines from this deposit is like that of the two preceding groups. Fewer votives and more unusual types, however, occur, suggesting that the coroplasts are beginning to shake off rigid traditions and are creating new types. Only one, much abraded, unidentified piece of a mould was found, of which the back is fairly smooth, with a tab. In addition, one other uncatalogued piece should be mentioned here: a ball of clay, entirely unworked, but crowned with a thick, stippled wreath (like C. D. 70). The outer layer, on which the face of this head was worked, has evidently been broken away.

For the chronology of style, this group offers no significant data. The depth at which the pieces were found seems to have no bearing on their relative dating. The variation in the condition of the fragments, on the other hand, does seem related to their original date of manufacture. The most worn, Nos. **1, 12, 4, 5 a and b, 7, 11**, are just those for which we would argue an early date from both type and style. But the well-preserved figure of the boy (No. **10**), the grotesque (No. **2**) and the charming head (No. **6**) are well advanced stylistically. Three other pieces (Nos. **3, 8, 9**), which still have fairly fresh surfaces and retain traces of the white slip, are less easily classified, but they do not offer any contradictions. The more advanced pieces certainly do not seem out of key with the best from the Hedgehog Well. We have moved almost imperceptibly from the conservative mood of Olynthos to the more vigorous and imaginative spirit of the end of the fourth century. Although there are no exact duplicates with the preceding groups, the general effect is homogeneous. We can only express our amazement at the variety presented by these small cross-sections of the coroplast's line during this period.

The subjects in this group of figurines indicate that the source was connected with a sanctuary of which the nature will be discussed in the conclusion.

## TYPES AND SUBJECTS

JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: Nos. **1-3**

Three fragments belong to the class of "dolls" that were also numerous in the preceding groups. No. **1** is unlike No. 1 of the Hedgehog Well, in that it shows almost no curve from the shoulder to the waist and no modelling of the ribs or stomach. It is more like the older types<sup>7</sup> and probably was long-discarded before it found its way into the cistern.

4. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 20, d.

Inv. P 2550. H. 0.078 m., D. at rim 0.10 m.

Part of rim and wall restored; the handles missing. Scraped line at junction of two mouldings on foot; shallow groove in reserved resting surface. Mottled red glaze.

The shape of the base indicates a date in the late third quarter of the fourth century, or early in the last quarter.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. K. M. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 461, fig. 8; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 130.

No. 2 (Pl. 21) is also a "doll," but of an unusual sort. It had articulated arms; the legs, on the other hand, are pressed tight together in standing position. It represents a grotesquely obese woman, whose head, to judge from the break at the neck, may have drooped forward on her chest, as in a similar example in the Louvre.<sup>8</sup>

That these obese figures, like most other "dolls," represent hetairai seems highly probable.<sup>9</sup> Tatooing, the mark of the foreign slaves, is shown on the shoulders and chest of a well-preserved example in the British Museum<sup>10</sup> (Pl. 21). This figure also wears a necklace with pendants and huge earrings; a gay fillet ties her hair into the *lampadion* coiffure, which was popular during the earlier fourth century. These ornaments are supplemented by a smile and by the epideictic gesture with which she unbinds her breasts. Her action is explained by comparison with a fully preserved example from Thisbe, which shows an obese woman unbinding her breasts in the manner of Aphrodite and brides.<sup>11</sup> The band, variously called the *στρόφιον*, *κεστός*, *ταινία*, *ἰμάς*, *ἀπόδεσμος*,<sup>12</sup> is usually described by scholars as shown being bound around the breasts, but the provocative way in which Myrrhina in the *Lysistrata*, 931, removes her *strophion* confirms the implications of the gesture of the British Museum example. The terracottas must caricature some more serious composition, presumably in bronze.<sup>13</sup> Other figures of obese women caricature other well known types of, for example, Aphrodite and Eros. Miss Haspels has pointed out this predilection for caricature in her publication of an amusing figure in Athens.<sup>14</sup> Two ribald caricatures of Eros may also be cited. One, from the Agora (T 1403; Pl. 21),<sup>15</sup> represents an

<sup>8</sup> J. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, fig. 83 (H. 0.13 m.).

<sup>9</sup> I have discussed this subject fully in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114 ff. Our piece from the Demeter Cistern is mentioned in note 131, where it is dated too early. For a graphic picture of an hetaira like ours returning from a party, see *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, p. 14, fig. 2; note that she also wears pointed slippers with heels; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Terracottas*, C 243. "From Tanagra." (H. 0.19 m.). Gray clay with slip burned to a frit-like condition. The arms from the elbows down are restored, probably correctly. *TK II*, p. 456, 7. I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Higgins and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to examine this and other figurines and for the photograph, reproduced on Plate 21.

<sup>11</sup> *TK II*, p. 456, 6 = 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, p. 188. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 187 f.; *TK II*, p. 215, 7 and 8; also Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 246, pl. XXXIV, 2, a prostitute exhibiting herself.

<sup>12</sup> Pollux, *Onom.*, VII, 65 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pottier and Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, pp. 296 ff. show that this motive is confined, with sure feeling, to the minor arts.

<sup>14</sup> "Terracotta Figurine," *Bulletin van de Vereniging . . . antieke Beschaving*, Leiden, 1951, pp. 54 ff., a figurine of a fat woman in the pose of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Cf. a kneeling obese figure from South Italy in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which seems to caricature the Doidalsas type of crouching Aphrodite.

<sup>15</sup> From Section AA, in a modern filling. P. H. 0.065 m. The technique and style point to a well advanced Hellenistic date. For similar Erotes, cf. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. I; other Agora specimens will be published later.



enormously fat naked woman who wears only a scarf of drapery twisted around her hips and looped up at both sides exactly as it is worn by Erotes and Hermaphrodites of the Hellenistic period. The presence on a fat woman of this obviously male costume must have struck the Greeks as ridiculous. The same type of joke is shown in a figurine of a drunken obese woman in Boston, who wears her hair in a central plait, the usual coiffure of little girls and boys and of the child Eros (Mus. of Fine Arts Inv. 01.7895). It is a question whether these figures actually caricature well known works of art or whether they represent old hetairai, who entertained the guests by dancing burlesques on the solemn poses of famous statues and paintings.

Such later ribaldries are elaborations on the theme of obese figures; actually, our example from the Demeter Cistern must be among the earliest. Its rigid pose and unmodelled back place it among the technically earlier group, such as the actors, Nos. 43 and 44, of the Coroplast's Dump. Nor is the fabric much different from that of the same deposit. Neither is there a suggestion of flexibility or of sculptural manner in its style. We might easily regard this figure as the ribald invention of some imaginative coroplast. Actually, however, the creator of this appalling comment on Athenian womanhood was modelling from life and following, with amazing fidelity, the horrible truth. His work can now be diagnosed as a clinical specimen. We have only to compare the proportions, the contours, the folds of flesh of our fourth century figure with those on the photograph of a medical survey to concede, with astonishment, the mastery of the Greek coroplast (Pl. 21).<sup>16</sup> It is significant that this accurate observation of anatomical detail on the part of the coroplast is to be dated at the same time as the taking of plaster casts of the face in order to get life-like detail in portraiture<sup>17</sup> and as the Hippocratic corpus was being embellished with treatises full of observations.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> I owe the photograph to the kindness of Dr. J. L. Angel of the Daniel Baugh Institute of Anatomy of the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. Dr. Angel found these Greek obese examples most interesting in connection with his studies of modern obesity. He considers these figures not pregnant, but merely obese. Dr. Chauncey D. Leake of the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston also examined the photographs for me and added the following note: "None, in my opinion, indicate pregnancy. The Agora item (D.C. 2) suggests Fröhlich-Cushing syndrome, which is a pituitary disorder and which also seems to be suggested in the case of Dr. Angel's photograph (on Pl. 21). The pendulous breasts in this item, as well as in T 1403, suggest pathology. T 1403 indicates a smooth and large abdomen, suggesting ascites. It seems too much for pregnancy and too smooth and unfolded for simple obesity. Ascites usually results from cardiac or renal disease." He considers that the British Museum example, C 243, does represent simple obesity. For previous studies of obesity in antiquity, see A. Laumonier, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 315, pl. XIV, 3 with references.

<sup>17</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 153. Note also the realistic portrait study from the Hedgehog Well (No. 3).

<sup>18</sup> C. Singer, *The Legacy of Greece*, Oxford, 1942, p. 217 remarks that the treatise on anatomy was written "perhaps ca. 330 B.C." Edelstein, *R. E.*, s.v. Hippokrates, Suppl. to vol. VI, 1934-5, col. 1316, merely lists this treatise among the non-Hippocratic pieces.

A leg from a sizable "doll," No. 3 (Pl. 20) can profitably be compared with C.D. 7a and 7b. The foot from the Demeter Cistern, however, definitely droops in hanging position and the sole is unevenly finished. In size it is smaller; in style it shows more realistic modelling than those of the Coroplast's Dump. It is therefore to be dated slightly later. A fragmentary articulated leg of the straight type, exactly like C.D. 1 was found, but not catalogued.

#### DRAPED FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-5

A small draped fragment (No. 4, Pl. 20) finds parallels in the draped female figures of the Coroplast's Dump, Nos. 19-20, and in the more advanced piece of the Girl with the Bird, No. 4, of the Hedgehog Well, which is not unlike it in the lower part. The dragging of the foot behind the body is a somewhat more advanced pose than that of the mid fourth century examples. It may well have belonged to one of our following heads.

No. 5, a and b, probably both come from one figure representing a seated goddess, presumably the Mother of the Gods, holding phiale and tympanon. Similar pieces have been found at Corinth and at Olynthos.<sup>19</sup> These hold lions in the lap, but no trace remains of a lion on these Agora fragments.<sup>20</sup> On both these pieces, the phiale shows a small omphalos surrounded by thin rays, presumably representing the *φιάλη ἀκτινωτός* which is mentioned in Attic and Delian inscriptions of the mid fourth century.<sup>21</sup>

#### FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 6-7

No. 6 (Pl. 20), an extremely battered piece, gives an interesting cross-reference between the Demeter Cistern and the Coroplast's Dump. It shows the round face, fat cheeks, and snub nose of the girl type which is common in the Coroplast's Dump (e. g. Nos. 31-32). But whereas those seem to have been among the later pieces within their own context, this fragment looks to be among the earlier in this deposit. This overlap gives us a check on the relative dating of the two groups.

The most attractive piece from the Demeter Cistern is the sizable head of a young woman (No. 7, Pl. 20),<sup>22</sup> who wears her hair drawn up high above her forehead and parted down the center. At the back of the head are traces of an object, which had been supported by a crown of double plaits, of which a little remains. It may have been a votive object like those shown on Pl. 22. The scale of this head is large, imply-

<sup>19</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 35, No. 388 (described as of non-Corinthian dark red clay). *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 36, Nos. 355-356; XIV, pl. 59, No. 181. Cf. also larger fragment of a type identical to ours from a deposit of the second half of the fourth century (T 3105, P. H. 0.05 m.).

<sup>20</sup> But see below, p. 102, and Pl. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Luschey, *Phiale*, p. 26, fig. 32.

<sup>22</sup> The photograph of the front view is by Hermann Wagner.

ing a figure of *ca.* 0.28 m. in height. The carefully modelled features and richly retouched hair are unusually handsome for this period.

In style, the head is more monumental than the "Tanagras." The features bear comparison with those of major sculpture. The forehead is triangular. The eyes are wide-open, sloping downward to the outer corners; the upper lip is slightly bowed. The face may be compared with those on late fourth century reliefs.<sup>23</sup> The peaked, yet parted hair seems to derive from the simple peaked coiffure of the early and middle fourth century,<sup>24</sup> but the part is evidently more advanced and ultimately develops into the characteristic coiffure of the "Tanagras," in which the hair springs up, high but loose, on either side of the part.<sup>25</sup> It must be contemporary with the earliest melon coiffure in which the plaits are wound forward on the head.<sup>26</sup> The general head and face type finds a close parallel on a very large head that was found in an Agora deposit of *ca.* 300 B.C.<sup>26a</sup> A large head from Corinth of about this same period, if a little earlier, shows the same eyes that slant downward at the outer corners, the same straight nose with wide nostrils, the same rather short mouth with equally thick lips and small rounded chin as those of our head from the Demeter Cistern.<sup>27</sup> Our head must be but slightly later than the mask No. 10 from the Hedgehog Well. The general head shape, with its extremely shallow crown, emphasizing the vertical, is also found on several heads of the latest period at Olynthos.<sup>28</sup> These are all evidently earlier than a bronze mirror relief dated *ca.* 300 B.C. by Züchner, in which all these characteristics have been softened.<sup>29</sup> These various parallels serve to fix the date of our head fairly closely to the earlier part of the last quarter of the fourth century. It is a representative of the large, rather monumental style of figurines that existed apart from the delicate "Tanagras" and seemingly belonged to another tradition.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> E. g. *Encycl. phot. de l'art*, Louvre, III, p. 211.

<sup>24</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 101, on No. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, pl. V, No. 9, p. 438, No. 99 (from Elateia) and, later, Köster, pl. 45.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 138.

<sup>26a</sup> T 1213, Section Γ, Well i, late fourth century.

<sup>27</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3 (H. 0.243 m.).

<sup>28</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 43, No. 126 A; pl. 45, No. 127 A.

<sup>29</sup> *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft XIV, 1942, p. 75, fig. 38, KS 108. Note how the eyes of this figure are narrowing toward a squint.

<sup>30</sup> This style has been noted by Kleiner, p. 133, where he cites as an example from the Agora the sizable figure of a seated woman with a mirror in her lap, provisionally published in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, (T 139), from an early third century context. It is with this class that Bernhard Neutsch, *Studien zur Vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik*, XVII Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin, 1952, makes his attack on the vital problem of the rôle played by Athens in the creation of the "Tanagra style" and Hellenistic coroplastics in general. The number of such pieces from Athens still remains small. I hope at some time to summarize the evidence from the Agora excavations on this important subject. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158; Kleiner, *Gnomon*, 1953, pp. 535 f.



## FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: Nos. 8-9

The most interesting pieces from the Demeter Cistern are those that are connected with ritual activities. Since they can better be understood in connection with other examples of a similar kind, the class will be studied as a whole, but the extraneous pieces will be referred to only by their inventory numbers.

To begin with the two examples from the Demeter Cistern itself, the first is a small head (No. 8, Pl. 20).<sup>31</sup> It represents a woman wearing her himation drawn over her head and across her mouth, leaving only the nose and eyes visible. Such veiling is suitable for the bearer of sacred objects, although it was not apparently essentially a ritual costume.<sup>32</sup> On top of her head, this lady carries a strange object, like a large disk wrapped in a napkin from which a tall central protrusion has been broken away. I know of no exact parallel. A figure in the British Museum, from Kyrene, bears on her head a disk of relatively the same size and thickness, but the top is smooth, with only a slight boss in the center.<sup>33</sup> Another head from the Agora (T 1623, Pl. 22) carries a somewhat similar thick disk upon its plaits.<sup>34</sup> It was found very near the Eleusinion in a late Hellenistic deposit. Though this object is smaller, it is clearly related to that on our head from the Demeter Cistern and may indicate that the cult for which this object was carried was Eleusinian.

With our present knowledge, it seems impossible to identify the object on the head of our small piece. It might possibly be a ritual cake wrapped in a cloth, a cake of the type referred to on inscriptions as *πόπανον ὀρθόνφαλον* or in literature as *ὀρθοστάται*.<sup>35</sup> These cakes were commonly offered in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Our second head (No. 9, Pl. 22) carries on her head a tall object, for which there are many parallels. Miss Richter has convincingly identified it as a sacred basket, probably a *κανοῦν*, made of metal to hold ritual objects, very possibly the image of the

<sup>31</sup> The photograph of the front view of this head on Pl. 20 is by Hermann Wagner.

<sup>32</sup> For veiling, A. Heydemann, "Verhüllte Tänzerin," IV *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1879, pp. 14 f.; C. Galt, "Veiled Ladies," *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 393.

<sup>33</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, C 812 = TK II, p. 77, 3 (H. 0.153 m.); see Plate 22. Walters calls this object a hat, but it is far thicker and wider than any hat known to me. The veil hanging over the back, as it hangs on ritual objects, is also unknown to me as an adjunct of a hat. It is interesting to compare the piece with our No. 4, which shows similar stance and the long overfold and which also may well come from a ritual figure. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Mr. R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>34</sup> From Section AA near the Circular Building. Ruddy brown clay. P. H. 0.048 m. A female head wearing her hair in melon coiffure with two plaits wound round the head to support a thick circular disk from which a stout central projection has been broken away. One other head from the Agora wears the hair in the same manner and has the back of the head broken away in such a way as to suggest that it too carried a votive object: T 2127, from a context of the third century B.C., unpublished.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1367, lines 10, 13 etc., on Eleusinian ritual. Euripides, *Helena*, 547, *τύμβον 'πὶ κρηπιδ' ἐμπύρους τ' ὀρθοστάτας*; *ὀρθοστάται* defined by Pollux as "*ἱεροῦ ἄρτους εἶδος*."

deity.<sup>36</sup> It is also frequently shown in connection with weddings and with the worship of Aphrodite. It is also carried by Pan and by Nike.<sup>37</sup> It must therefore be considered a ritual vessel for general use, but chiefly employed at women's festivals.

A real *kanoun* must have been made of metal, very probably gilded. A few may have been made in gold. It had three high handles, separated by cross-bracings. On the vases it is usually shown empty or with a fruit or two on the bottom. On certain terracottas, including the Agora example, a figure in relief appears beneath the arch of the front handle. Other *kana* of this type come from eastern Greece. Two of these<sup>38</sup> show dancers, wrapped in flying draperies; another in Copenhagen may be of the same type, while a series from Lindos presents a standing figure, which Blinkenberg considers to be Athena Lindaia.<sup>39</sup> Ours is of still another type, the goddess with upraised arms, standing on a base. The base would certainly suggest a cult statue. The type with upraised arms is that of the earliest representations of deities and their votaries. It is perhaps not without significance that the most important Athenian representation of this type was found not far from the Demeter Cistern itself, a plaque of the seventh century B.C.<sup>40</sup> Not only is the gesture of the little figure on the *kanoun* similar to that of the figure on the early plaque, but even the outline, with its bell-shaped skirt, is strikingly alike. Possibly both these figures go back to the inspira-

<sup>36</sup> Furtwängler, *F.R.* on pl. 78,2, p. 100, called the object a brazier for burning incense, but his identification has not met acceptance. L. Deubner, "Hochzeit und Opferkorb," *Jahr.*, XL, 1925, pp. 215 ff. identified this object as a *κανοὺν ὀρθόν*. G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 422 ff. and XXX, 1926, pp. 422 ff. summarizes the earlier literature. In *Red Figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, 1936, p. 216 she concludes that these baskets contained sacred objects that were carried through the streets in processions. To Miss Richter's list of examples, I might add the following:

Athens, Pnyx Excavations, No. 100, fragment of a pyxis lid showing a woman seated with a *kanoun* on her knees; a second woman advances, holding out a string of beads or branch with which to decorate it. It is to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement X, by Barbara Philippaki to whom I owe this information.

Athens, Vlastos Collection, Semni Karouzou, "Eine Choenkanne der Sammlung Vlastos," *Festschrift Rumpf*, 1952, pp. 119 ff., pl. XXIX. This is the unpublished example mentioned by Miss Richter, *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 215, note 5. I owe this reference to Mrs. Karouzou.

See recently, H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1951, pp. 350 ff.

Another example will appear shortly in a new *C.V.A.* volume of the National Museum, Athens, kindly shown me by Mrs. Karouzou.

<sup>37</sup> Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 212 lists the *κανᾶ νυμφικά* mentioned on the inscriptions dealing with the temple treasures. Pan: *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 206 ff. Nike: *C.V.A.*, Palermo, Mus. Nat., I, III-1-c, pl. 28, No. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, A 388, pl. XIV; Heuzey, *Fig. ant. de terre cuite du Louvre*, pl. 16 bis, 3 = TK I, 158, 3b.

<sup>39</sup> Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 7, No. 59. Lindos, I, *Petits objets*, pp. 706 ff., Nos. 3014-3016, pl. 140. C. Blinkenberg, "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filolog. Meddelelser*, I, 2, Copenhagen, 1917, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 604 ff., No. 277.



tion of an ancient image of the sort that Pausanias often mentions. If so, the proximity of their places of finding implies that the sanctuary that housed them originally was one and the same. We must leave this interesting speculation for our later discussion of the whole subject.<sup>41</sup>

That this little figure in relief is connected with the cult for which the *kana* were carried seems self-evident, but it is not so clear just how the relief on our terracottas is intended to be interpreted. Blinkenberg considered that it was a reproduction of a repoussé relief inserted in the gap under the handle of the metal vessel.<sup>42</sup> Excellent analogies are offered by the plaques that fill out the spaces between the legs of tripods.<sup>43</sup> Miss Richter, on the other hand, interpreted the figures not as reliefs under the handles, but as representations of the actual images of the deities intended to be thought of as carried inside and seen through the open metal work.<sup>44</sup> The shape of the *kanoun* is indeed highly suitable for carrying in a procession images which are to be seen by the crowd and yet protected from their fingers. We know that images were so carried and we know of no representation of this period of a more suitable vessel for their accommodation. No other use can be hypothecated for it, as it is usually shown empty, decorated with branches, on the vase-paintings. On two unpublished lekythoi in the Hermitage, Miss Richter noted the *kanoun* resting on the ground and beside it, a small statuette, which seemed intended to go in it, to be carried by a girl, who was preparing for the procession. It is unfortunate that at the moment we cannot cite more definite evidence, but what we have tends to support Miss Richter's theory that these *kana* were used to carry the images of deities in processions on their days of festival.

Related to these two heads from our Demeter Cistern (Nos. 8-9), several other pieces from the Agora should properly be discussed here. They should help to cast light on the confusing problems of the identification of the cults with which the whole group is to be connected. It must be borne in mind that these pieces come from different contexts and must not be included in the chronological aspect of the subject.

The first is a female head carrying a *λίκνον* or winnowing basket (T 431, Pl. 22).<sup>45</sup> It is to be dated somewhere around the end of the third century B.C. Two wreaths or stalks are curled in the bottom of the *liknon*; possibly they are intended to represent wheat. In the center rests a sizable bun with three divisions; it is probably a *πλακοῦς τριάβλωμος*.<sup>46</sup> The conical object beside it might be a *πυραμῖς*, often shown on

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> E. g. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. L.

<sup>44</sup> *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 216.

<sup>45</sup> From Section Θ, filling of the Middle Stoa, i. e., before ca. 150 B.C. P. H. 0.06 m. Traces of flesh color and of red and green on the fruits.

<sup>46</sup> For *πλακοῦς* cf. Suidas, s. v. *ἀνάστατοι*. The modifier *τριάβλωμος* is inferred on the analogy of *ὀκτάβλωμος*. Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. *Pistor*, fig. 5698, p. 496.



representations of cakes on offering trays.<sup>47</sup> These cakes were also probably those called *ναστιά*,<sup>48</sup> which were cone-shaped, made of raisins and almond paste. At the back of our *liknon*, lay two flat cakes, presumably *πλακοῦντες*, with their upper edges broken away.

The use of a *liknon* as an offering tray is well known in the cults of Demeter and Dionysos.<sup>49</sup> The winnowing-fan was inevitably associated from earliest times with agricultural ritual.<sup>50</sup> Later its symbolic use as a vessel of purging was employed in other cults and in marriage-ceremonies. It is recorded that the *liknon* used in the service of Demeter carried a *πλακοῦς* and salt.<sup>51</sup> Our girl is obviously performing the function of carrying the *liknon* for the cult of a goddess.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, since the deposit in which our head was found was brought in with a general filling, it gives no direct clue as to what cult is involved. The natural inference is that the cult was that of Demeter or of the closely associated Mother of the Gods or Oriental goddess.

One other *liknon* was found in the Agora, which seems to bear out that attribution. It comes from a cistern on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios, just south of the railway cut. This is the figure of a goddess (T 1547, Pl. 22) wearing a polos, seated on a high-backed throne, holding a phiale in her right hand and a *liknon* on her lap.<sup>53</sup> The *liknon* contained objects, only one of which, a small round cake, survives. This particular type of seated goddess is clearly a creation of the fifth century.<sup>54</sup> But the hair and the soft modelling of the drapery of our piece betray a later date. The Olynthian parallels tend to place its manufacture in the fourth century B.C. Even at that, its discovery in a context probably of the late third to early second century is interesting, for it seems to have survived an unusually long time before it was discarded.

The *liknon* was evidently added to this old type as an after-thought. That is, the type was established and frequently used in the shop before the coroplast thought to put on the *liknon*. He did not trouble to make a new model and new moulds, but

<sup>47</sup> G. R. Davidson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 109, No. 3.

<sup>48</sup> For *nasta*, see Pollux, VI, 75, but Athenaeus, III, 111, defines them otherwise.

<sup>49</sup> For its resemblance to an offering tray, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 156, No. 106, which contains the same offerings. Cf. *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 311, fig. 30 (from the sanctuary of the Mother at Troizen).

<sup>50</sup> H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Munich, 1905, pp. 29 ff. gives a summary of the subject, still useful, though much developed by Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 1908, pp. 517 ff. Cf. M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1950, pp. 568 ff. where the Phrygian origin of the child Bacchos in the *liknon* is associated with the early Earth-Mother, Hipta.

<sup>51</sup> V. Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1938, p. 126.

<sup>52</sup> Hesychius defines the role: *ς. υ. λικνοστέφει: λίκνον στεφανούμενος θρησκεύει.*

<sup>53</sup> From Section ΔΔ, a cistern at 99/K. H. 0.19 m., W. at shoulders 0.063 m. Much weathered. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 38.

<sup>54</sup> Examples of the prototype: *TK* I, p. 74, particularly 6 and 7. Cf. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 44, Nos. 127 ff.

added the attribute by hand to an existing type. This would suggest that the use of the *liknon* on this type was something of an innovation. The addition of an attribute to give, as it were, a specific name to a generalized type, is in keeping with the trends of Hellenistic religion. We shall consider later the cults to which these figurines are to be related.<sup>55</sup>

One other piece from the Agora belongs to this group of ritual heads. It wears a polos (T 1004, Pl. 23).<sup>56</sup> That it is not the goddess herself is made clear by the twisted roll around the head, which is the sacred band or *στρόφιον*. Nor is the face divine, but rather childish. Very possibly it is the face of Eros, to judge from a counterpart, said to come from Tanagra. This Eros is clashing cymbals; he wears the turreted crenellated polos of Kybele.<sup>57</sup>

The polos of the Agora head is a high somewhat flattened segment of a cylinder. In the front a relief shows on very small scale a goddess seated frontally, with a phiale in her extended right hand and a tympanon held high in her left. A lion sits frontally to the left of her throne; to the right an attendant stands holding a long torch. Despite the scale and the dullness of the impression, it is clear that the goddess herself wears a low polos; she seems to hold a tiny lion in her lap. This is the type well established by late Hellenistic times, the period to which this head belongs, for Kybele or the Mother of the Gods.<sup>58</sup>

In connection with these pieces we might note two minor fragments that were found in the Agora. One is a small polos (T 1962, Pl. 23)<sup>59</sup> probably intended for the head of a figure. The relief is illegible.

The other is a tiny plaque or relief showing the goddess seated extending a phiale in her right hand (T 892, Pl. 23).<sup>60</sup> A tympanon rested along her left side, its front edge broken. It is clear that she too wears a polos from which a veil hangs down her

<sup>55</sup> See below, p. 102.

<sup>56</sup> From Section II@ on the lower slopes of the south side of Kolonos Agoraios, cistern, at 42/© in a late Hellenistic to early Roman context. P. H. 0.064 m., H. of polos 0.027 m. The breaks indicate that the polos was draped at the top and sides by a veil. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 204, note 1.

<sup>57</sup> Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 97. (H. 0.012 m.). A number of unpublished female heads wearing poloi, veiled, decorated, or crenellated are in the National Museum, Athens.

<sup>58</sup> General earlier type: *TK* II, p. 174; develops into the later types of p. 175. One of the best is p. 175, 1 = Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, fig. 367; *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 59, No. 181, with bibliography. Cf. *Jahrb.*, Suppl. IX, 1911, pl. XI for examples found near Pergamon in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh; similar examples have recently been found at Gordion and Troy. For a list of the type as found in Greece, see H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1912, pp. 505 ff.

<sup>59</sup> From Section OA, on the north slope of the Acropolis, in a pit in bedrock. P. H. 0.033 m. Finished smooth beneath, broken on top. Traces beneath of a wreath. Low relief in front with traces of red paint; no trace of a veil at the sides.

<sup>60</sup> From Section B, Bouleuterion Plateia, near the Metroon from a context of the first century after Christ. P. H. 0.052 m., W. 0.031 m. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 204 f., note 1.



back. What was the function of this relief cannot be determined until we find a parallel.

Finally, in our study of this type, a much more important piece must be taken into consideration. This is a sizable votive polos (T 1546, Pl. 23).<sup>61</sup> It was found near the figure of a goddess holding a *liknon* (T 1547, Pl. 22). This large polos represents the same type as is shown on the head of the child (T 1004, Pl. 23).<sup>62</sup> The tall cylinder stands on a flaring base which is treated lightly like fluting or folds.<sup>63</sup> It is crowned by two wreaths, the lower one stippled, probably to represent flowers, the upper both stippled and bound by a broad *strophion*. From under these wreaths flows a veil wide enough to cover the face of the cylinder if drawn across it. The cylinder itself is fashioned at the top beneath the wreath in open-work turrets or crenellations, evidently intended to be those of the wall-crown of the Asiatic city-goddess.<sup>64</sup> The body of the cylinder is divided into three zones which decrease in size toward the bottom and are divided from each other by raised fillets. The upper zone shows a scene like that on our smaller polos. A female figure sits on a high-backed throne in three-quarter view to the right. Her right arm appears to rest in her lap; no phiale is discernible. In her left hand she holds an upright tympanon. On her head rests a polos itself apparently also wreathed, from which hangs down a veil. In front of the seated figure stands a female figure extending a torch in her right hand; behind the throne stands another woman, holding a round object, presumably a tympanon. The whole composition closely resembles that of the well known relief in Berlin<sup>65</sup> except that the phiale and the lion are absent. In the middle zone appear four figures, who are moving left, holding hands in a circular dance, toward another woman who holds a torch and faces toward the dancers. In the lowest zone, which is very sketchily modelled, five more figures are indicated, which appear, so far as one can make out, also to be dancers, tightly wrapped in drapery.<sup>66</sup>

This polos is, so far as I know, unique in terracotta. Figurines wearing even

<sup>61</sup> From Section ΔΔ on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios in a context of mixed material ranging from the late fourth to the second century B.C. H. 0.137 m., W. at the top 0.062 m. Pinkish clay with traces of blue color on the veil. Complete save for chips from the veil and one crenellation. Slightly concave with traces of attachment beneath. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 39.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 98.

<sup>63</sup> Does this hem possibly represent drapery and should we consider the whole polos as an aniconic form of the goddess like the rudimentary Ephesian Artemis?

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the polos noted above, note 57. For the polos in general, V. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone*, Berlin, 1915; particularly for this type, pp. 46 ff. For veiled poloi on coins, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Vienna, 1901, II, pls. XII, XXVIII, etc. and G. Radet, *Cybébé*, Paris, 1909, pp. 68 ff., pls. II ff.

<sup>65</sup> F. Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 293, No. 2; A. Conze, "Hermes-Kadmilos," *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVIII, 1880, pp. 1 ff., pl. 1. This article also presents many close variants of this type.

<sup>66</sup> The drawing of this polos, made by Piet de Jong, is necessarily somewhat interpretive; the photograph should be closely studied in comparison with it.



undecorated polos of this type are not common. This piece must represent a votive such as would be dedicated in a sanctuary. The original would have been metallic, ornamented with repoussé reliefs. Thin, gilded bronze, or even thin gold would be suitable for such an elaborate headdress. We may gather an idea of its probable appearance from a couple of crowns that were found in graves in South Russia. One, of gold, is of a *kalathos* shape, but not unlike our polos; the decoration shows an Arimasps attacking two griffins. It comes from a tomb, which, from its contents, has been identified as the grave of a priestess of Demeter.<sup>67</sup> Even closer to ours is a thin plate of gold from a headdress that was found in a barrow by the head of a young woman.<sup>68</sup> This plate was apparently cut down from a larger object, possibly more like our polos. It also was divided into three zones of relief. At the top, a single female figure is preserved; in the center, a chariot faces out; in the lowest zone, a magnificently dressed female figure sits frontally among five attendants. One offers her something on each side; two women stand behind. The side figures are obviously mutilated. What is especially interesting to us is the headdress of the central figure, which is a triangular polos, from which floats a long veil. Whether this lady is a queen or a goddess (I should prefer the latter identification), the parallel between this piece and ours is striking: they both represent a scene in which the polos figures on a polos. The polos must then be of decided importance in the cult.

It is impossible to limit the polos to one definite deity. Müller has shown that it can be worn by Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Hekate, Hera, Persephone, Nemesis and several others, chief of which is Kybele, or the Oriental Goddess, called by the Greeks the Mother of the Gods.<sup>69</sup> The latter usually wore the type of crenellated polos that developed late in Greek lands by a *contaminatio* of the Oriental polos, worn only by male gods, with the Hittite wall-crown, worn by the city-goddess. This is also worn by brides, who presumably took it from Kybele.<sup>70</sup>

The remaining reliefs on our polos can also be referred to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. The middle zone certainly shows a circular dance, probably around a leader with a torch. Frenzied dancing formed, as we well know, part of the ritual of the worship of Kybele. Our figures can be compared with those of dancers on the sides of a large terracotta relief showing Kybele seated on her throne caressing her lion.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 425, fig. 315.

<sup>68</sup> Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 218, fig. 120.

<sup>69</sup> *Der Polos*, pp. 56 ff. Cf. C. Robert, "Archäologische Miscellen: Polos," *Sitzber. der Bayer. Akad. phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916, Abhand. 2, pp. 14 ff., who considers that Müller has not proved that the term is a *terminus technicus* and that therefore it should be dropped from archaeological terminology. But, like many other terms that we have made more precise than they ever were to the Greeks, the word is now accepted by archaeologists to refer to the object that we are discussing and its variants.

<sup>70</sup> Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f. and 87 f.

<sup>71</sup> Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, II, pl. CXXXVII; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 48, fig. 11.

These dancers must be the devotees of the Goddess, the *θαλαμηπόλοι*, or the *κερνοφόροι* who performed the *κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα*, and the *τυμπανίστριαι* who took part in wild revelry in processions and in the sanctuaries of the Mother.<sup>72</sup> They sang the *θρονισμούς μητρώους* of a sort that Pindar wrote for the sanctuary next his house, where the revelries kept him awake at night.<sup>73</sup>

Similar figures of three dancers holding hands in a ring, moving toward the left, appear on a fragment of a cornucopia of the Hellenistic period from the Agora (Pl. 23).<sup>74</sup> Such dancers are also shown on the polos worn by a kore which was found at Vouni.<sup>75</sup> They are lumpy little figures twisting in the dance, not unlike those on the lowest zone of the Agora polos. Gjerstad associates the cult of the Paphian Aphrodite, to whom this statue was probably dedicated, with Aphrodite Ourania, who was in Roman times identified with the Great Mother.<sup>76</sup>

One of the most important dances of the cult of the Mother was that which took place during initiation ceremonies. We are told that after undergoing teasing or hazing by the *mystai*, the initiate was enthroned and the initiators, the *τελοῦντες*, performed a dance around him.<sup>77</sup> Thus the initiate was identified with the god while the energy of the dance projected the divine force into him.<sup>78</sup>

Our polos, indeed, may show just such a scene of initiation, with the *mystes* seated on the throne and the dancers below. I suggest this interpretation rather than that the upper scene shows the goddess herself because of the unusual absence both of the lion and of the phiale. These attributes are almost fixed elements in the iconography of the Mother during the later Hellenistic period, to which our polos belongs. The numerous small marble shrines found in Athens show her thus in the frontal

<sup>72</sup> For a summary of all that we know about the ritual of Kybele, see *R.E.*, s.v. Kybele, cols. 2259 ff. (Schwenn).

<sup>73</sup> E. Hiller, "Die Verzeichnisse der Pindarischen Dichtungen," *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>74</sup> T 550. From a road filling in Section Γ, 94-98/K-KΓ. P. H. 0.095 m. Broken off at top and bottom. The context was mostly Hellenistic, with a little Late Roman. The soft light buff clay, with traces of yellow paint, probably for sizing of gilding, seems to be late Hellenistic. At the top, imbrication, presumably to suggest leaves protruding from the cornucopia. Rings surround the horn, which was presumably held by a large figure. The dancers appear in relief in the upper zone of decoration.

<sup>75</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Die Antike*, IX, 1933, pl. 29 = G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge, 1940, p. 218, Frontispiece (limestone, of the early fifth century B.C.).

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75, note 4.

<sup>77</sup> Plato, *Euthydem.* 277 D: ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνων σιν ποιῶσι περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδιά . . . Dio Chrysostom, XII, 33: εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες τοὺς μνουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν.

<sup>78</sup> For full discussions of the initiation rites in the cult of Kybele and the related Korybantes, see Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, pp. 191 ff. and Graillet, *Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 182 ff. These authors do not differentiate sharply between the initiations into various cults, believing, probably correctly, that the fundamental processes of initiation did not differ greatly among them. For the psychology of initiation, see A. D. Nock, "A Cabiric Rite," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1914, pp. 577 ff. I owe this reference to Professor Nock.



pose, just as she appears on the small terracotta polos which we have discussed.<sup>79</sup> However, as the *mystes* identifies himself with the god, it is never possible to separate the two. At least, we are safe in associating our polos with the cult of the Oriental Goddess of Athens.

What name shall we give this goddess as she appears in Athens? There is reason to associate the terracotta *liknophoros* (T 431) with the goddess holding the *liknon* (T 1547) and that goddess, because of the proximity of provenience, with the polos-crowned head (T 1004) and the votive polos (T 1546). The *liknon* is obviously the possession of that goddess who used it in the harvest, namely, Demeter. The polos, on the other hand, though worn in a modest form by Demeter, is, in the form on these terracottas, much more closely related to its Oriental prototypes. The scenes in relief upon both these poloi evidently refer to the cult of Kybele or of the Mother of the Gods. This apparent inconsistency, however, is not inexplicable. In the Metroon at Athens, Demeter and Kybele seem from the earliest days down into late Roman times to have been closely associated, if not identified. Inscriptions dealing with the Eleusinian cult were set up in the precinct of the Mother; *kernoi*, originally the little harvest-vessels for offerings to Demeter, were carried by those who performed a ritual dance for Kybele.<sup>80</sup> Votive *kernoi* have been found in quantities around the Athenian Metroon.<sup>81</sup> Very possibly as time passed, the goddess divided her functions, the old fertility goddess concentrating her activities within the Eleusinion and the Thesmophorion and the Phrygian goddess, brought in directly from Anatolia in the fifth century, taking up her abode in the Metroon. This analysis explains why our earlier figurine of the seated goddess appears to be more like Demeter, though it was found so close to the polos of later date as to be probably from the same sanctuary, which evidently in Hellenistic times was devoted rather to the aspect of Anatolian inspiration.

We might note at this point that the place where the polos and the seated goddess with the *liknon* were found is too far from the Metroon, considering their excellent preservation, to have derived from that sanctuary. Nor is the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios near any known Demeter sanctuary. Pausanias offers an attractive candidate for their place of origin. He says (I, XIV, 6-7), "Above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade is a temple of Hephaestus . . . Hard by (*πλησίον*) is a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) of Heavenly Aphrodite (*Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας*)" (transl. Frazer). When the north slope of the hill above the modern railroad tracks was excavated in 1937-8, no clear indication of a sanctuary was found, but these two figurines were discovered in Hellenistic strata. We might tentatively suggest that they come from this sanctuary, which Pausanias and others associate with the Oriental goddess, who is the Greek

<sup>79</sup> Above, p. 98. Cf. a fragment found on the north slope of the Areopagus (T 2178, Pl. 23). P. H. 0.07 m., showing a variant type in clay.

<sup>80</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>81</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 206 ff.



form of the ancient Semitic goddess of fertility and of the heavens, which control all fertility.<sup>82</sup> This goddess would probably be an humbler variant of the great goddess of the Metroon, who presided over the official cult. Aphrodite Ourania would, rather, appeal to the artisans who worked on the hillside; she was brought in, very probably, by eastern metal-merchants who must have flocked to Athens at her most prosperous period. We need not be surprised by the apparent duplication in the sanctuaries and of functions of one deity. The ancient worshippers did not analyse, but accepted intuitively the identity behind the variant forms which sprang up locally or through historical causes of which they knew nothing. The ordinary Athenian woman, intent upon her purpose of attaining all divine aid that was available from any source, domestic or foreign, would not select her dedications, but unconsciously, appreciating the fundamental identity of all fertility goddesses, would confuse aspects and names, even as today she worships these ancient deities gathered under the name of the Panagia.

#### MALE FIGURE: No. 10

The one well preserved male figure is most interesting (No. 10, Pl. 24). The boy is very effeminate; the stomach is rounded and long locks hang on the shoulders. The cloak is wrapped around the hips in such a way as to support a short object, broken at the top and stippled to represent a rough surface, that is tucked into the crook of the left arm. This is clearly a *βάκχος*. The folds of the cloak on the right side are interrupted, showing that the arm, or some missing object, hung down at the right side. No scar remains on the thigh. The figure resembles that of youthful initiates as they are shown on vases, plastic lekythoi, and sculpture showing scenes from the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>83</sup> In all these representations, the initiates wear short cloaks and carry a tightly bound bundle of leaves or of wheat-stalks called a *βάκχος*. The *bakchos* is well known from its appearance on coins, vase-paintings, and sculpture.<sup>84</sup> It seems probable, then, that our terracotta represents a youthful initiate. The plump, almost childish contours of this boy are in accordance with the inscriptions that record the initiation of children along with their grandparents.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 128 f. Judeich, *Topog. von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 368 f. with bibliography.

<sup>83</sup> For the subject of initiation see Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr.*, pp. 20 ff., Magnien, *Les Mystères*, pp. 153 ff. The closest parallels for our figure are collected in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 245 ff., pls. XVII-XIX. For plastic lekythoi: TK II, p. 245, 2a = Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 333, fig. 142. This boy carries a pig in the right hand. Marble statuette from Eleusis: *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 357 = K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, pp. 30, 87, fig. 42.

<sup>84</sup> Coins: J. Svoronos, *Trésors des monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 103, Nos. 1-16, pig standing on a *bakchos* (coins dated ca. 335-295 B.C.). Vases and reliefs: See preceding note and lists by Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 74 ff., pls. 5 and 6, 1, with full bibliography.

<sup>85</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3480, 3648. I owe these references to Mr. George Stamires. The expression *ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας λεγόμενος παῖς*, Porphyry, *Abst.* 4,5, also implies youth. But the suggestion of Pringsheim, *op. cit.*, p. 38, that the phrase, *μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας* is illustrated by a terracotta from Eleusis, TK I, p. 92, 4 is

## MASK: No. 11

The fragment, No. 11 (Pl. 24), is too small for certain identification. It appears to be a water-worn bit of mask, wearing a thick wreath. It is probably an earlier piece that came into the cistern after wandering about in the earth for some time.

## ANIMAL: No. 12

A hand-made horse or mule head (No. 12, Pl. 20) should be mentioned because it was found in this dated context. It is crude, but not exactly like the early, truly primitive types common in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The head is slightly modelled, with nostrils, open mouth and teeth indicated by the graver. In the shape of the head, which is wide across the eyes and pinched below the protruding nostrils, it resembles the head of a mule from Corinth.<sup>86</sup> It is decidedly interesting to note that such crude animal figures were still made in Athens during the fourth century. Since in Corinth they actually became more popular in the late fifth and fourth centuries than they were earlier, we can assume that our fairly fresh piece is an Athenian counterpart, perhaps a child's toy, rather than a survivor from the previous century. It is not at all out of character that even at the time when the exquisite Tanagras were being created, these simple figures were being purchased by the poor folk of Athens. They can, in fact, be bought to this day in the markets at times of festival.<sup>87</sup>

## MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY: No. 13

Several votive miniature pots were found in this cistern: three little oinochoai, covered with dull black glaze (but decidedly inferior to those in the Hedgehog Well), one flaring bowl on a stemmed base, one black-glazed krater, one kernos and two kantharoi. The kernos and kantharoi are practically identical with those found in the

scarcely tenable, since the two fragments shown certainly do not belong together and the upper represents, not a boy, but a mature woman. The lower part may indeed show a boy initiate, as he holds a pig. The object on which he sits, however, is not certainly an altar, nor is there any evidence that the phrase, ἀφ' ἑστίας, implies sitting on an altar. Cf. Magnien, *Les Mystères*, pp. 170 ff.

<sup>86</sup> A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV,ii, class XXIV,6, p. 179, pl. 39. G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 2, No. 28 is somewhat similar, but dated in the early sixth century. Cf. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 96, a fourth century example.

<sup>87</sup> E. g. Köster, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 2b, a figure of a horse carrying panniers, said to be in the Dardanelles, before 1926. Köster says that it is of "einer neugriechischen Manufaktur," which phrase implies that he knew that it was not Turkish. I myself bought an identical horse, so close in style and detail as to seem from the same shop, in Athens in 1948. Had these two pieces been found in an excavation, they would undoubtedly have been attributed to the same hand and to the same year. They must serve as a warning against too great precision in arguments based on identity of types in figurines.

Coroplast's Dump (Nos. 84 and 86, pl. 42). Fragments of a plump unguentarium of the type of Group B<sup>88</sup> with white bands on the shoulder was also discovered. One kantharos is shown for comparative purposes (No. 13; Pl. 18).<sup>89</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As in the case of the Coroplast's Dump, so also in this cistern, the subject matter of the figurines is largely religious. Can we identify the cult for which these little votives were intended?

The piece that most definitely points to a cult is No. 10, which represents a youthful initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries. Also Eleusinian in connotation, although not exclusively so, are the "dolls" (Nos. 1-3), especially the grotesque "doll," No. 2. No. 5, a seated figure holding a phiale and presumably also a tympanon, may show Demeter or the Mother of the Gods. In this connection, it is significant that an unfinished marble statuette of Demeter or the Mother of the Gods was also found in this cistern (S 195).<sup>90</sup> The head, No. 8, carrying a strange object, is identifiable at least as a devotee of a goddess. Likewise, No. 9, which carries a *kanoun*, must represent a girl in the service of a female deity, possibly Aphrodite or Artemis. Both these goddesses may have had sanctuaries on the slopes of the Acropolis.<sup>91</sup> It is also possible that such *kana* were used in the ritual of Demeter. The other pieces do not give us much evidence, but several may well also have been votives.

A fertility or Earth goddess, then, seems to be the deity with whom most of the figurines should be associated. Two sanctuaries are possible candidates: one, the Eleusinion, lying about two city blocks to the east of our cistern, the other, the precinct of Demeter Chloe, known chiefly from literary references to have lain close to the entrance to the Acropolis.<sup>92</sup> From either of these places, scraps of figurines could have made their way. Of the two, the Eleusinion seems the more likely, since it was a large sanctuary, presumably with a western entrance as well as that on the Panathenaic Way. The fact that a votive deposit of the seventh century was found very near this cistern, containing a plaque that must be referred to the Eleusinion, would strengthen this hypothesis.<sup>93</sup>

Though this is a small group, it gives us further evidence of the vigor of Athenian

<sup>88</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., B 44, fig. 22.

<sup>89</sup> 13. (P 22810). H. 0.028 m., D. 0.041 m. About half missing; restored in plaster.

<sup>90</sup> See above, pp. 88, 102.

<sup>91</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 124 and 245 ff.

<sup>92</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 246 ff. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 285 f.

<sup>93</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff., particularly pp. 637 f. where the source was suggested but discarded in favor of the theory that the deposit came from the sanctuary of the Furies on the Areopagus. Since extensive subsequent digging on the Areopagus failed to reveal any sign of a sanctuary or any similar material, we now believe that the deposit is more probably to be associated with the Eleusinion. See also above, p. 95; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447, note 5 for a useful summary of the evidence.



coroplastics just at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The taste for hieratic votives is yielding to a more aesthetic interest in sculptural quality that will blossom into a truly plastic creative movement during the third century B.C.

### CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form set up for that of the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>94</sup> The figurines are mould-made, unless otherwise noted. The clay is pinkish buff, rather soft, very like that of the two preceding groups. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters D.C., signifying Demeter Cistern.

#### *Jointed Figures*

##### **1** (T 91) Fragment of Female "Doll." Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.051 m. Clay burned grayish, white slip blackened. Very smooth inside, strengthened with clay for arm-holes.

The front half of the torso, preserved from neck to waist, of a "doll" with articulated arms.

##### **2** (T 97) Nude Female "Doll": Caricature. Pl. 21.

P. H. 0.104 m. Light red clay. Back rounded, hand-made.

Caricature of the nude "doll" type with articulated arms; very obese, with pendulous breasts. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, note 131 (where the date should be "late fourth century").

##### **3** (T 105) Articulated Leg. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid.

The right lower leg and foot of a "doll," preserved from the knee down; the foot droops, the sole is rough, showing that the figure originally hung.

#### *Draped Female Figures*

##### **4** (T 101) Standing Draped Female Fragment. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.058 m. Surface much rubbed. Back missing.

The lower part of a small standing draped figure, resting the weight on the right leg, of which the foot protrudes beneath the folds. She

wears a chiton with overfold hanging to the knee. The left leg is drawn back.

##### **5** Seated Female. Fragments. Pl. 20.

a) (T 102) P. H. 0.039 m. Very smooth inside. Broken all around.

b) (T 331) Greatest dimension 0.053 m. Back flat. Joint between front and back moulds preserved. Tympanon solid. Traces of red paint on tympanon.

Non-joining fragments from a) the right side of a seated female figure, holding a phiale resting on the right arm of her seat, b) a left hand holding up vertically a large tympanon.

#### *Heads*

##### **6** (T 126) Head of a Girl. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Back roughly hand-made. Much worn.

The head and part of the shoulders of a young girl. She wore her hair in melon coiffure with plaits at the back.

##### **7** (T 109) Female Head. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid. Traces of glaze, for attached object which has been broken away from the top of the head. Hair sharply retouched with graver.

The head of a female figure, wearing earrings. Her hair is brushed into a high peak above her forehead and parted in the middle. The head is inclined slightly to the left.

<sup>94</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158.

**8 (T 98) Female Head. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Broken on top and beneath.

A female head is covered by the himation, which is drawn up over the mouth. On top of the head rests a large circular object, from which a central peg is broken away; the edge of the rim is folded back in a series of eight scallops.

**9 (T 104) Female Head. Pl. 22.**

P. H. 0.051 m. Made in front mould; back of head filled roughly with clay as No. 6.

Female head, wearing her hair hanging down on her shoulders. She raises her hands to support a large *kanoun* that rests on her head. Beneath its arch a small draped figure is visible, holding its arms raised, and standing on a base.

*Male Figure***10 (T 106) Youthful Male. Pl. 24.**

P. H. 0.072 m. Solid. Made in two moulds. Back modelled carefully. Right arm is broken

away below the shoulder, leaving a trace of itself or of an object held against the drapery at the right side. Tip of *bakchos* broken away.

A plump boyish figure, wearing a cloak around his hips, stands holding a *bakchos* against his left arm. His hair hung down on his shoulders.

*Mask***11 (T 103) Fragment of a Mask. Pl. 24.**

P. H. 0.04 m. Hollow, made in two moulds. Bottom edge preserved at back. Much worn.

Fragment from the right side of a mask, showing the prominent eye and roll of hair, treated with striations.

*Animal***12 (T 132) Head of a Mule. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 0.024 m. Solid.

Hand-made mule's head, retouched at mouth and nostrils by the graver.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY







a. The Lernaean Marshes, the Stream Amymon, and the Ancient Site from Mt. Pontinos.



b. Mound from West.



c. Mound from Southeast.





a. Area D from East after Excavation, 1953.



b. Area D from West after Excavation, 1953: B, C, D, Middle Helladic Houses; F, a Mycenaean Street.



c. Area D. Geometric Cups and Oinochoe from Pithos Burial (*ca.* 1:4).

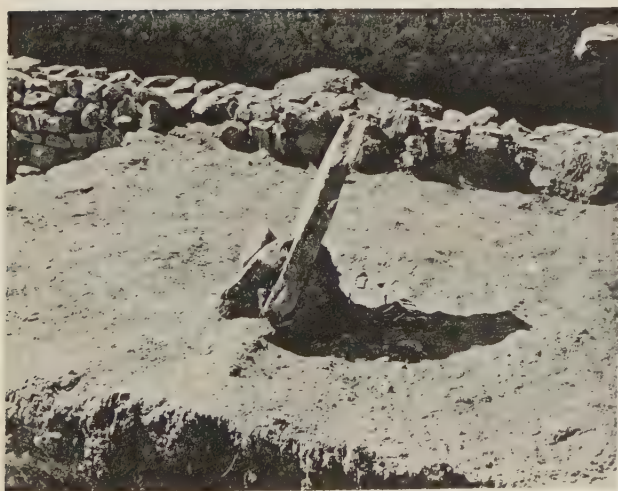




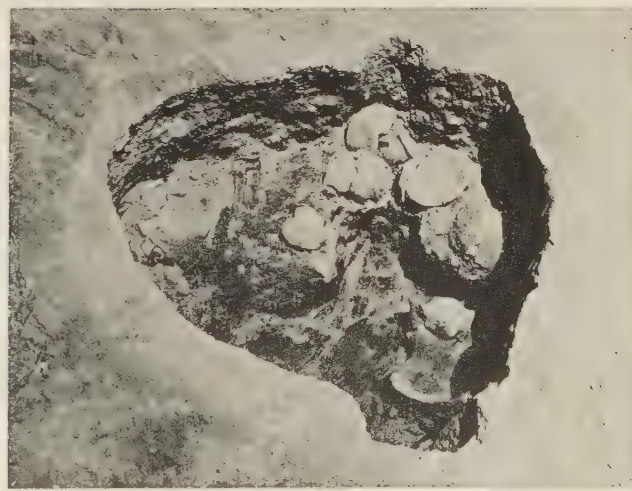
a. Area A. House M during Excavation, from Southwest.



b. Area A. Grave A.1.



c. Area A. Grave A.7 with Stele.



d. Area B. Early Helladic Bothros.





a. Area B. House of the Tiles from West.



b. House of the Tiles.  
Corridor from East.



c. House of the Tiles.  
Plaster on Wall of Room III.





a. Staircase D from East.



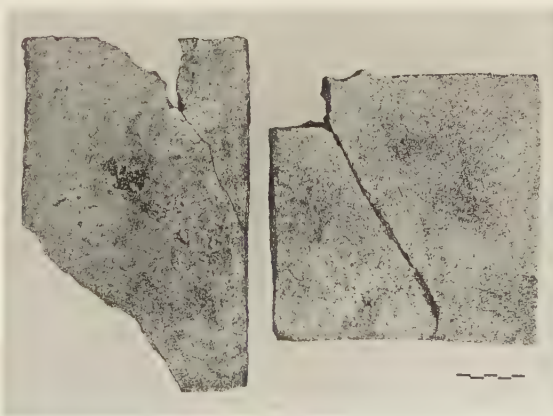
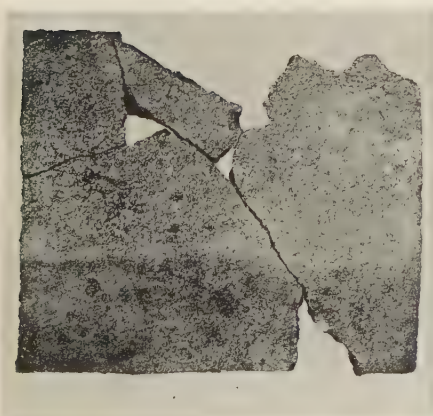
b. Fallen Slates.



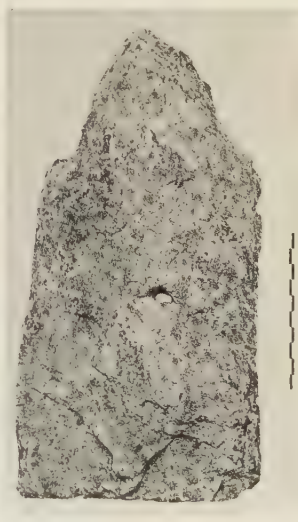
c. Fallen Tiles as Found.



d. Slate with Mass of Clay Adhering.



e. Tiles of Various Dimensions.



f. Pierced Slate.

House of the Tiles.





a. Area D. Grave D.2 Opened,  
from South.



b. Pots from Grave D.2.



c. Area D. Pots from Room T.



d. Area D. Figurines, L.H. III (1:2).



e. Trench F. Squat Alabastron, L.H. II (1:2).



f. Trench F. Fragments of Bowl, L.H. II (1:2).

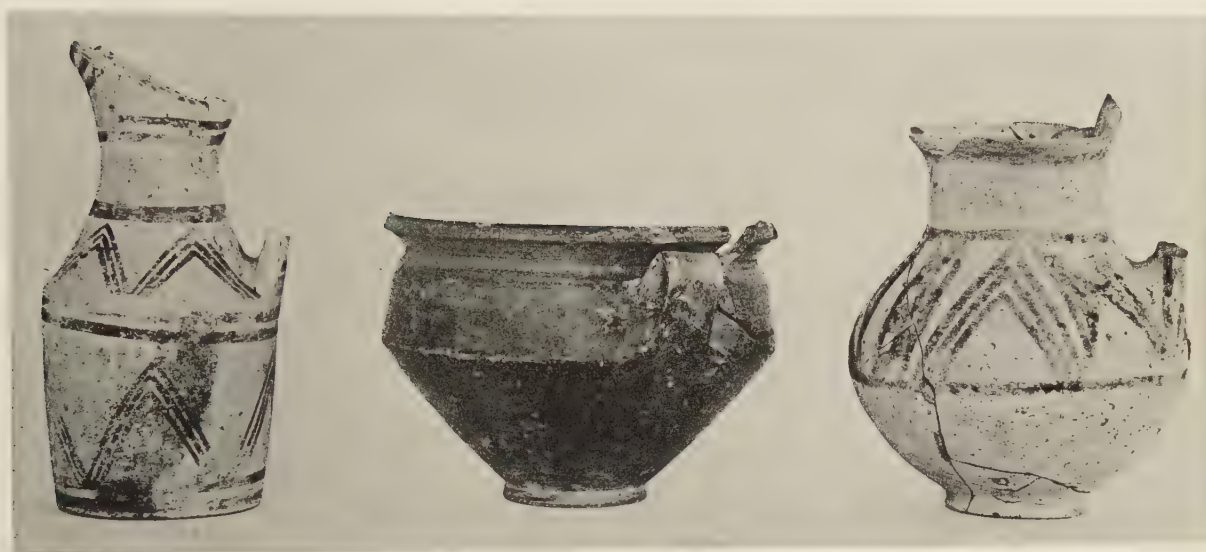


g. Trench C. Sherds of Mycenaean Wares, L.H. I-II (1:2).

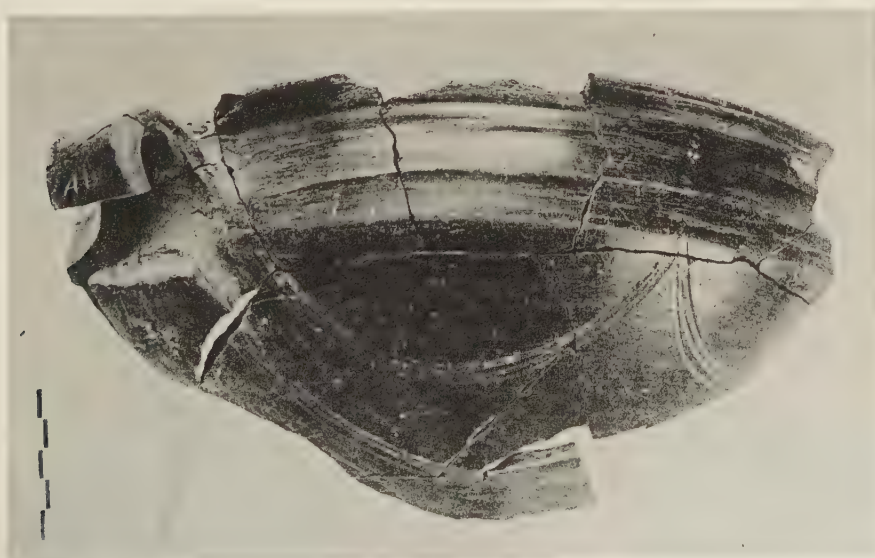




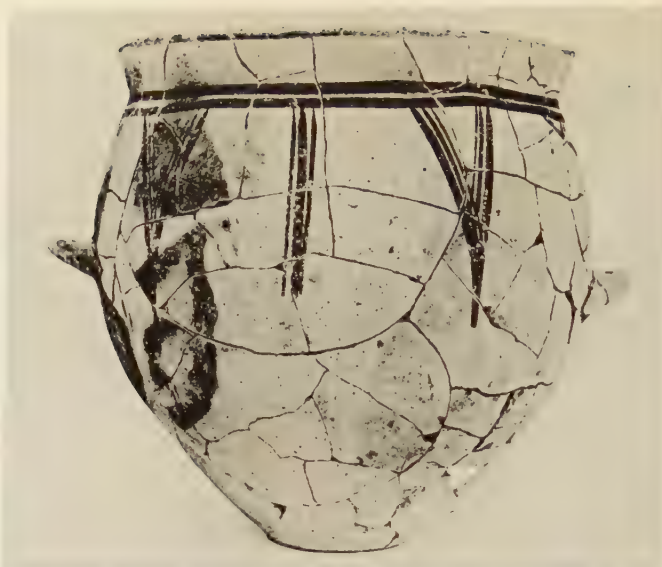
a. Area D. Jug and Matt-painted Cups from Grave D.5 (1:3).



b. Area D. Matt-painted Jugs and Minyan Bowl from Room of Penultimate Phase, Middle Helladic Layer (1:3).



c. Area A. Fragment of Black Minyan Bowl from House D.



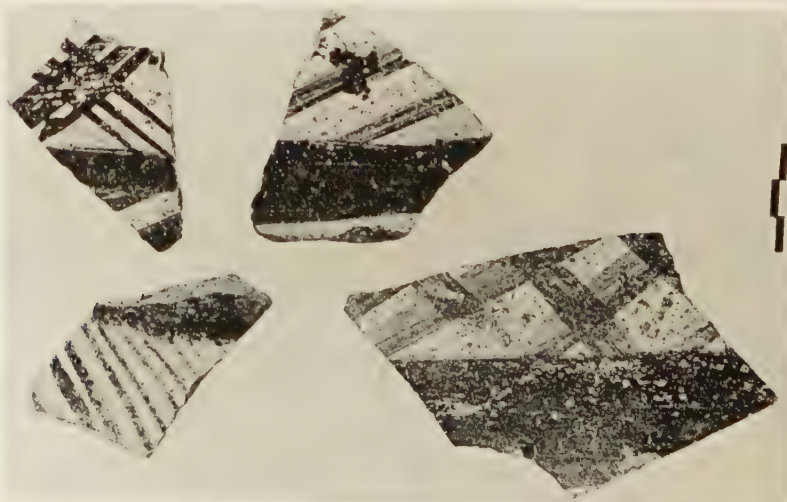
a. and b. Area A. Spouted Vessel and Large Jar in Matt-painted Ware from House M.



c. and d. Area D, Room AH, and Area A, Grave A.10. Jug and Cup with Patterns in White and Purple on Dark Ground, Middle Helladic Period.



e. Trench C. Cup with Polychrome Decoration from Grave F, Middle Helladic Period (1:2).



f. Area D. Sherds with Patterns in Lustrous Dark Paint on Light Ground. Middle Helladic Period.





a. Area A. Bowl in Black Slipped Ware from House A (2:5).



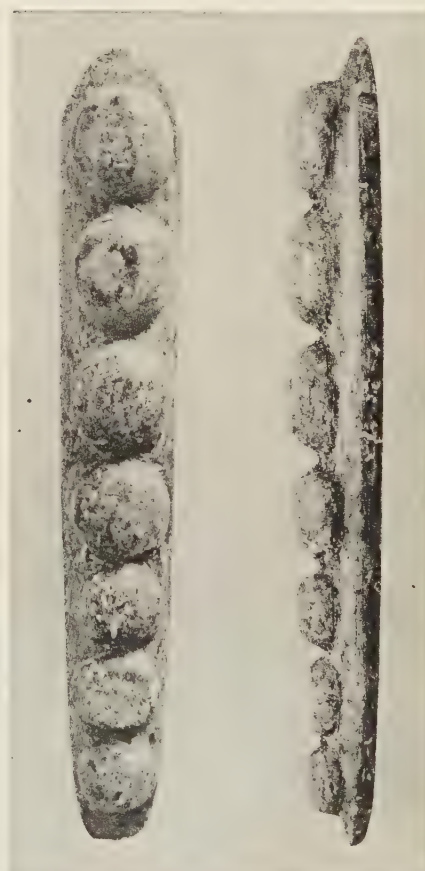
b. Area A. Jug in Matt-painted Ware from House D (2:5).



c. Bowl in Gray Minyan Ware. (1:2).



d.-f. Area A. Small Vessels in Coarse Ware from House A. (1:4).



g. Area B. Knobbed Strip of Bone from First Stratum of Middle Helladic Layer. (1:1).





a. Trench C. Chalice in Black Burnished Ware. Early Helladic Period. (1:2).



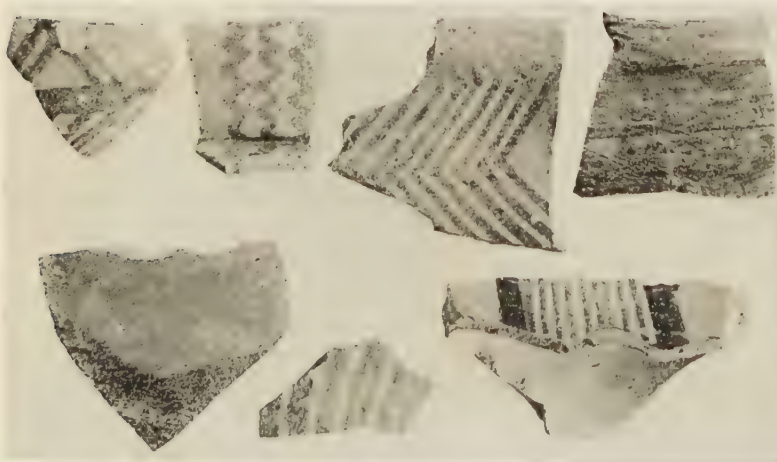
b. Area D. Fragments of Early Helladic Tankard. (2:5).



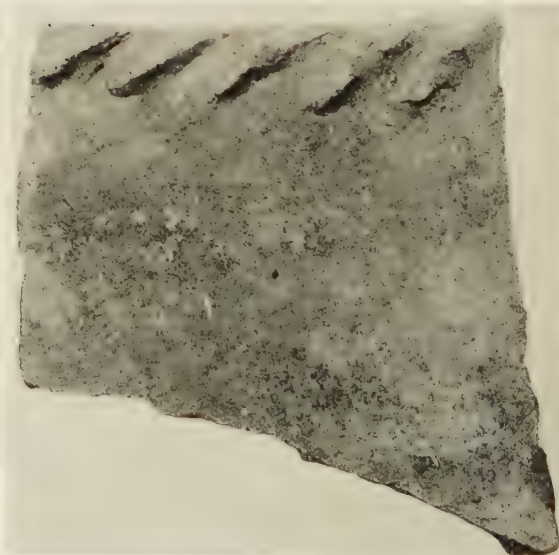
c. Area B. Seal Impressions on Clay, from the House of the Tiles. Early Helladic Period. (1:1).



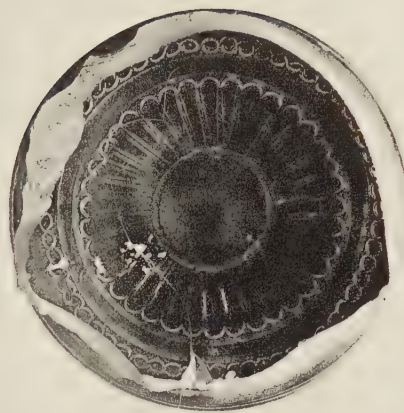
d. Area B. Fragment of Neolithic Jar, Interior and Exterior. (1:2).



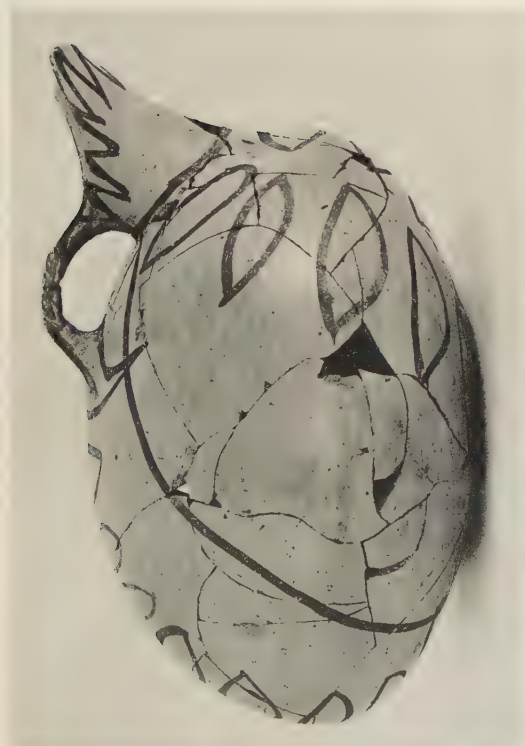
e. Trench E. Sherds of Neolithic Wares. (2:5).



f. Area B. Rim of Jar in Red-slipped Ware. Neolithic Period. (1:2).



ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHK: PHILINOS



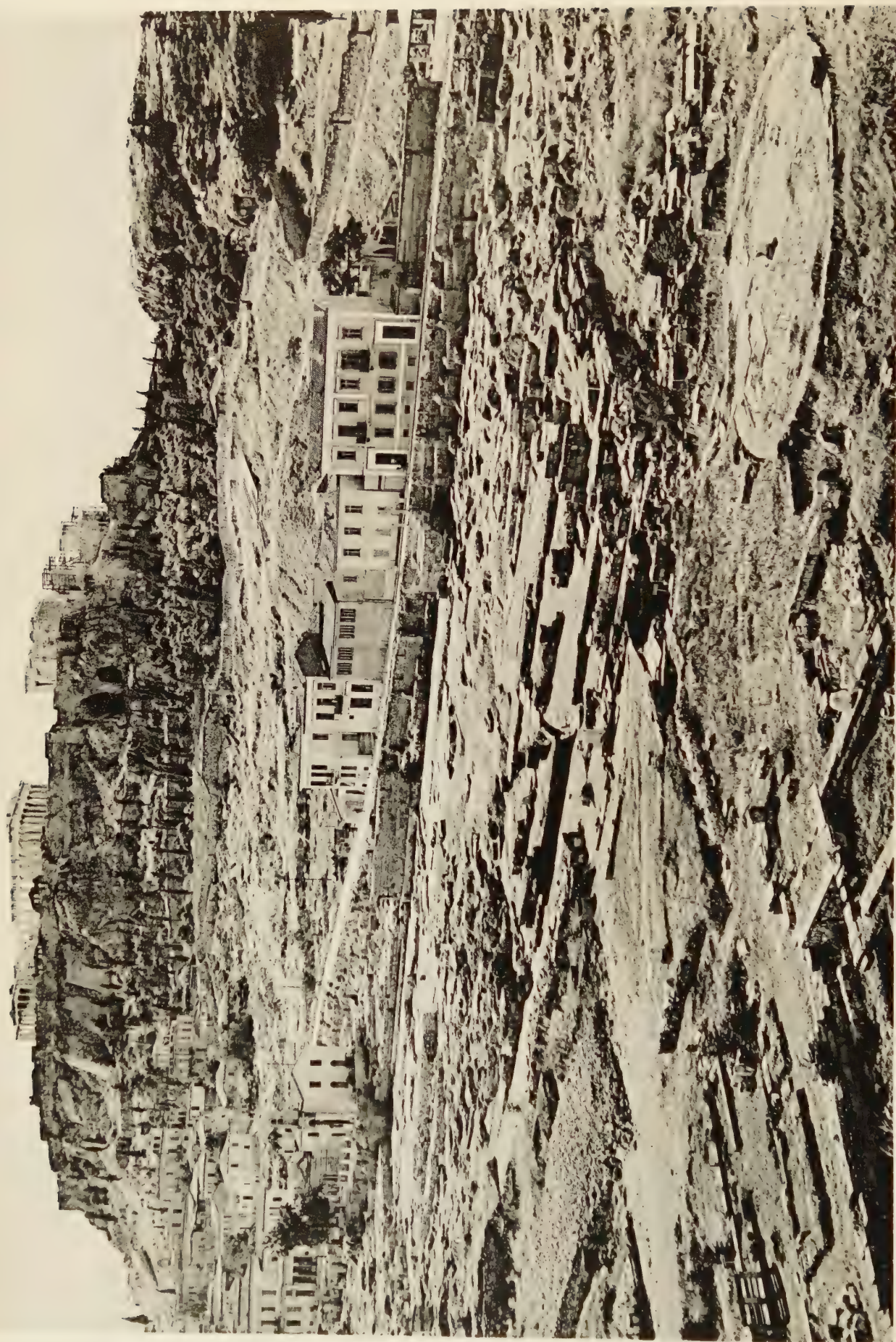
a. Trench GA. Askoid Vessel. Early Helladic Period.



b. Area B. Fragmentary Trojan Jar from Late Stratum of Early Helladic Layer, Partly Restored.

JOHN L. CASKEY: EXCAVATIONS AT LERNA: 1952-1953





South Part of the Agora, from the Northwest (August, 1953).

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1953





a. South Stoa I, from the East.

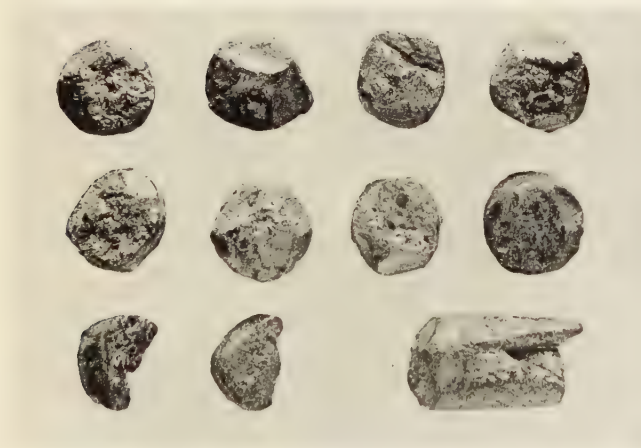


b. House behind the Agora Boundary Stone, from the North.





a. Terracotta Head (T 3253).



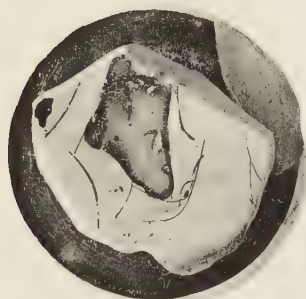
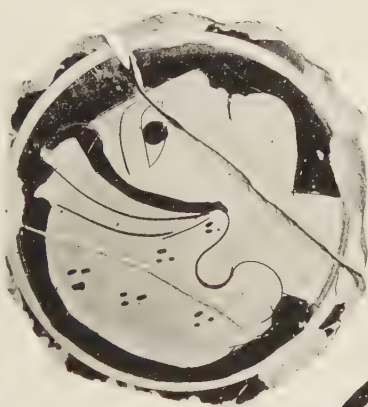
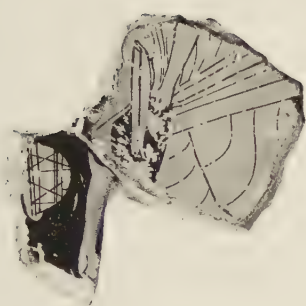
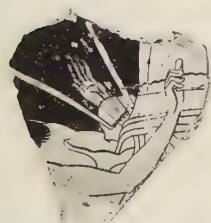
b. Flans for Bronze Coins (B 1046).



c. Inscribed Base for Personification of the Iliad (I 6628).



d. Support for Ballot Box found *in situ* beneath Stoa of Attalos



g

h



i



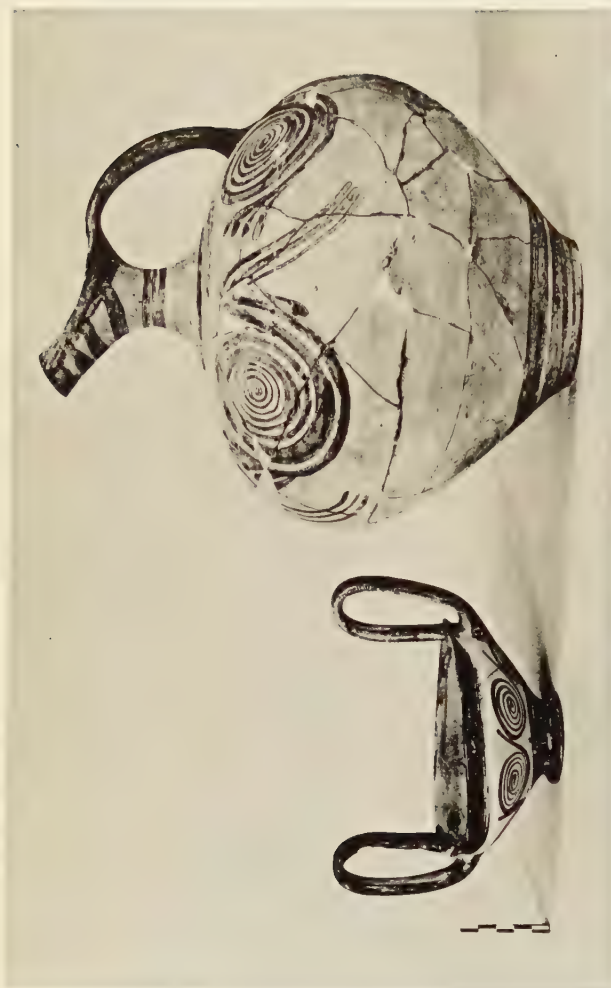
Vases and Sherds from Well near Agora Boundary Stone.

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1933





a. Protogeometric Grave beneath Stoa of Attalos.



b. Vases from Mycenaean Grave beneath Stoa of Attalos (P 23588, 23587).



c. Vases from Protogeometric Grave in a (P 23559, 23556, 23558, 23557, 23560).





Design for Agora Landscaping, view from West (Ralph E. Griswold).



Ballots found in Dikasterion under Stoa of Attalos (Cf. Pl. 14, d)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1953





1



2



1



4



3



6



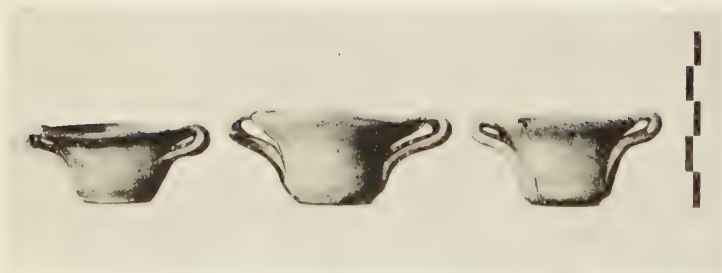
7



8



9



15

16

Demeter  
Cistern 13

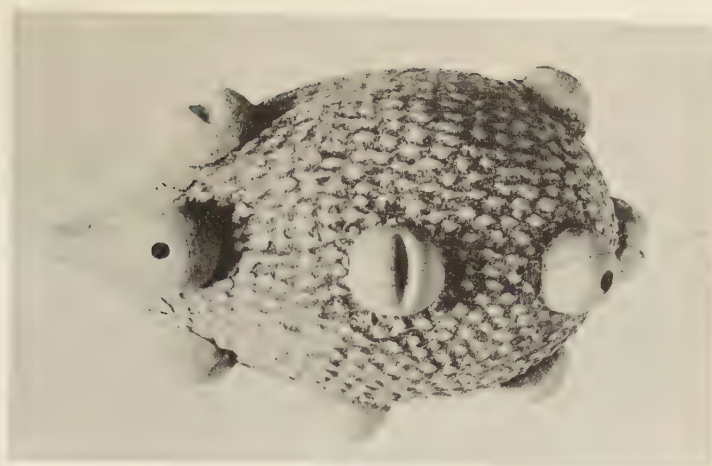
The Hedgehog Well



5



10



11



Pig

Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art  
(Inv. 17.194.1893)



11



13



Hedgehog from Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*  
(By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)



12



14





a

b

Pottery

c

d



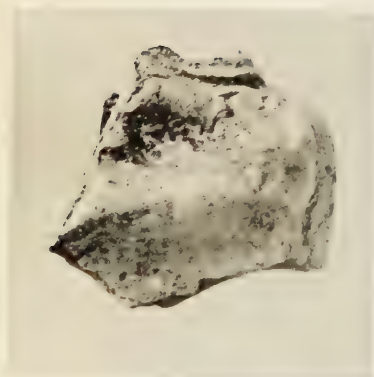
1



3



4



5a



5b



6



12



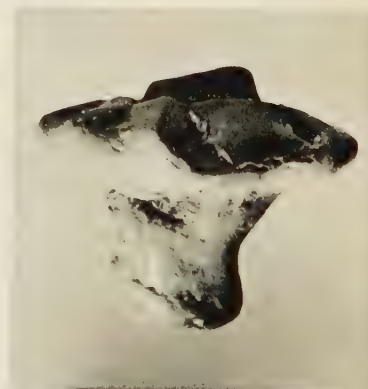
7



7



8



8

The Demeter Cistern



The Demeter Cistern 2



Agora T1403



The Demeter Cistern 2



Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College



Courtesy of British Museum  
(C243)



Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College





Agora T1623



The Demeter Cistern 9



Agora T431



Agora T1547

Courtesy of British Museum (C812)



Agora T1004



Agora T1962



Agora T892



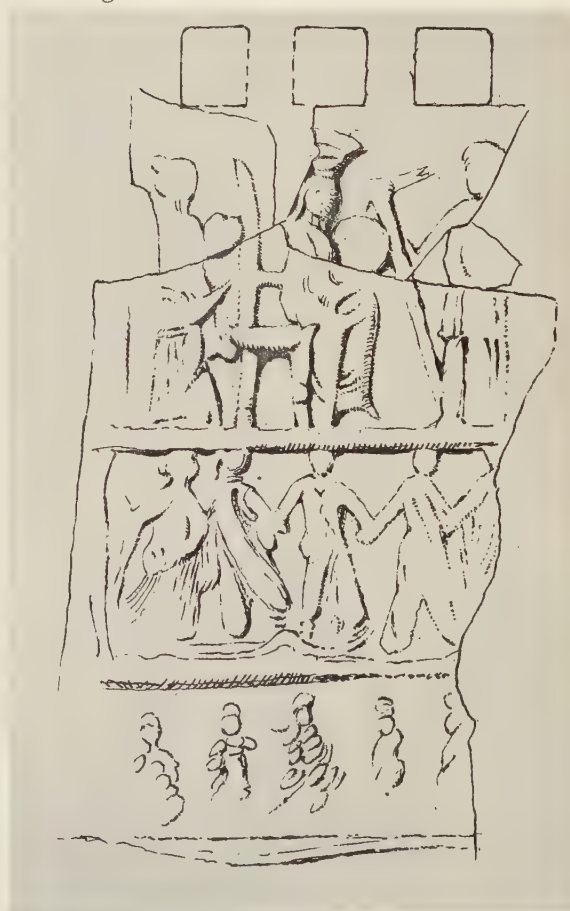
Agora T550



Agora T2178



Agora T1546







The Demeter Cistern 10



Agora P19531



Agora P19530



The Demeter  
Cistern 11



Agora P12406

Pottery from the Coroplast's Dump



Pottery from The Hedgehog Well

# CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE: PRE-HELLENISTIC PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 25-33)

WHEN Courby published his account of Greek relief wares in 1922,<sup>2</sup> the evidence for a Corinthian group was slight. In enumerating the known centers of manufacture of these wares, he ended the list by saying, "and perhaps Corinth." For the whole of the archaic period he knew of one fragment from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 26, d)<sup>3</sup> which was connected stylistically with Corinthian painted pottery and

<sup>1</sup> The material presented here could not have been assembled without the co-operation of a number of scholars and institutions, and to these I wish to express my indebtedness. The largest body of finds, from the excavations at Corinth, is published for the first time with the permission of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the photographs are my own. Agnes Newhall Stillwell, the excavator of the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, in advance of her own publication of the pottery, has made available all the information concerning the several fragments from that establishment, while Gladys Davidson Weinberg has done the same for those from the Tile Factory, which she is preparing for publication. The photo of the oinochoe on Pl. 32, c is from the files of the American School; the drawings for the figures are by Dr. Marian Welker. The next largest group of relief ware, that from Perachora, is presented here, in advance of its publication by the excavators, by courtesy of the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens. Mr. T. J. Dunbabin has most generously provided the photographs made by Mr. G. Tsimis, photographer of the National Museum at Athens, and catalogue descriptions of the Perachora fragments, soon to be published in *Perachora*, II. He has very kindly read the manuscript and has made many valuable criticisms and additions. Mme. Semni Karouzou, Curator of Vases of the National Museum at Athens, very kindly located the relief plaques and vase fragments from the Argive Heraion and the fragments from Perachora shown on Pl. 32, a, when these were still in the packing cases in which they were stored during the last war, and thus made it possible for me to study their fabric and re-photograph them. For the photograph of the new fragment from the Heraion (Pl. 26, j), found and published by Miss Shirley Hersom, I am indebted to the discoverer. Professor A. J. B. Wace has most generously provided both the photograph (Pl. 26, g) and the description of the relief rim fragment from Mycenae. The hitherto unpublished photograph of the basin from Selinus (Pl. 27, c) was furnished by the Palermo Museum; the photograph of the rim fragment of such a basin shown on Pl. 27, b is from the British Museum. The fragment from the North Slope of the Acropolis is shown in a photograph (Pl. 28, f) furnished by its excavator, Professor Oscar Broneer. For the photographs of a vase and the several relief fragments of fourth century date (Pls. 32, b; 33, a, b), I am indebted to Professor W. Züchner of Würzburg. The excellent bronze plaque shown on Pl. 27, a, previously known only from a drawing, was photographed and is published here with the kind permission of Mlle. Joanna Constantinou, Curator of Bronzes of the National Museum at Athens. The photographs of the two bronze vessels shown on Plate 31, c-d, were furnished by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which authorized their publication.

<sup>2</sup> F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922.

<sup>3</sup> C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, New York, 1902, Vol. II (hereafter *A.H.*), pl. LXIII, 5.



which was assumed to be an import from Corinth. With this Courby mentioned a votive tablet in relief, whose style he thought also to be Corinthian.<sup>4</sup> The only other pre-Hellenistic relief vase which Courby associated with Corinth was a large krater with a wide relief band portraying the Labors of Herakles, and the connection here was largely one of its discovery at near-by Tenea.<sup>5</sup>

Although actual remains of Corinthian relief vases known to Courby were exceedingly scant, he was fully aware of Corinth's potential importance as a center of manufacture of such ware. Its pre-eminence is especially apparent for the Classical period, when the imitation of metal vases began to become a large-scale industry in the fourth century. With this development is associated the name of Therikles of Corinth, a contemporary of Aristophanes, perhaps the most famous manufacturer in antiquity not only of vessels of chased or engraved metal but also of wood and, not least well known, of clay.<sup>6</sup> Courby<sup>7</sup> considered Therikles, the most renowned maker of such vases, noted for the perfection of his products, not the originator but the continuer of a tradition dating well back into the fifth century, if not earlier. The connection of the tradition with Corinth, an important center of the manufacture of metal vases in this and earlier periods,<sup>8</sup> is important. Actual remains from Corinth now exist which support the thesis of Courby, particularly in the two lebetes and the oinochoe to be discussed later.

Yet even when Courby wrote, there were several examples of Corinthian stamped or rouletted relief plaques and vases, not recognized by him as Corinthian. Many more have since been discovered, especially at Corinth and the Corinthian sanctuary at Perachora, while stray fragments have appeared elsewhere. The relief plaque No. 541 in Berlin, with a rectangular stamped design of a youth sitting on a horse facing right,<sup>9</sup> is not unique. Among the Corinthian *pinakes* in Berlin is listed a second plaque<sup>10</sup> with a lion to left stamped into the clay. It was recognized by the publishers of the relief tablets from the Argive Heraion that the two small plaques found there (Pl. 25, d-e)<sup>11</sup> were related in form to those in Berlin and were Corinthian; recent examination of the fabric has corroborated their conclusion.<sup>12</sup> The lion plaque (Pl.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1885, No. 541.

<sup>5</sup> Courby, p. 195.

<sup>6</sup> For the collected sources see Walter Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis*, Columbia, Missouri, 1931-1932, II, pp. 544-549; III, pp. 694-703.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 173 f.

<sup>8</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>9</sup> This is the plaque illustrated in *Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 24, No. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Furtwängler, *Vas. Berlin*, No. 761; this is the same as *Ant. Denk.*, II, pl. 29, No. 20.

<sup>11</sup> *A. H.*, II, p. 54, pl. XLIX, 9-10.

<sup>12</sup> Plate 25, d is of buff clay with a pinkish tinge and slight impurities: W. 0.055 m., H. 0.046 m., Th. 0.011 m. Stamp of chariot to right drawn by two or four horses, four-spoked wheel to chariot, two people in chariot, probably women. Slight traces of a heavy red slip over all. Plate 25, e is of fine buff clay with slight impurities: W. 0.05 m., H. with flange 0.053 m., Th. 0.01 m. Stamp of lion to right: W. 0.038 m., H. 0.03 m.

25, e), originally compared with Late Corinthian pottery, was dated to the early sixth century B. C. However, the thin body and large head of the lion, and especially the graceful curve of the tail, point to a date contemporary with the Protocorinthian figure style in its latest phase, about the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>13</sup> To this same period Payne dated the lion plaque in Berlin.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the chariot plaque (Pl. 25, d), originally dated earlier than the lion *pinax*, may be of the same date or later. The impression is too worn for detailed comparison. It is possible that each horse has a double outline, representing a pair, and that a quadriga is represented. The two riders, apparently female, are in profile; their hair is caught up in back and falls free below, much like that of the charioteer on the Chigi vase.<sup>15</sup> The chariot itself first appears in the Middle Protocorinthian period,<sup>16</sup> either with two or four horses. The device of distinguishing the horses, or pairs, by placing one a little in front of the other, one with head down and the other with head thrown back, while not characteristic of Protocorinthian examples, appeared already in the Early Corinthian period<sup>17</sup> and became common in Attica as well from the late seventh century on.<sup>18</sup> The chariot itself is almost entirely defaced. The plaque must be dated to the late seventh or early sixth century. The horse and rider relief plaque in Berlin was called "late archaic" by Payne.<sup>19</sup>

A plaque of similar nature with a gorgon in low relief was found in a fifth century grave at Argos;<sup>20</sup> while said to be of Argive clay, the type is Corinthian and the stamp possibly originated there. On the other hand, the large plaque of a "daimon" in Corinthian clay from Perachora<sup>21</sup> came from the same matrix as one found at the Argive Heraion,<sup>22</sup> which is of Argive clay; the matrix itself is believed to be Cretan.<sup>23</sup> There is a fragment of a second Corinthian plaque from Perachora<sup>24</sup> preserving only the lower third of a group of a woman and a boy walking to right; again, the matrix may have been Cretan. The latter is dated to the early seventh century, which

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, Berlin, 1933, pls. 16, 1; 19; 30, 2 and 5; 31, 2; Kraiker, *Aigina, Die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1951, pls. B, 341; 28, 343, the latter especially for the tail, for which also cf. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, Copenhagen, 1923, pl. XL, 1c.

<sup>14</sup> NC, p. 222, note 2.

<sup>15</sup> Johansen, *Vases Sic.*, pl. XL, 1c.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 152-4, pls. XXIII, 2 b-c; XXXII, 1 e; XXXIV, 1; Kraiker, *op. cit.*, pl. C.

<sup>17</sup> NC, p. 127, fig. 45 A.

<sup>18</sup> Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1940, p. 99, fig. 114; Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-Figure*, Berkeley, 1951, pls. 11, 1; 13, 1.

<sup>19</sup> NC, p. 222, note 2.

<sup>20</sup> S. Karouzou, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XV, 1933-35, p. 31, fig. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Payne and others, *Perachora*, I, Oxford, 1940, pl. 102, No. 180 (Terracottas by R. J. H. Jenkins).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 102, No. 180 bis; *A. H.*, II, pl. XLIX, 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Perachora*, I, p. 231.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230, pl. 102, No. 179.



would make it the earliest Corinthian example of a stamped design. The large plaque of a "daimon" is somewhat later, mid-seventh century,<sup>25</sup> slightly earlier than the two lion tablets. The gorgon tablet from Argos shows a still later type, probably mid-sixth century.

While these small tablets, each with a single rectangular stamp, thus form a series beginning as early as 700 B. C. and lasting for at least a century and a half, there is a second series of somewhat larger plaques, decorated with more than one impression of the same stamp or with two or more different stamps. Their range is more limited; all those of known provenience come from the Argive Heraion;<sup>26</sup> all the fragments that could be examined are of Corinthian fabric.<sup>27</sup> There are fragments of three tablets each with two or three impressions of the same stamp, one above the other; the borders and the space between the stamps are filled with incuse circles. The best preserved example is shown on Plate 25, a.<sup>28</sup> The subject of the stamped design has recently been reconsidered by Mme. Semni Karouzou, who identifies the winged "daimon" as the god Aristaios, and who also recognized the fragment shown here as Corinthian.<sup>29</sup> She cites other examples on Attic and Boeotian vases of the late seventh century, and it is to the second half of this century that the Argive Heraion tablets showing Aristaios must be dated. Another similar tablet shows a second complete stamp (Pl. 25, b).<sup>30</sup> Here two nude male figures face each other, each with hither leg advanced and outer arm raised and stretched forward so that the fingertips touch; the other arm seems to be bent at the elbow with the lower arm stretched forward, but not touching. The suggestion by the original publishers that this might be the preliminary to a wrestling match seems most logical;<sup>31</sup> the figures might be boxers, though no thongs are indicated on the hands. Representations of wrestling, especially of the "upright wrestling" which seems to be indicated here,<sup>32</sup> are common on vases from the Geometric period on, particularly on Attic black-figured ware.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>26</sup> Only one other is cited by the publishers of the Heraion fragments.

<sup>27</sup> The fragments 6 and 7 of *A. H.*, II, pl. XLIX had not yet been found when I examined and photographed the other pieces and I have not since had the opportunity to do so again; hence they are not considered here.

<sup>28</sup> *A. H.*, II, pp. 47, 51-52; pl. XLIX, 2-4. No. 4, shown here, H. 0.119 m., W. 0.073 m., Th. 0.023 m.; its full height is preserved and shows it had but two stamps. No. 2 had at least three stamps, one close to the upper edge with no border of incuse circles above it. No. 3 had at least two stamps, probably no more. The stamp is the same in all the pieces.

<sup>29</sup> *Annuario*, XXIV-XXVI, 1950, pp. 37-46.

<sup>30</sup> *A. H.*, II, pl. XLIX, 5. The two fragments certainly belong to the same piece, made of buff clay with a heavy admixture of grit. The larger fragment: H. 0.099 m., W. 0.087 m., Th. 0.031 m.; the stamp W. 0.031 m., H. 0.039 m.

<sup>31</sup> *A. H.*, II, p. 52.

<sup>32</sup> Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, p. 181.

<sup>33</sup> For the collected references see Kunze, *Olympische Forschungen II: Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin, 1950, p. 178, note 2. See Schröder, *Der Sport in Altertum*, Berlin, 1927, p. 154, fig. 41, for the position with hands up at the beginning of the "pankration."

In none of the representations is this particular position portrayed. Closer to the stamp used on this terracotta plaque are the rectangular panels on bronze shield bands<sup>34</sup> of the first half of the sixth century,<sup>35</sup> and especially in the central panel of a bronze matrix from Corfu, now in the Ashmolean Museum,<sup>36</sup> which Payne dated about the middle of the seventh century.<sup>37</sup> In this panel alone, as in our terracotta, are the hither legs both in the same position, placed back on the matrix but forward on the terracotta; in all the later representations on the shield bands both figures put forward either the left or the right leg. In the bronze matrix the extended hands touch as on the terracotta, and again they are a right and a left hand, as on the terracotta, rather than right or left hands, as on the bronze shield bands. The tripod present in the matrix and on the shield bands, which was most likely the prize for the match, is much rarer on the vase paintings.<sup>38</sup> The date of the stamp on the terracotta plaque, originally suggested to be early in the sixth century, would now seem to be about a half century earlier, for the Daedalic heads, the very large almond-shaped eyes, the crude rendering of the hand in full view, the similarity of the position to that of the wrestlers on the Corfu matrix, all suggest a date in the Late Protocorinthian period. The stamp at the bottom of this tablet, and probably the only other one on it, has a different subject, but since only the lower left corner is preserved it is not possible to identify it. The lower leg and foot facing left suggest a kneeling or running figure, as shown on Plate 25, a and c, but behind the foot there seems to be a rod held in a hand; this matrix is otherwise unknown.

Somewhat different in arrangement is the plaque decorated with at least three different stamps not placed one above the other (Pl. 25, c).<sup>39</sup> In the upper preserved part there are the remains of two stamps, not quite on the same level, separated by a vertical band with the same incuse circles as on the tablets just described. However, the band to the right of the right hand stamp is plain. This stamp, placed highest on the plaque, portrays a single figure facing left in the archaic running or "knielauf" position. A wide girdle encircles the thin waist; the torso is covered by a short chiton or possibly a corselet; the body is nude below the waist, or covered by a skin-tight garment. The left arm is held back, the fist clenched; the right arm must be forward and up. The figure is difficult to reconstruct or identify; the centaur in the space below suggests Herakles, and indeed a short chiton and girdle are often

<sup>34</sup> Kunze, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 192 f.; pls. 14, III a and 66, XLII β.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>36</sup> *J.H.S.*, XVI, 1896, p. 328, fig. 2.

<sup>37</sup> *NC*, p. 222.

<sup>38</sup> Gardiner, *op. cit.*, figs. 149-168.

<sup>39</sup> *A.H.*, II, pp. 53 f., pl. XLIX, 8 a-b. The two joining fragments cannot be more than half of the original tablet. Preserved dimensions: W. 0.084 m., H. 0.109 m., Th. 0.019 m. The tablet must then have been at least 0.15 m. high and almost as wide. The clay is light buff throughout with a heavy admixture of grit.



worn by this hero,<sup>40</sup> though the usual representation of the short chiton shows a piece below the girdle which is absent here.<sup>41</sup> But if this be Herakles, his weapon is other than the bow, and there are many possibilities. Also, there are other human associates or antagonists of centaurs.

To the left, and at a slightly lower level, is a stamp of which only a small section of the right side is preserved, depicting an outstretched wing, pointing downward and seen in full view. It suggests the owl on Athenian coins shown in full front view with the wings opened out,<sup>42</sup> rather than a running figure with turned-down wing tips.<sup>43</sup>

The only clearly identifiable figure on the plaque is that in the lower rectangle, centered between the two of the upper row. There are no incuse circles in the border between the upper and lower row, but the wide border to the right of the lower design is filled with a large octafoil rosette stamped into the clay; probably a second one occurred below this one, and the left border would have been similar. The finely cut rosette stamp is suggestive of metal work. A similar one occurs on a bronze relief of the mid-seventh century from Olympia.<sup>44</sup> It appears even earlier as a field ornament on early Protocorinthian vases,<sup>45</sup> but quickly gives way to the dot rosette and, in the Early Corinthian period, to the solid rosette, often in similar octafoil form,<sup>46</sup> which occurs as well on contemporary Attic vases.<sup>47</sup>

The lower stamp shows a centaur, facing right, with a human head and torso and an equine body below the waist. In his left hand he holds a small branch. The upper left hand corner of the rectangle is filled with an octafoil rosette of alternating rounded and pointed petals, a favorite design on Protocorinthian pottery from its earliest phase on,<sup>48</sup> but which does not seem to survive that period. The centaur, too, is fairly common on both Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery, but on only one

<sup>40</sup> Kunze, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, X a; Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, Berlin, 1912, figs. 4, 6, 9, 15; Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pl. 21, 1.

<sup>41</sup> In addition to the representations of Herakles listed above, the girdle and chiton, worn by others, appear in Kunze, *op. cit.*, pls. 30, X b; 31, X d; 59, XXXI γ; Baur, *op. cit.*, fig. 15; Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pls. 27-28. One figure in the wide belly zone on the Chigi vase (Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pl. 27), the one behind the lion, has no clothing below the girdle, though it is not certain that he is wearing a chiton at all. On a bronze plaque from Boeotia there is a very similar figure with triangular torso and wide girdle (Johansen, *Vases Sic.*, p. 139, fig. 106). On none of these are the folds of the short chiton rendered as they are on this terracotta plaque.

<sup>42</sup> Seltman, *A Book of Greek Coins*, Penguin, 1952, pl. 9, No. 47 b.

<sup>43</sup> *C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., III.H.e, pl. 13, 1a.

<sup>44</sup> Kunze, *Meisterwerke der Kunst: Olympia*, Munich, 1948, figs. 32-33; for another see Curtius and Adler, *Olympia IV*, Berlin, 1894, pl. XXXVII, No. 712.

<sup>45</sup> Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pl. 5, 2; Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 14, 201 a-b.

<sup>46</sup> Payne, *NC*, pls. 17-18.

<sup>47</sup> Kraiker, *Aigina*, pl. 46, No. 565.

<sup>48</sup> Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pls. 8, 2; 17, 2; Kraiker, *Aigina*, pls. 12, 191; 17, 254; 24, 299; Johansen, *Vases Sic.*, pl. XXII, 1 c.

example of the Late Corinthian period does it have equine legs, as on our plaque.<sup>49</sup> Baur<sup>50</sup> has pointed out, however, that both types were known to the Greeks from the Geometric period on, and actually both appear together on a stamped gold band said to be from Corinth.<sup>51</sup> Such a centaur with equine legs is shown on an ivory carving from Sparta dated to the late eighth or early seventh century.<sup>52</sup> On vases, however, the centaur with human legs certainly prevails until late in the seventh century; one of the earliest representations on pottery of a centaur with equine legs is that on the neck of the Attic black-figured Nessos amphora of the end of the seventh century.<sup>53</sup> Our centaur seems to be wearing a short chiton with short sleeves. The delineation of the face and of the hair is considerably more advanced than that of the wrestlers of Plate 25, b. The matrix was of excellent quality, in the manner of bronzework, which makes comparison with vase-painting difficult. It would appear to date about the turn of the century, if not even in the first quarter of the sixth century, but all the other indications of style on the plaque, including the rosette on the centaur stamp itself, would suggest a date somewhat before rather than after 600 B. C.

The same combination of rectangular stamped designs with decorated borders, often with stamped rosettes, is found on Cretan pithoi,<sup>54</sup> but not on the other well known series of archaic relief vases, the Rhodian, Boeotian or Laconian. This suggests again, as did the Cretan style of some of the earliest stamped plaques from Perachora, that Crete may have been the source of inspiration for stamped relief ware made at Corinth.

These few tablets of Corinthian fabric, with rectangular impressed designs, assume an importance beyond their intrinsic artistic worth because of their bearing on the identification of the products of the Corinthian manufactory of metal reliefs. The so-called Argive-Corinthian reliefs, decorated similarly with small rectangular panels, have been much in dispute for the last half-century or more. Payne<sup>55</sup> collected the material to 1930; the most considerable addition since then has come from the excavations at Olympia.<sup>56</sup> But even the greatly increased number of bronze reliefs, due to the Olympia finds, has not helped materially in identifying their place of manufacture by an analysis of style. The argument is not germane to the presentation of the terracotta reliefs, whose fabric clearly identifies their place of manufacture, which certainly was Corinth. It can be argued that the matrices for these tablets need not

<sup>49</sup> Payne, *NC*, p. 90, note 6; pp. 129 f.; Johansen, *Vases Sic.*, pp. 145 ff.; Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, Cambridge, Mass., 1943, pp. 74 f., No. 312.

<sup>50</sup> *Centaurs*, p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup> Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, London, 1929, p. 210, pl. CI.

<sup>53</sup> Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, London, 1928, pl. 3, 1.

<sup>54</sup> *A.J.A.*, V, 1891, p. 406, fig. 1, pl. XIV, 7-8; *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pl. XXXI.

<sup>55</sup> *NC*, pp. 222-231.

<sup>56</sup> Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, pp. 215-250.



necessarily have been of Corinthian origin; indeed, we have seen an example from Perachora in which this was certainly not the case,<sup>57</sup> while a second example from there seems also to have been made from a foreign matrix.<sup>58</sup> The likelihood is that the matrices used for the plaques published here were Corinthian, and certainly stylistic comparisons with Corinthian pottery indicate strongly that they were. Of special interest also is the close similarity between the wrestlers on Plate 25, b and those on the Corfu matrix, which Payne used as one basis for his identification of the Corinthian style in metal reliefs.<sup>59</sup> Judging from comparisons with pottery, the tablets would date mainly in the second half of the seventh century, while the bronze reliefs are more predominant in the sixth century and only a small proportion is earlier.<sup>60</sup> The tablets can, then, be accepted as Corinthian in design as well as in fabric, and as such they, together with the Corfu matrix, remain the most important documents for identifying metal reliefs of Corinthian manufacture.

At the same time as rectangular stamps were used to decorate clay plaques at Corinth, cylindrical matrices, rolled onto clay to give a continuous repeating design, were being used to decorate vases of heavy fabric, such as pithoi and large open bowls. The impression was usually made in a layer of fine clay spread on the surface for this purpose. The earliest Corinthian examples of this technique come from the Argive Heraion, where several fragments have been found.<sup>61</sup> Two of the fragments are from splaying feet of large, heavy vases, one having also a section of the cylindrical base above the foot (Pl. 26, b-c).<sup>62</sup> The preserved section of the design on Plate 26, c is very small but it is identical with that on Plate 26, b which is almost entirely preserved. It shows a centauremachy, the centaur with full human forepart facing left, confronted by a standing bowman identified as Herakles, who is nude and apparently bearded. He holds a bow with upcurved ends, while the centaur is armed with a long branch that extends back the length of his body and as far as the head of Herakles. One hand, apparently the right one, is held out with open palm in full view. The equine hind part has a long, square-cut tail. The third fragment (Pl. 26, a), of clay identical with the first and apparently from the same vase,<sup>63</sup> is

<sup>57</sup> *Perachora*, I, pl. 102, No. 180.

<sup>59</sup> *NC*, p. 222.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 102, No. 179.

<sup>60</sup> *NC*, pp. 224-5; Kunze, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>61</sup> *A.H.*, II, pp. 180-182, pl. LXIII. The fragments 1, 2, 3 and 5 shown on this plate have been examined and seem certainly to be of Corinthian fabric; No. 6 was not seen; only two small pieces of No. 4 were examined and it seems more likely that this vase is Argive.

<sup>62</sup> Both pieces are called pithoi bases in *A.H.*, II, p. 181. However, pithoi have small pointed bases meant to be sunk into the ground; bases of the type shown here would crack under the weight of a filled pithos. They belong, rather, to a wide bowl on a high cylindrical stand with a splaying foot, as shown on Plate 27, c. The type will be discussed more fully later.

<sup>63</sup> This has also been called a pithos fragment, from the lowest part of the belly of such a vase, where it joins the base. This, too, seems patently impossible, for the design would never be seen. Actually, as already mentioned, the lowest part of the vase was most likely buried. The fragment has a very wide splay; the design runs in a small circle about a central focus, which suggests rather

decorated with an almost identical design, the only variant being in the position of the centaur's right hand which here appears to be raised and extended, almost touching the top of the bow, rather than extended from the waist, as in the other two fragments.<sup>64</sup> The heavy plastic band bordering the top of the decorated band is identical, where preserved, on the two pieces; so is the band below. The bands are decorated with rouletted impressions of parallel chevrons on the plastic bands, and similar chevrons occur in three bands on the splaying foot of the fragment on Plate 26, c.

The centauiromachy was originally recognized as containing no trace of orientalizing influence and, indeed, it resembles most closely the stage of design and composition illustrated by the gold band from Corinth, on which centaurs are represented among cavalry and infantry;<sup>65</sup> the latter is of late Geometric date. Similar in style, too, are the centaurs on some early Rhodian pithoi of the Ialysos group, dated to the late seventh century.<sup>66</sup> As to date, the Corinthian vases probably fall somewhere between the gold band and the Rhodian pithoi, about the mid-seventh century; hence this cylindrical matrix is the earliest represented on Corinthian ware.

Slightly later in date, but still within the seventh century, is the rolled, impressed design on a fourth piece from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 26, d),<sup>67</sup> a fragment from a large vase, probably a pithos, on which the preserved decorative band would have been about the belly. Unlike the others, this is in the Corinthian orientalizing, animal-frieze style. The design consists of a procession to right of a lion, a sphinx and a panther. The lion has an open jaw and a long tail curving above the back in a sweeping S-curve. Of the sphinx, only the head and hind portion are preserved, the latter showing the end of the up-curved wings, the S-curve of the tail and the standing position of the sphinx, not the usual seated posture. The panther has its head turned full face; it walks gingerly on thin legs, its tail looped forward. Between panther and lion, separating each repetition of the group, is a palmette, and the animal frieze is bordered by a tongue pattern. The composition, the animal forms, the mannered poses, are all typical of late Protocorinthian and Transitional vases of the third quarter of the seventh century, to which period this fragment must belong.<sup>68</sup>

The Argive Heraion has more recently yielded a fragment of Corinthian relief

a large lid, though a design on the shoulder at the base of a cylindrical neck is also possible, but in such a position the heads should be at the smaller diameter, as they are in the foot fragment on Plate 26, b. The type of bowl on which such a lid would fit is shown on Plate 29, h, in a fragment from Perachora.

<sup>64</sup> In *A.H.*, II, p. 181, the difference is stated as being in the left hand, which holds a branch rather than being extended towards Herakles. I believe that in both cases the left hand held the branch and the difference lies in the position of the right hand.

<sup>65</sup> Baur, *Centauris*, p. 5, fig. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Feytmans, *B.C.H.*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 161, fig. 13; also Baur, *Centauris*, p. 85, fig. 17.

<sup>67</sup> *A.H.*, II, p. 182, No. 5, pl. LXIII. The coarse fabric is covered with a fine light buff slip, while a heavier band of fine clay is applied separately, and on this the design was then rolled out.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Payne, *Protokor. Vas.*, pl. 31; *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 25, No. 186.



ware of the sixth century which is the finest product of the class yet known. A chance find made in 1949, the piece (Pl. 26, j) has been published by its finder,<sup>69</sup> and there is little to add to Miss Hersom's study. The tripod bowl of Corinthian type, and certainly of Corinthian fabric, from which it came had an estimated diameter of 0.38 m.; about the rim ran a continuous frieze, 0.05 m. high, decorated with a repeating impressed design consisting of four figures, the first probably Hermes and the others certainly Perseus pursued by the two gorgons; a bird flies between Perseus and the first gorgon. Miss Hersom believes the stamp to have been a matrix fitted against the curve of the vessel rather than a cylinder, this because of the slight ridge separating each repetition of the scene. Considering the exactness of the spacing at the two ends preserved and the similarity in the form of the ridge, it seems more likely that the design was made by a cylinder, which would conform with the practice in evidence on the other examples presented here, only one of which was known to Miss Hersom. The delicate spiraliform design repeated across the top of the leg was made with a flat stamp, the outlines of which are clear. The fragment has been dated in the second quarter of the sixth century.

A single cylindrical matrix was used to impress a continuous repeating design on the rim of two bowls made in Corinth and now known from a fragment found at Corinth (Pl. 26, f) and one found at Mycenae (Pl. 26, g).<sup>70</sup> The profile of the Corinth piece (Pl. 26, i) shows the vessel to have been an open bowl, larger and much shallower than the one from the Argive Heraion;<sup>71</sup> the thick rim has a heavy, slightly bevelled lip, and its underside extends down slightly below the side of the bowl. The Mycenae bowl was of the same form, though the rim is about 0.03 m. higher, thus giving a wider border above and below the relief zone. The interior of the bowl, or basin, is smooth near the lip, but toward the center the surface coating of clay is gone and the rough core exposed.

The profile and the roughened interior surface at once suggest that these fragments are from large basins on high cylindrical stands, the so-called "perirrhanteria" known to have been made at Corinth over a long period of time. The earliest example from Corinth, of the third quarter of the seventh century,<sup>72</sup> had a plainer bowl without offset rim; it also had long narrow openings in the cylindrical stand. There are frag-

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 275-278, pl. 72. I am grateful to Miss Hersom for having sent me a description and photograph of the fragment soon after it was found.

<sup>70</sup> The piece from Corinth, a chance find, Inv. No. CP-1911, has the following dimensions: H. rim 0.06 m., P. W. 0.09 m., Th. rim 0.02 m. The profile is shown on Plate 26, i. The Mycenae piece is mentioned by Wace in *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 227, ii: H. 0.08 m., P. W. 0.11 m.; it too is without context. The clay of the first is reddish buff at the core, buff on the exterior; it has a heavy admixture of grits and is baked hard. The piece found at Mycenae is of greenish yellow clay, with the same characteristic grittiness, and with a yellowish surface.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 275, fig. 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 50, No. 182, pl. 25.

ments of such bowls from the late sixth century,<sup>73</sup> while several fragments from a well dating *ca.* 460-420 B. C. permitted a full reconstruction of the shape.<sup>74</sup> Numerous unpublished fragments at Corinth show the popularity of the shape throughout the sixth and fifth centuries and possibly into the fourth century as well. By far the majority of these were decorated only with ridges on base and rim and with black and red painted bands; one large fragment has a painted ivy pattern on the rim and painted decoration was also used on the stands. The stamped designs on rim, stand and base will be discussed below.

Early in the sixth century the shape, having already achieved some age at Corinth, became popular at Sicilian Akragas, modern Agrigento, whence has come a large and long series of rims especially, decorated with continuous repeating patterns impressed from cylindrical matrices, like those from Corinth now under discussion. At Selinus, however, was found the most complete example yet known of the shape with a relief rim zone (Pl. 27, c).<sup>75</sup> The profile of rim and bowl is identical with those from Corinth and Mycenae; the stand and base are of the type known from numerous Corinthian examples; the interior has the same roughened surface, except at the outer edge. In a recent study of the shape<sup>76</sup> Gabrici reports his observations on the fragments in Palermo, from which he concludes that the roughened surface was caused by the action of fire, which sometimes left a reddened area as well; on some fragments bits of carbon were still traceable.<sup>77</sup> He therefore suggests that these basins on stands<sup>78</sup> were used as braziers. The large slits around the stand of a seventh century example from Corinth<sup>79</sup> might indicate that fire was in this case put under the bowl rather than, or as well as, on it. This explanation seems preferable to that of Miss Pease, who interpreted traces of clay found on such bowls as indication that they were used for the mixing and kneading of clay.<sup>80</sup>

The relief band of the Corinthian example known from two fragments (Pl. 26, f and g) has as its decoration a scene of a Nike running to right, followed by a quadriga, behind which is a water bird with raised wings hurrying along in the same direction. The torso and up-curved wings of the Nike are seen in front view, the head and lower body in profile, showing the right side. The position is the archaic "knielauf" with the left knee almost touching the ground; the left arm is extended

<sup>73</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 602, No. 184-186.

<sup>74</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 296, fig. 28.

<sup>75</sup> The vase was previously known only from a sketch (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, p. 219, fig. 20). Fortunately, this photograph was taken before the last war, during which the Palermo Museum was bombed and this vase shattered. It was in this condition that I saw it in 1948.

<sup>76</sup> *Archivio storico per la Sicilia*, Series III, Vol. I, Palermo, 1947, pp. 1-29.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>78</sup> The well-preserved example from Selinus: H. 0.46 m., diam. 0.68 m.; the reconstructed basin from Corinth: diam. 0.765 m.

<sup>79</sup> *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 25, No. 182.

<sup>80</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 297.



straight forward, the right one back and down. The Daedalic head has a large round eye, a scroll-like ear, the hair arranged in an "Etagenperücke" with a fillet. The water bird is preserved only on the fragment from Corinth, and even here its lower part is missing; the wings show the same precise modelling as do those of the Nike; the eye is round. Of the quadriga, the whole chariot and the rear parts of the horses are preserved on the Corinth fragment, the heads and forelegs of the horses on the Mycenae sherd. The horses race forward with necks extended, forelegs raised in a mass with incisions marking off the legs. The hind legs are shown in two groups, with the outward leg in each group fully delineated and those behind shown by repeating the outline of the front one. The tails fly out behind, indicating the speed of the horses. The chariot, with four-spoked wheels, has a straight front and one center support for the curved side rails. In each hand the charioteer holds a group of four reins, very precisely indicated, each group held by a buckle just in front of his hands; in the left hand he holds a whip. His head is damaged, but on the hair can be seen a fillet with the loose ends flying out behind. He wears a long garment, probably sleeveless, girdled at the waist.

The sharp modelling of the relief is reminiscent of the best bronze work and it is, indeed, to bronzes that one must look for some of the closest parallels to this scene. The Nike is in style and stance, except for the turn of the head, very close to one from Perachora<sup>81</sup> dated to the mid-sixth century or a little earlier. A gorgon on a bronze relief from Olympia shows similar style; it is dated to the first quarter of the sixth century.<sup>82</sup> The running posture is especially characteristic of "daimons," largely male, shown on Corinthian vases in the Early Corinthian and especially the Middle Corinthian periods.<sup>83</sup> While the "knielauf" continues after the middle of the sixth century, the bend of the knee tends to become less deep.<sup>84</sup> The hairdress is equally characteristic of the early sixth century and the round eye, also, prevails during the first half of this century.<sup>85</sup> The swiftly moving quadriga can be paralleled on a bronze relief in the National Museum in Athens (Pl. 27, a),<sup>86</sup> on which the horses are especially like those of the terracotta reliefs. There are innumerable parallels on Corinthian and early Attic vases of the second quarter of the sixth century, where the representations of chariot, horses, charioteer, and even the rein buckles, are almost identical with those of the reliefs.<sup>87</sup> Though the chariot race remains a common scene on black-

<sup>81</sup> *Perachora*, I, p. 134, pl. 42, 3-4.

<sup>82</sup> Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, pl. 10, II b.

<sup>83</sup> Payne, *NC*, pls. 28, 10; 31, 5; *Corinth*, VII, i, pls. 28, No. 193.

<sup>84</sup> For the collected material on this posture see Schmidt, E., "Der Knielauf," in *Münchener archäologische Studien*, Munich, 1909.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. especially Payne, *NC*, p. 102, fig. 35 D, of Middle Corinthian date, for hair and eye.

<sup>86</sup> De Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes*, Paris, 1894, No. 856.

<sup>87</sup> To mention but a few of the most obvious parallels: the second frieze of the François Vase

figured vases after the middle of the sixth century, particularly on Panathenaic amphoras, there is a change in style in the later representations, principally in the greater differentiation of the two pairs of horses and in the tendency away from strictly profile poses, as well as in a more advanced type of rendering of the charioteer, which precludes dating our example after the middle of the century. The style of the second quarter of the sixth century is the milieu to which they belong, about the same date as that which Miss Hersom has given to the bowl from the Argive Heraion.

A very small fragment of the rim of another such basin was found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth (Pl. 26, h),<sup>88</sup> unfortunately without significant context. Only the rear part of the horses is preserved, but it is clear that the two pairs are here much more widely separated and that they are standing or moving slowly rather than running. Not unlike this in arrangement, as well as in the borders of tongues, is the chariot on a bronze relief from Noicattaro in Bari<sup>89</sup> which has been dated in the Protocorinthian period;<sup>90</sup> the Corinth rim fragment seems hardly to be this early and is more likely to be dated after the pieces just discussed.

The fragment from the Potters' Quarter is especially reminiscent of the arrangement of the horses on most of the Sicilian relief rims, particularly those from Agrigento, which are decorated with scenes of Nike and a chariot. The series is a long one, running perhaps a century from the late sixth on. One typical fragment in the British Museum is shown on Plate 27, b; there are numerous other examples which show the whole range of the development.<sup>91</sup> In all, the column is used to separate Nike and quadriga, the function performed by the water-bird on the Corinthian example, where there is no separation between the front of the horses and Nike. In none of the Sicilian examples is the style as early as that of the Corinth fragments and it seems not too bold to suggest that the Corinthian product was the prototype, both in shape and decoration, for the popular Sicilian series. The bird which flies above the horses on so

(*Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, pl. II), the Amphiaros Krater (*ibid.*, 1889, pl. X), Akropolis vase No. 606 (Graef, *Akropolis Vasen*, I, Berlin, 1909, pl. 30), Louvre E874 by Sophilos (Karouzou, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, pl. 54, 1), an amphora by Lydos in Florence (Beazley, *Dev. of Attic B-F.*, pl. 18, 2), a calyx krater of the Exekias type in Athens (Roebuck, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 154, fig. 9). Many of the pertinent parallels have recently been brought together by Åkerström in a study of architectural terracottas on which racing chariots are depicted (*Architektonische Terrakottaplatten in Stockholm*, Lund, 1951, p. 26, fig. 4; pp. 33-47, figs. 8-21; also figs. 30-33, 38 and 40).

<sup>88</sup> This piece, Inv. No. KN-160, is 0.052 m. high, which means that the cylinder from which the impression was made was *ca.* 0.05 m. high, as it was on the other examples.

<sup>89</sup> Jantzen, *Bronzwerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien*, Berlin, 1937, pl. 10.

<sup>90</sup> Payne, *NC*, p. 225.

<sup>91</sup> For instance: *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 5, pl. 225, 4-5; Marconi, *Dedalo*, IX, 1928-29, p. 598; Marconi, *Agrigento*, Florence, 1929, pp. 201-203, figs. 137-140; there are several other fragments in the museum at Agrigento. The several pieces found at Motya are believed to have been imported, probably from Akragas or Selinus (Whitaker, *Motya*, London, 1921, p. 322, fig. 103). One fragment is reported to have been found at Caere in Etruria (Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, I, Paris, 1897, pl. 38, No. D 355).



many of the Agrigentine reliefs also has its prototype in the one between Perseus and the first gorgon on the Argive Heraion bowl (Pl. 26, j). Lacking more material from Corinth, it is not yet possible to study further the problem of the possible Corinthian origin of the other motives which decorate the relief rims of Agrigentine braziers, though the Centauromachy on the sherds from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 26, a-c) is a possible prototype for the scene on Sicilian examples, some of which are as early as the late sixth century. One can only mention here the further possibility that the Corinthian relief wares, still only slightly known, were the inspiration for the stamped reliefs on Etruscan bowls and pithoi.<sup>92</sup> In this connection Miss Goldman had suggested, before any Corinthian relief ware had been published, that possibly there was Corinthian influence on the decoration of the rim of a large basin found at Halae, which is stamped with single and double lotuses and which also has applied plastic heads.<sup>93</sup> While she could then give no parallel for the shape in Corinthian ware, it was known in bucchero; the common source for the type and decoration both at Halae and in Etruria would now seem to be Corinth.

One more fragment decorated with figured relief has come from Perachora (Pl. 26, e).<sup>94</sup> The preserved section shows, from left to right, a sphinx to left, hind legs of an animal to left, two animals, probably lions, heraldically grouped about a floral ornament.<sup>95</sup> The style of the relief, as Dunbabin has observed, is Protocorinthian, and it probably dates near the middle of the seventh century B. C. Though only bits of the animals are preserved, the lithe bodies are most in keeping with that style. The ribbon-like character of the floral ornament, too, is Protocorinthian.<sup>96</sup> The heraldic group is seen in terracotta relief on an altar from Selinus and on an architectural fragment from Delphi,<sup>97</sup> and it is common on the so-called Argive-Corinthian bronze

<sup>92</sup> Mingazzini, *Collezione Castellani*, Rome, 1930, pls. IX, X, XII-XIV (cf. especially the animals in Protocorinthian style on pl. IX with our Pl. 25, e and Pl. 26, d; the chariot scene of pl. X, 3 with those from Corinth, the centaurs of pl. XIII, 2 with those on the Argive Heraion sherds); *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen 5, pl. 225, 1-3; Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, I, pls. 2, 36-38 (pl. 38, No. D 355 is the Sicilian relief rim found at Caere).

<sup>93</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 408, No. 11, fig. 39.

<sup>94</sup> The piece, made of pale orange clay which is definitely Corinthian, is 0.15 m. long. Dunbabin, not knowing the other relief fragments, has suggested that it was part of a pithos. I would suggest that it, too, was part of a rim of one of the large basins, which seems likely from the finished bottom edge.

<sup>95</sup> Judging from the photograph, I would suggest that this relief, too, was made with a cylindrical matrix, that we do not have the entire impression and that when the cylinder was finally rolled around the entire perimeter of the vase there remained a small section which was filled in a makeshift manner, as indicated by the oddly placed animal between the sphinx and the heraldic group, the ground line of which seems to have been obliterated by a rather rough treatment of the surface.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Johansen, *Vases Sic.*, p. 116, fig. 58; p. 119, fig. 75; pl. XXIII.

<sup>97</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, 1927, pl. XXXV, 2; Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, London, 1926, p. 32, pl. XXV, fig. 89. The group is stamped on the Delphi sima in the same manner as

reliefs, ranging in date from the last quarter of the seventh century to the end of the sixth.<sup>98</sup> One of the earliest and finest of the groups is represented by the mid-seventh century lion found at Perachora.<sup>99</sup> In none of the examples from the bronze reliefs is the motive about which the animals are grouped like that on the Perachora vase fragment and I know of no exact parallel, but those in which the stance and form of the animals seem closest to the terracotta relief belong to the earlier part of the series, the late seventh and early sixth century. Thus the Perachora fragment dates to about the same time as the orientalizing fragment long known from the Argive Heraion. Together they give the earliest evidence for the Corinthian style in relief decoration.

The pieces of figured Corinthian relief pottery, thus far nine in number (two perhaps from the same vase), cover a span from the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth century, with the possibility that one fragment from Corinth was made later in the sixth century. This period correlates roughly with the life span of the developed Protocorinthian and Corinthian figure styles. Though the remains are still scant, they suggest that the figured relief ware, like the figured style of vase painting, might have ended during the middle decades of the sixth century. But just as on the painted pottery, decoration in relief with geometric and floral motives, which had played a minor role during the flourishing of the figured style, continued for the rest of the sixth century and for a good part of the fifth as well. Already on the mid-seventh century pieces from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 26, a-c) there were bands of parallel chevrons impressed with a roulette either on the plastic bands bordering the relief zone or on the splaying base of the high stand. The earliest of the basins on a high stand from Corinth, of about the same date, had a somewhat different rouletted decorative band about the center of the stand, consisting of five rows of impressed triangles.<sup>100</sup> Similar rouletted wedges decorated the surface of one of the "koulouria" (votive cakes) found in a deposit dating largely from ca. 630-600 B. C. at the temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora.<sup>101</sup> A plastic zigzag band was produced on the heavy ledge handle of a bowl found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth (Pl. 28, i),<sup>102</sup> apparently again by a roulette with wedges arranged in zigzag fashion. The deposit from which the piece came ranged from Early to Late Corinthian, but a few pieces date even a little later. A simple chevron-like design occurs in the branches stamped on the ledge

on the vases; a second stamp has a nude youth riding a horse. Both look Corinthian in style and the fabric of the sima should be examined to see if it could be Corinthian.

<sup>98</sup> Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, pls. 2, I g; 8, I g; 13, III b; 14, III b; 16, IV a; 20, Va; 25, VIII e; 38, XIV b; *Olympia Bericht*, III, pls. 34-35; *Olympia*, IV, pl. LIX; *F. de Delphes*, V, p. 124, fig. 466; Payne, *NC*, p. 222, fig. 102; p. 229, fig. 104 G; Payne, *Perachora*, I, pl. 50, 1-2.

<sup>99</sup> *Perachora*, I, pp. 130-133, pl. 39; cf. also *Olympia*, IV, pl. LVII, 969.

<sup>100</sup> *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 25, No. 182.

<sup>101</sup> *Perachora*, I, p. 101, pl. 33, 16.

<sup>102</sup> Inv. No. KP-1417, P. H. 0.057 m., P. W. 0.124 m. It is from a wide open bowl with a thick lip, flat on top, and wide handles with vertical sides. A fine surface coating was put over the gritty, buff clay.



handles of several bowls from Corinth, one of mid-sixth century date,<sup>103</sup> another from a late fifth century well,<sup>104</sup> and a third from the Asklepieion.<sup>105</sup>

However, other decorative stamps of more developed nature have already been seen on the tablets and vases with figured ornament. The incuse circles of the Argive Heraion plaques seem limited to the seventh century period to which these belong; there is a possible late reflection on the fragment shown on Plate 28, e. On one tablet (Pl. 25, c) there was a rosette stamp, the first of a long series of this impressed motive, which will be discussed below. On the bowl from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 26, j) there is an elaborate stamp with a double row of running spirals and a palmette (?) at either side. This particular example is unique, but the spiral motive is known on at least two other pieces. One is the fragment of a cylindrical stand (Pl. 28, b) which has palmettes stamped at the base and, about 0.02 m. above these, a chain of interlocking S-spirals about the circumference of the stand.<sup>106</sup> The existence of an imperfection on the underside of each of the S-curves indicates that this was part of the matrix with which each of the impressions was made. This might suggest a flat stamp, but as there is no indication of a break it is more likely that a small cylindrical matrix or roulette, with a diameter of about 0.009 m., was used. Similar interlocking S-spirals, apparently also rouletted, occur as the lowest motive of three on the splaying base seen in Figure 1 and on Plate 30, f.<sup>107</sup>

Just as the Argive Heraion example of the spiral was datable by the style of the figured relief it accompanies, so the other occurrences must be considered with their complementary relief patterns. That on the fragment of a stand (Pl. 28, b) is a series of individually stamped palmettes, representative of a whole series from Corinth and Perachora which are shown on Plates 28 and 29. Unfortunately, only one of these is securely dated by its context; that is the fragment (Pl. 28, f) found on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens in Well D, which was filled with debris from the Persian destruction of 480 B. C.<sup>108</sup> and therefore dates from the years of the clean-up not long thereafter. But while the *terminus ante quem* is sure, the contents of the well

<sup>103</sup> *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 45, No. 378.

<sup>104</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 299, No. 189, fig. 32.

<sup>105</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, p. 135, No. 62, pl. 50.

<sup>106</sup> Inv. No. C-40-36. P. H. 0.117 m., P. W. 0.13 m. Clay pinkish at the core, buff at the surfaces, very gritty except for a fine coating of buff clay added to the outer surface to receive the stamps. The piece was found in the Tile Factory in mixed fill which does not help determine its date.

<sup>107</sup> Very similar spirals occur, sometimes with palmettes like those on Corinthian ware, as relief ornaments on pithoi from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta, dated to the first half of the sixth century (*Artemis Orthia*, p. 94, pl. XIV). On bronzes the spirals occur as border designs (*Olympia*, IV, pl. LX, 981-982). Also of the early sixth century is a sima from Corfu on which the motive occurs (Payne, *NC*, p. 256, fig. 108B).

<sup>108</sup> Roebuck, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 142, 238, No. 259, fig. 47. Roebuck called the fragment a piece of the shoulder of a large jar. I would suggest, rather, that it came from the flaring base of a high stand for a basin, like Plate 28, a. The palmettes would then radiate from the base of the circular stand as they do in the other stand.

go back to about 700 B. C. and the majority would seem to belong to the second half of the sixth century, the period to which this Corinthian fragment too might belong. Unfortunately, on this piece not enough of the palmettes is preserved to compare their form with that of other examples on Corinthian relief ware. However, the five short leaves, all of the same length, form a squat palmette, very small in proportion to the volute bands, which is early in the series known both from bronze reliefs and architectural terracottas;<sup>109</sup> a date early in the sixth century is most probable for this stamp,

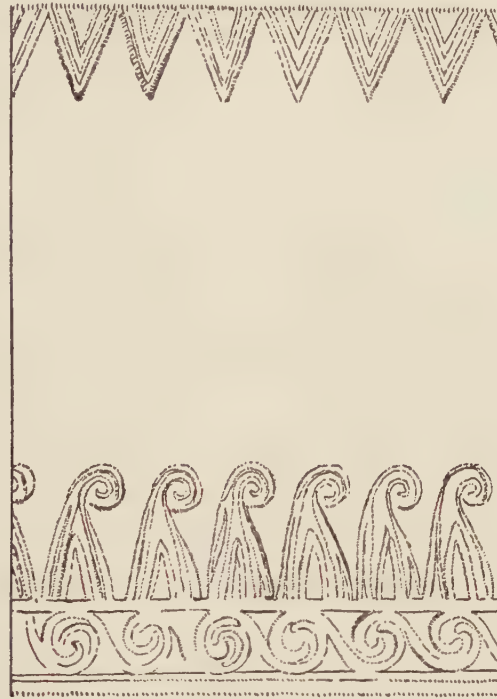


FIG. 1. Stamped designs on base from the Potter's Quarter, Corinth.

though the piece itself may have been made later in the century. The form of these palmettes is almost identical with those on the cylindrical stand (Pl. 28, b), and for these an early sixth century date agrees with the date already ascribed to the spiral chain. The full form of the palmette shown here is especially close to that on an antefix from Athens.<sup>110</sup> A similar stamp was used on a large pithos from Perachora (Pl. 29, g), here too combined with the triangular stamp which also occurs on the piece from Well D in Athens. Both types of stamps may actually belong to the early sixth

<sup>109</sup> Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, pls. 74-75, especially pl. 75, 14-15/6 of the early sixth century; Payne, *NC*, p. 257, figs. 106-7; Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, p. 12, pl. VIII, fig. 22, also of the early sixth century; *Artemis Orthia*, pl. XIV, B, dated to the same half century.

<sup>110</sup> Van Buren, *loc. cit.*



century, as indeed might the bases found at Perachora and Athens on which they were used.

Of somewhat more developed form are the several seven-leaved palmettes stamped on Corinthian relief ware. The type seen on the splaying base of another high stand for a basin (Pl. 28, a) <sup>111</sup> has a slight increase in the height of the leaves towards the center and is very likely to be dated in the second quarter of the sixth century. A very similar stamp, probably not the same, seems to have been used on a fragment from the Potters' Quarter (Pl. 28, d).<sup>112</sup> Still further developed is the palmette on the bowl rim shown on Pl. 28, c,<sup>113</sup> similar in form to the type of mid-sixth century date on the bronze relief bands from Olympia.<sup>114</sup> To about the same date would seem to belong the palmettes in a chain on a large pithos fragment from Perachora (Pl. 29, d), but here the actual leaves are missing and without them it is difficult to judge the date. The mid-sixth century certainly seems to be the date of the palmette cross on the rim of another vase from Perachora (Pl. 29, e);<sup>115</sup> this is an unique occurrence of the cross motive on relief ware. The complete degeneration of the palmette is to be seen on the fragment from the rim of a very large bowl (Pl. 28, e)<sup>116</sup> on which the individually impressed five-leaved palmettes are of the crudest possible execution. The bowl was probably made in the fifth century, but no other pieces of the period exhibit such careless workmanship.

The octafoil rosette was also used as a decorative motive on a late seventh century plaque from the Argive Heraion (Pl. 25, c), and we have seen it as well, in a less

<sup>111</sup> Inv. No. C-31-446. The very gritty clay is pink at the core, buff at the surface; a finer surface coating took the impressions, stamped individually. The piece was found in the Asklepieion at Corinth in Votive Deposit V, which dates from the late fifth to the late fourth century, but contained some earlier objects (*Corinth*, XIV, pp. 113, 135, No. 64, pl. 50). The fragment is here called a lid, but the thickness of the bottom, which would have to fit on the rim, argues in favor of its being the base of a stand.

<sup>112</sup> Inv. No. KP-1418. P. H. 0.048 m., P. W. 0.075 m. The piece is too small to judge much of the shape, which must have been very large.

<sup>113</sup> Inv. No. C-48-117; found without context in the area of the Julian Basilica at Corinth. P. W. 0.165 m., H. of rim 0.046 m. Clay greenish buff, very gritty, fine surface coating. The shape is a very wide open basin. The mouldings of the borders have been formed by a roulette; a clay pellet was applied between the borders and the impression of a palmette stamp was made on it. The palmette is closely paralleled by those on the base of a "perirrhanterion" found at Delphi (*F. de Delphes*, V, p. 182, fig. 775) but very likely of Corinthian origin.

<sup>114</sup> Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, pl. 74, 43.

<sup>115</sup> H. 0.09 m. This is apparently another basin rim. For the palmette cross compare Kunze, *op. cit.*, Beil. 16, 3 of the third quarter of the sixth century. For the palmette cross on vases see Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Griechische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 16 a; Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, p. 186, fig. 18, of about the same date. The motive seems almost unknown outside of Chalcidian ware and is rare on it.

<sup>116</sup> Inv. No. C-38-684. P. H. 0.124 m., P. W. 0.188 m., estimated diam. ca. 0.48 m. Light buff clay with a greenish tinge, much fine grit. Found in the great manhole in the middle of the South Stoa at Corinth; the deposit ranged over the fifth century and some pieces were even of fourth century date.

plastic form, on a decorated zone of a pithos from Perachora (Pl. 29, d) of the mid-sixth century. As early as the rosette on the plaque is the series decorating one of the votive cakes from the Southeast Deposit at the Temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora,<sup>117</sup> dating *ca.* 630-600 B. C. A rosette occurs alone on the top of a basin rim from the Potters' Quarter (Pl. 30, c)<sup>118</sup> while on two other pieces from Corinth and on one from Perachora the rosette is found in combination with dotted tongues. One of these rosettes is stamped at the base of the handle of a coarse amphora (Pl. 30, a) found at Corinth in a well in which was a quantity of pottery for which the best collective date is *ca.* 500 B. C.<sup>119</sup> The other two combinations of rosettes and tongues are on seemingly similar fragments, and the more complete one from Perachora (Pl. 29, f) indicates that the shape was a large lid, such as was suggested for Plate 26, a, which would fit on the type of bowl rim shown on Plate 29, h, also from Perachora. I do not know the profile of this fragment, however, and the piece from Corinth (Pl. 28, g) which looks so similar, even to the plastic corded band at the keel between rim and body, has a flat bottom to the rim which is 0.025 m. wide and would seem to preclude a lid shape and favor its interpretation as another foot of a high stand.<sup>120</sup> On both pieces the tongue stamp, like that on the amphora handle, is the major decorative motive, but stamped rosettes occur in the same zone with the tongues, apparently more widely spaced. That on the Corinth fragment is octafoil, while an unique hexafoil rosette is stamped on the Perachora piece.

Before considering the tongue stamps, which extend from the late sixth into the fifth century, there is another earlier motive already seen on several fragments in combination with spirals and palmettes, as well as with early tongues. That is the triangular stamp filled either with concentric triangles or with parallel chevrons. The first type is shown on the fragment from the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens (Pl. 28, f), combined with a palmette of early sixth century type as well as with tongues and corded bands. The same combination with early palmettes and bands decorated with a toothed roulette is seen on the fragments of a large pithos from Perachora (Pl. 29, g), but here the filling of the triangle consists of parallel chevrons. Contiguous impressions from a similar triangular stamp decorate the top of the bevelled shoulder of the large base (Fig. 1; Pl. 30, f) on which one occurrence of

<sup>117</sup> *Perachora*, I, p. 101, No. 11, pl. 33.

<sup>118</sup> Inv. No. KP-1415. P. H. 0.074 m., P. W. 0.138 m. Buff clay with a fine surface coating. The vertical side of the rim is grooved, with the grooving interrupted by a semi-cylindrical impression in the side, above which the rosette is stamped on the top of the rim. The piece was found in a deposit ranging generally from Geometric to Early Corinthian, but with a few pieces dating well into the sixth century. The basin would probably not have been made after the mid-sixth century.

<sup>119</sup> Inv. No. C-32-29. P. H. 0.167 m., D. of handle 0.044 m., of a very gritty, buff fabric.

<sup>120</sup> Inv. No. C-50-17. P. W. 0.101 m., P. H. standing on bottom 0.087 m. Clay gray at core to reddish buff at surfaces, very gritty except for the fine surface coating. The piece was found in the South Stoa, north of Shop XXVIII, in late sixth to early fifth century context.



spiraliform decoration was noted.<sup>121</sup> On a fragment from Perachora (Pl. 29, a) the triangles filled with parallel chevrons occur again together with rouletted plastic bands, but here they contain, besides the usual chevrons, a further inner triangle, composed of three parallel chevrons, which lies at the base of the inner chevron of the large triangle; thus far the stamp is unique. The more usual stamp, again combined with tongues and corded bands, is seen on the fragment from Perachora shown in Plate 29, j. The parallel chevrons form the sole decoration preserved at the outer edge of another heavy base (Pl. 28, j), again radiating from the circular base line of what may have been the stand, though it would seem that the base itself must have been wider, probably with another step in it.<sup>122</sup> As many as five chevrons fill a triangular stamp used on a fragment of pottery from Corinth (Pl. 30, m), so small that the shape is undeterminable.<sup>123</sup>

The spiral hooks, combined on the large base with running spirals and triangles (Fig. 1; Pl. 30, f), are unique, but they seem to be an embellishment of the triangle filled with parallel chevrons, for here the apex of the triangle has been turned into a spiral. The resultant design is strongly reminiscent of the spiral hooks common on Protocorinthian pottery,<sup>124</sup> but not usual after the seventh century. Together with the running spiral, this motive suggests a date for the base not very much after the beginning of the sixth century.

One of the simplest of the decorative motives impressed with individual stamps on Corinthian relief ware is the tongue pattern, which occurs in a variety of forms through the sixth century and well into the fifth. The motive can be closely related to the decoration used on bronze vessels of this same period.<sup>125</sup> Among the earliest tongues used on pottery are probably those on the fragment from Athens (Pl. 28, f), which we have seen reason to date early in the sixth century. The tongues are very precisely formed and have a double border. Tongues of a similar shape, but with a

<sup>121</sup> Inv. No. KN-162. P. H. 0.165 m., G. W. 0.198 m. Light buff clay, slightly greenish cast to the fine surface coating; very gritty, except at surface. The foot has a square base, 0.068 m. high, on which is a circular vertical band *ca.* 0.03 m. high; the wide bevelled shoulder above is *ca.* 0.10 m. broad and from its inner edge would have risen the cylindrical stand, *ca.* 0.24 m. in diameter. The triangles radiate from the bottom of the cylindrical stand; the running spirals are at the outer edge of the shoulder and just above them is a series of spiral hooks, not yet discussed. The deposit south of the terracotta factory in which the base was found was probably laid down in the late fifth century, but its range is very wide. The spirals are probably the best criterion for dating, placing the base in the first half of the sixth century.

<sup>122</sup> Inv. No. KP-1416. P. H. 0.046 m., P. W. 0.12 m. Clay pink at core, light buff at surface. The fragment is from the Potters' Quarter, where it was found in a road with a deposit which ranged from Early Corinthian to the early fifth century at least.

<sup>123</sup> Inv. No. C-39-281. The fragment came from the Museum West area and was found in a well filled with early fifth century pottery (*A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 596, figs. 7-8).

<sup>124</sup> *Corinth*, VII, i, pp. 37-38, No. 116, pl. 16; the motive is discussed on p. 38. See also pl. 37, No. 309 for an early Attic use of the motive, late in the seventh century.

<sup>125</sup> *A. H.*, pls. CIX, 1875; CXVII, 2003; CXVIII, 2034.

single border, are stamped on a fragment from Perachora (Pl. 29, c), while two other vases from there were decorated with tongues which narrow towards the base (Pl. 29, b and j). We have seen three examples of tongues combined with rosettes, and in every case (Pls. 28, g; 29, f; 30, a) the tongues have a dotted border. On the large fragment from Perachora (Pl. 29, f) thought to be from a lid, there are two rows of tongues, the inner one considerably smaller than the outer series; both have a single border filled with dots, probably twenty-four in each case. On the fragment of one of the large bases from Corinth (Pl. 28, g), which was found in context of the late sixth-early fifth centuries, the tongues have twenty-seven dots in the border and the stamp is *ca.* 0.027 m. long. It is likely that the same stamp was used to decorate a large pithos, a piece of which (Pl. 28, h) was found in the same deposit as the base just mentioned.<sup>126</sup> Only slightly different is the tongue on the amphora handle dated to about 500 B. C. (Pl. 30, a); apparently the same stamp was used on another amphora handle, shown on Plate 30, b.<sup>127</sup> There thus seems good evidence that the dotted tongue stamps were in use around 500 B. C.

The fine bowl shown on Plate 30, e is the most complete vase we have decorated with tongues, and on it there are four rows of them about the bowl, each series suspended from rouletted bands; all but the lowest band are made with a toothed roulette. The same rather long, pointed tongues appear in the three upper rows, while the lowest row consists of more fully rounded tongues; all the impressions are very light.<sup>128</sup> Not much later in date are the fragments from a large pithos (Pl. 30, d) which also were found in the well in the Museum West area, filled during the first half of the fifth century.<sup>129</sup> Many of the fragments decorated with plain tongues, largely bowls or basins of heavy fabric which have their rims so decorated, come from the Tile Factory at Corinth, and it is obvious that such bowls, both decorated and plain, were among the products of this factory in the fifth century, perhaps even earlier.<sup>130</sup> The fragments shown on Plate 30, g and h,<sup>131</sup> may come from the base and the cylindrical stand of basins on high stands, though the pieces are not from the same vessel. If this is so,

<sup>126</sup> Inv. No. C-50-18. P. W. 0.21 m., P. H. 0.191 m. Clay reddish-buff at core to light buff on exterior.

<sup>127</sup> Inv. No. C-39-442. P. H. 0.087 m., P. W. 0.088 m. Clay gray at core to buff at surface. The fragment is from the early fifth century well in the Museum West area. The dotted tongue stamp is also known on pottery of sixth to fifth century date from Naukratis (Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, London, 1886, pl. IV, 5).

<sup>128</sup> Inv. No. C-47-786. H. 0.202 m., D. of lip 0.30 m. Very light greenish buff clay, heavy admixture of small grits. Unglazed, surfaces well smoothed both on int. and ext. The bowl was found in the Southeast Building in a well which contained pottery of the third quarter of the sixth century (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 237 f., pl. LV).

<sup>129</sup> Inv. No. C-39-280 (rim) and 282 (body). Reddish buff clay with heavy grits.

<sup>130</sup> The whole establishment will be published, and the stamped wares put in their proper context, by Gladys D. Weinberg.

<sup>131</sup> Inv. Nos. C-39-38 and C-40-74 respectively.



it suggests that these basins of heavy fabric were also among the products of the factory and many of those found at Corinth may have been made at this place. This is certainly true of the bowls, which were found in quantity at the factory; even a piece of a mould for making them was found there. Typical are the basins shown in Figure 2, b-c.<sup>132</sup> Figure 2 a shows a deeper bowl of lighter fabric;<sup>133</sup> possibly the

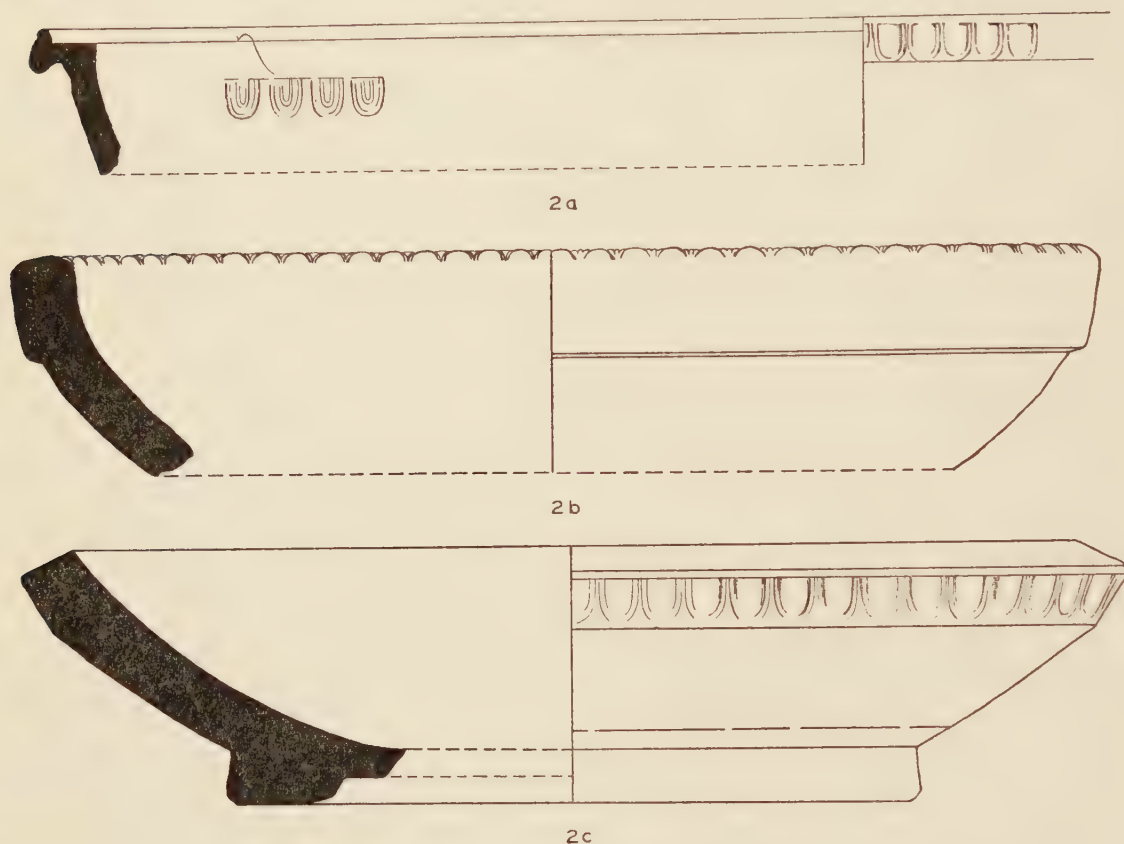


FIG. 2. Bowls with stamped decoration, from the Tile Factory at Corinth.

fragment is from the shoulder of a lebes such as those shown on Plate 31. Tongues are stamped on this last fragment both on the exterior of the rim and on the flat top inside the ridge which would have fitted a lid.<sup>133a</sup> A finer bowl is represented by the fragment on Plate 30, i,<sup>134</sup> while unusually precise workmanship is exhibited by a bowl

<sup>132</sup> Inv. Nos. C-40-510 and C-40-339. The latter was found in Well C, which indicates a date before 450 B. C.

<sup>133</sup> Inv. No. C-40-507. See also tongues on a basin at Delphi (*F. de Delphes*, V, p. 182, fig. 774).

<sup>133a</sup> Cf. a bronze vessel in Berlin, *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm* 98, p. 24, fig. 17.

<sup>134</sup> Inv. No. CP-2039. Clay buff at core to light buff on exterior.

rim from Perachora (Pl. 30, l). Another bowl of the type made at the Tile Factory comes from Perachora (Pl. 30, k) and is unusual in having the tongues standing on their bases rather than suspended from the top of the rim, as in most of the other examples. The piece also shows one of the plastic handles which will be discussed below.

The two finest and most interesting pieces from Corinth decorated with impressed tongues are the lebetes shown on Plate 31, a-b. One of them is complete except for a chip out of the rim and small hole in the body (Pl. 31, a).<sup>185</sup> The only decoration is the series of tongues and darts impressed about the outside of the rim; the dart is on the stamp with the tongue and appears to the right of it in the impression. The ridge on the rim, like that shown in the profile in Figure 2 a, is decorated with light incisions across it, probably in imitation of a bead and reel pattern.<sup>186</sup> A somewhat more elaborately decorated lebes is known from fragments found in the Tile Factory (Pl. 31, b).<sup>187</sup> The shape, while similar to the one just described, differs in having a higher neck, a flatter and wider shoulder (Fig. 3); the reconstructed dimensions give a diameter of the lip of *ca.* 0.272 m., and of the body of *ca.* 0.39 m.; the height would be proportionately greater than the first example, perhaps *ca.* 0.32 m. The decoration on the rim again consists of stamped tongues, these rather wide and short and having a long, narrow tongue incised down the center. On this lebes the tongues are impressed on either side of the ridge, their base at the ridge. Staggered between the tongues on both the interior and exterior periphery of the rim are stamped palmettes, apparently originally with five leaves, though only three show on most of the impressions. This lebes, however, is further decorated with designs painted in a matt dark brown paint. These consist, first, of a stripe around the base of the neck, from which long reserved tongues extend over the shoulder and part way down the body. They have rounded ends, and the background between the ends of the tongues and a straight line just below them is filled with the same paint. Another stripe comes just below this and from it hang ivy leaves connected by arcaded tendrils, the arcading alternating with that of the tongue ends. About the outer edge of the shoulder runs a large garland of ivy, the leaves alternately on either side of the wavy tendril and

<sup>185</sup> Inv. No. C-39-370. H. 0.301 m., G. D. 0.362 m., D. lip 0.253 m. Clay buff, only very slight grits. The unglazed surface is well smoothed. The lebes was brought in from outside the excavations, having been found about five miles to the southwest of Corinth, near an ancient bridge. Brought in with it, and said to have been found with the lebes, were four Corinthian vases, Inv. Nos. C-39-366 to C-39-369, which belong to the mid-fifth century, a very likely date for the lebes as well.

<sup>186</sup> For an especially close parallel in bronze, see *Bul. Metr. Mus.*, XIX, 1924, p. 69, fig. 4, now our Plate 31, c.

<sup>187</sup> Inv. Nos. C-40-75 (rim) and C-40-79 (body). The clay is buff, slightly pinkish at the core, and well levigated. The fill in which the pieces were found dated generally from the first to the third quarter of the fifth century, but some fragments in it might date even as late as the fourth century.



fitted into the concavities. The interior of the neck is covered with a heavy matt red paint.

The two kinds of matt paint used on the fragmentary lebes found in the Tile Factory have been seen together on Corinthian pottery only once before, on an oinochoe on which a scene of a torch race was painted on the body in the brown paint and the heavy red color was used inside the neck.<sup>138</sup> Now on another painted fragment,

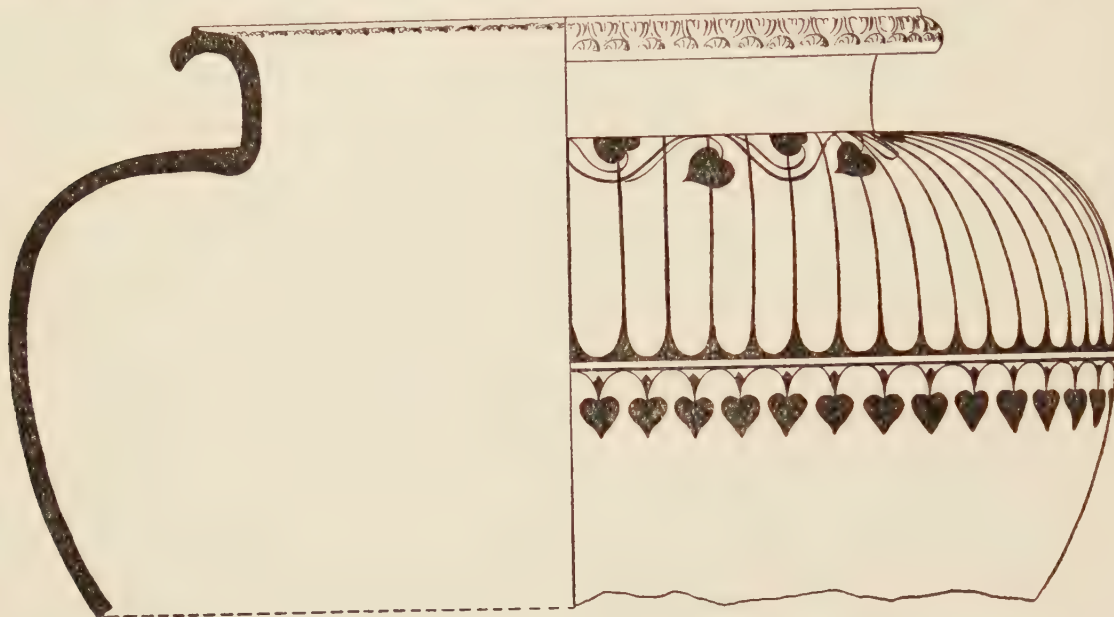


FIG. 3. Reconstruction of a lebes with stamped and painted decoration, from the Tile Factory at Corinth.

a pyxis lid also found in the Tile Factory, the same brown paint, which has a purplish cast when thick, is seen. The fourth instance of its use is on the neck of the vase from Perachora shown on Plate 32, a and discussed below together with the vases having plastic applications. Here the ivy garland is again used for decoration, as on the shoulder of the lebes. It is, perhaps, not premature to propose that the vase with the torch race and the fragments from Perachora were also made in the Tile Factory at Corinth, together with the lebes and pyxis lid which were found there, and that in general these matt paints were a technique of this workshop. They are better known on heavy fabrics from Corinth, such as the altars now appearing in increasing number as well as on heavy vases. There has recently been found a piece of the rim of one of the large basins on a stand which is also decorated with an ivy wreath in matt paint and this too would be a likely product of the Tile Factory. The likelihood is further

<sup>138</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 311-312, fig. 40. The fill in the well dates *ca.* 460-420 B. C. Miss Pease here cites two other small fragments in the same technique found at Corinth (*ibid.*, fig. 41).

increased by the finding at the factory of an eaves tile which has its exposed end decorated with the same kind of ivy garland done in a similar purplish brown paint.<sup>138a</sup> In fact, the decoration on many of the Corinthian architectural terracottas found in the Tile Factory is done with the same matt purplish brown and red paint used on the pottery. One begins to discern here a pattern which should prove useful in identifying the Corinthian products when found elsewhere.

With these two Corinthian lebetes we have entered the realm of clay imitations of metal vessels. Many good examples of bronze lebetes of the fifth century are known and the close similarity in shape (Pl. 31, c-d), in the plastic decoration of the rim, in the tongues and even the ivy garlands on the shoulder,<sup>139</sup> show the care taken to produce faithful imitations of bronze originals. There is the further possibility that the excellently finished terracotta vessels might have been gilded. This would have been possible in the case of the plain example from Corinth, but not the painted one.<sup>140</sup> Here, indeed, we seem to have products worthy of the fame of Therikles of Corinth.

One other method of relief decoration on Corinthian pottery still to be discussed is the use of plastic applications. Such decorations were possibly used even earlier than any of the stamped or rouletted designs described thus far, for the fragment of the neck of an amphora or hydria from Perachora with a plastic spiral just below the rim, shown on Plate 29, i, is believed by Dunbabin to be eighth-seventh century, the plastic spiral being comparable to those on votive cakes from the Geometric deposit there.<sup>141</sup> Other plastic spirals, as well as plastic snakes, occur on votive cakes of the late seventh century from Perachora.<sup>142</sup> These bands of clay, applied either as snakes or spirals, are the most primitive form of plastic ornament. Other, and later, forms are strongly suggestive of imitations of metal vases. This is true of the handles seen on the rims of several bowls of late sixth and fifth century date. The impression made in the side of the rim of the bowl shown on Plate 30, c has the form of a metallic handle attachment.<sup>143</sup> Such an attachment applied to the rim of a bowl, rather

<sup>138a</sup> Such painted designs on the ends of eaves tiles are rare, but another instance had long ago been noted among the terracottas from Mycenae (Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, p. 49, pl. XXXI, figs. 113-115). Here the edge of the tiles is decorated with a frieze of kneeling satyrs holding kantharoi and ivy-crowned Silenoi; the lower projecting surface is then decorated with an ivy garland much in the manner of the example from Corinth. It is not impossible that these too were made at Corinth; only an examination of the fabric can determine this surely.

<sup>139</sup> For tongues and lip ornament cf. *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm* 74, p. 21, fig. 19. The shoulder tongues appear on bronze lebetes in the British Museum (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 257-259, fig. 3, pl. XIV), dated to ca. 440 B. C., and in Athens (*J.H.S.*, LVI, 1936, p. 143, fig. 5) also of fifth century date.

<sup>140</sup> A fine black-glazed lebes, dated in the second half of the fifth century, is shown in Richter, *Shapes and Names*, fig. 71. Here, too, there is an ivy wreath about the shoulder. A garland on the light clay ground occurs on a vase, very similar in shape to ours, now in Paris. (DeRidder, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1901, p. 309, No. 417, pl. XVII).

<sup>141</sup> *Perachora*, I, pl. 16, 1, 4, 7-9.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 33, 16.

<sup>143</sup> For the metal prototypes see *Olympia*, IV, pl. L; and *A.H.*, II, pls. CXXI-CXXII. Such



than impressed into it, is seen on the fragment from Corinth on Plate 30, j.<sup>144</sup> There is a similar handle on a piece from another Corinthian well,<sup>145</sup> and another on the bowl from Perachora shown on Plate 30, k. Such plastic handles in the form of metallic attachments were probably formed in moulds like the terracotta one from Corinth which was the matrix for an imitation of a full metal handle, rather than just the attachment.<sup>146</sup>

The use of plastic figured ornament on Corinthian ware began in the Middle Protocorinthian period, but did not become popular until the first half of the sixth century; many examples of human heads, usually female and largely on pyxides, occur starting with the Early Corinthian period.<sup>147</sup> It is this tradition which has been cited as the inspiration for the heads decorating the rim of an early sixth century bowl from Halae.<sup>148</sup> That Corinthian potters still continued the practice later in the sixth century is indicated by the occurrence of a plastic gorgon's head on the handle plate of a large vessel found at Perachora (Pl. 32, a).<sup>149</sup> The style of the gorgon's head belongs late in the sixth century. The painted ornament, again in a "matt purplish brown and red" paint, consists of an ivy garland about the neck, the leaves brown and the stems red, alternating red and black (or brown) tongues on the lip moulding and a lotus and palmette chain on the top of the rim. Inside of the lip there is again a stripe of heavy red paint. The decoration of the moulding is very close to that of the mouldings on some Corinthian terracotta altars of the late sixth century,<sup>150</sup> on which the same reddish brown and purplish black paints were often used. It is likely that the large vase from which these fragments came should be dated, on the analogy of the altars, in the last quarter of the sixth century, which would make it the earliest example of the combination of plastic ornament and painted designs in matt brown and red paint of the kind seen in the later lebes from the Tile Factory.

This tradition of using plastic applied heads for ornament on Corinthian vases, traced thus far to the late sixth century, can be shown to have continued at least into the early fourth century, for such a head occurs at the base of the handle of an oinochoe (Pl. 32, c) of unquestionably Corinthian fabric, probably found close to that site.<sup>151</sup> Of special interest is not only the satyr's head at the base of the handle, but

handles are common on fragments of basins, many of them Corinthian, from Delphi (*F. de Delphes*, V, pp. 181-183, figs. 772, 777, 781-784).

<sup>144</sup> Inv. No. C-39-435. Reddish buff clay, quite gritty except for the fine light buff surface coating. The shape, again, is a wide open bowl with a heavy rim, flat on top and with vertical sides. The piece came from the well in the Museum West area, which is of early fifth century date.

<sup>145</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 286 f., No. 174, fig. 25; the fill dates ca. 460-420 B. C.

<sup>146</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 135, No. 2853.

<sup>147</sup> Payne, *NC*, pls. 1, 23, 35, 47-48.

<sup>148</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 408, No. 11, fig. 39.

<sup>149</sup> *Perachora*, I, pp. 106-108, fig. 7, pl. 35, 1-2.

<sup>150</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. LI; XIX, 1950, pl. 110.

<sup>151</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 88-89, fig. 29.

the treatment of the handle itself, which has deep incisions in a herringbone pattern, increasing the similarity to metal vases,<sup>152</sup> which this is obviously imitating. Miss Shoe, who originally published the vase, saw no indication of a black slip on it, but I believe I can detect traces of a rather smeary covering of brown paint, perhaps a glaze, which would have covered the entire vase; such a brown glaze appears (see below) on several fourth century Corinthian vases with plastic applications. This brown covering would have heightened the illusion of a bronze vessel. The shape of the mouth, handle and upper body is close to that of an early fourth century bronze jug in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>153</sup> The mask would also agree well with a date in the late fifth or early fourth century. Are these plastic applications, such as the gorgoneion on the Perachora piece and the satyr's head on the jug from Corinth, perhaps the first "embolia," the kind used on the early "theriklean" vases? They seem to have precedence over both the larger appliquéés on the sides of vases and the medallions in the tondos of bowls, both of which were later used at Corinth, but apparently too late to be associated with the artist Therikles.

Among the finds from the Corinthian excavations there are no pre-Hellenistic vases with plastic applications on the sides, but some examples have been attributed to Corinth on the basis of provenience or fabric. Most important of these is the column krater in Berlin, said to have been found at Tenea.<sup>154</sup> The garland of lotus buds painted on the neck in a brown paint suggests that again we have the technique known from Corinth and strengthens the attribution of the vase to that city.<sup>155</sup> On the body is a series of applied reliefs depicting six of the Labors of Herakles. No trace of glaze was found on the body and it has been assumed that it was gilded, as already suggested for the plain lebes. While Furtwängler originally suggested a mid-fifth century date, Courby thought it belonged to the fourth century. In the more recent study of vases decorated with plastic applications, Züchner stated his view that such vases began to be made only in the mid-fourth century or later<sup>156</sup> and he included the column krater among the three usual shapes used for such decoration, without specifically mentioning this krater in Berlin.<sup>157</sup>

Among the material he was able to examine, Züchner recognized two Corinthian

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb. Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen*, Munich, 1930, pl. 7, 2.

<sup>153</sup> Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, p. 192, No. 505.

<sup>154</sup> Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, Berlin, 1883-87, pl. LXXIV, 3; *Beschr. d. Vasensamml. Berlin*, No. 2882; Courby, *Vases grècs à reliefs*, pp. 195-197, fig. 31.

<sup>155</sup> It has been impossible thus far to have the vase re-examined or to get photographs, for it is still in storage. Only such a re-examination will be decisive in determining the place of origin.

<sup>156</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, p. 183.

<sup>157</sup> While the column krater is the one form of krater which lost popularity in the last quarter of the fifth century and was rare in the fourth century as a medium of red-figured vase painting (Richter, *Shapes and Names*, p. 7), it, like the amphoras decorated with plastic applications, seems to have a separate development in the fourth century with the new form of plastic decoration (Züchner, *op. cit.*, p. 184).



vases, a fragment in Munich<sup>158</sup> and a hydria in Würzburg (Pls. 32, b; 33, a),<sup>159</sup> both of Corinthian clay covered with a brown glaze.<sup>160</sup> The Würzburg vase was dated by Langlotz in the third century B. C., but Züchner now suggests instead a date in the second half of the fourth century.<sup>161</sup> It is interesting to find that among its plastic decorations is a dionysiac group (Pl. 33, a) which was widely used on early Megarian bowls of the late fourth and early third century,<sup>162</sup> and which also occurs on small terracotta altars (like that from Würzburg shown on Pl. 33, b), one of which comes from Corinth itself.<sup>163</sup> The mask at the base of the vertical handle of the hydria, while similar to that on the oinochoe from Corinth (Pl. 32, c), is clearly of later style. Also Corinthian is a lump of clay with a trial impression of a stamp used to decorate such vases; the piece, in a private collection, was found at Corinth and Züchner compares the fabric with that of fourth century Corinthian terracottas.<sup>164</sup> It shows a figure of Hera (Pl. 33, c; which is an impression from the mould), the style of which is late fifth century. The identical figure was used on Corinthian relief vases, of clay and glaze similar to that of the vases in Munich and Würzburg; one of these is in Bonn (Pl. 33, e) and the other at Corinth itself (Pl. 33, d).<sup>165</sup> In addition to the Hera relief, the Corinth vase shows a figure of Athena; both vases have acanthus leaves on the lower part of the bowl and on both there are satyr masks in high relief which serve as feet. A large bowl with similar feet was found in one of the South Stoa wells at Corinth;<sup>166</sup> both the wells at Corinth in which this type of vase was found were filled in the early second century B. C. and the vases were probably made not earlier than the third century. Thus the tradition of decorating vases with plastic heads is seen to continue into the Hellenistic period and the practice of decorating vases with applied figures or scenes in relief, begun in the fourth century, became the stock-in-trade of Hellenistic potters. Corinth clearly seems to have been one of the centers of the production of such relief vases in the fourth century, as it certainly was in Hellenistic times.

Thus, to the well known classes of Corinthian painted pottery there must now be added a new class of vases decorated with geometric, floral or representational

<sup>158</sup> *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Berlin, 1942, pp. 188 f., fig. 92.

<sup>159</sup> Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich, 1932, p. 162, No. 908, pl. 221.

<sup>160</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, p. 185, note 2.

<sup>161</sup> In a letter of December 30, 1952. Prof. Züchner has most generously sent a whole set of new photographs of this vase and obtained permission to publish those used here. He has also furnished the photographs for Plate 33, b, c and e, and the permission to publish them.

<sup>162</sup> Schwabacher (*A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 185-188) gives the fullest list of occurrences, mentioning that there are forty-five on Megarian bowls of this early date, and discusses the motive most completely.

<sup>163</sup> Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, p. 131, No. 889, pl. 65.

<sup>164</sup> *Jahrb.*, LXV-LXVI, 1950-51, p. 193.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194, figs. 30-33; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 149, pl. 14, 4.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

motives, either by impressing them into the clay with stamps, roulettes or cylindrical matrices or by applying plastic reliefs to the surface of the vase. To summarize, then, the various impressed designs began as early as the mid-seventh century, if not earlier, with representational designs in the Protocorinthian figure style among the earliest examples. While some stamped plaques may have been made at Corinth as early as the late eighth century, the earliest matrices seem to be Cretan and possibly they indicate the source of the inspiration for the new technique at Corinth. Certainly the first vases so decorated at Corinth, as well as the contemporary plaques of the mid-seventh century and later, are in distinctly Corinthian style, and they remain so for the life of the figured style. While the material is still scant, there is a coincidence in the disappearance in the mid-sixth century of the figured style both in painting and relief and in the ascendance of floral and geometric patterns for the rest of the century. But the Corinthian figured relief style had already made a strong and lasting impression in Sicily, where the popular basins on stands, probably braziers, decorated with continuous repeating relief patterns about the rim, derive from Corinthian prototypes. Either directly, or possibly indirectly through Magna Graecia, the Etruscan stamped or rolled relief designs are also under Corinthian influence. The use of applied plastic heads was part of the Corinthian decorative scheme from the Protocorinthian period on, and after the disappearance of the painted style it continued in the late sixth and fifth centuries, later to become part of the Hellenistic tradition. Already in the fifth century, if not earlier, this was part of the conscious imitation of metal vases by the Corinthian potters, a trend handsomely illustrated by the two lebetes and the oinochoe from Corinth published here, which are identified with the famous products of Therikles. When, in the fourth century, the vase makers went farther in this imitation and applied clay reliefs of figures or groups to the sides of vases, they supplied the second important element for the establishment of the Hellenistic style.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI



## A MISCELLANY OF ENGRAVED STONES

(PLATES 34-36)

THIS paper was originally intended to be a second supplement to my *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950); the first was published in *Hesperia*, 20 (1951), pp. 301-345.<sup>1</sup> As such it was to be confined to the description and explanation of several magical stones which were brought to my attention too late to be included in the first supplementary article. I knew, however, that the collection of the University of Michigan comprised several non-magical stones of considerable interest, and that there were a few in my own collection; and thinking it unlikely that I should again return to the treatment of glyptic material, I have decided to include the non-magical<sup>2</sup> with the magical pieces here.

In the judgment of stones other than late Graeco-Egyptian and Levantine amulets I can pretend to no expertness, and must ask the reader's indulgence for any errors that may be detected in my comments upon them. Further, my method of illustrating them is not consistent. Magical amulets are not seals, and should be photographed from casts (positive). When only impressions (negative) are available, the photographic films should be reversed in printing in order that inscriptions and other details may be shown in their proper relation to the spectator. It is customary, on the other hand, to photograph impressions, not casts, of non-magical stones, most of which were used, or might be used, as seals; but in several instances, where the camera has produced clearer photographs from casts than from impressions, I have not hesitated to use them. For these irregularities, which could not be corrected without considerable inconvenience and loss of time, I again bespeak the expert's indulgence.

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this article several works are cited by much abbreviated titles or merely by the names of their authors. Among them are Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (*PM*); Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Fossing); Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*); Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (*AC*); Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos . . . in the British Museum* (Walters). Von der Osten's *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* and *in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* are cited as *Brett Collection*, *Newell Collection*. *SMA* stands for my *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950). (As in the supplementary article in *Hesperia*, 20[1951], pp. 301-345, the style of reference in *SMA* is retained instead of the regular *Hesperia* style for the sake of uniformity in these three works. Ed.)

In the descriptive catalogue which is the body of this article, an accession or inventory number beginning with 26 indicates that the object belongs to the Archaeological Museum of the University of Michigan. All measurements are in millimeters.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth remembering that certain stones may have been designed with a magical purpose in view even though they offer to the eye no definite evidence of such intention; see Evan's remarks on Cretan stones of the Wounded Quarry Type (*PM*, IV, 2, pp. 541 f.), and *SMA*, pp. 5-6.

It remains to express my gratitude to the correspondents who have sent me information about interesting stones, and to the owners who have graciously permitted me to publish objects from their collections. I am under special obligations to the Reverend Professor René Mouterde, of the Université Saint-Joseph at Beyrouth, and above all to M. Henri Seyrig, Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie, Beyrouth. He has sent me careful descriptions, photographs, and casts of amulets seen by him in collections inaccessible to me; and after placing his collection at my disposal for my *Studies*, he has now allowed me to publish his latest acquisitions. All this notwithstanding that his great learning in archaeology would have enabled him to offer an unexceptionable publication of his own treasures. As it is, in several instances I have merely rearranged his minute and accurate descriptions to conform to the plan of the following catalogue, and have added some examples and references to reinforce his acute interpretations. Thanks are due also to Professor C. T. Seltman for valuable help.

## CATALOGUE

## NEAR EASTERN AND MINOAN

## 1 Bonner

Wild goat to r. (perhaps the so-called ibex of Asia Minor, *Capra hircus aegagrus*). The horns are long and curved; forelegs bent under body. Tree at r., snake in field at upper l. corner. Syro-Hittite?

Steatite. Rectangular oblong with triangular, gable-like cross-section, ridge and perforation in shorter dimension. Base 51 x 37, thickness 9. Bought from a Lebanese dealer.

Stamp seals of this form are characteristic of Asia Minor, especially Cappadocia, and were probably introduced into Syria as a consequence of "the southward extension of Hattic power at the close of the fifteenth century" (Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, pp. 103-4; cf. also p. 118). Chapouthier says that seals of this form are attested from the beginning of the Hittite empire (*BSA*, 46 [1951], p. 43). The combination of a horned quadruped with a snake and a tree seems to have been fairly common; see Hogarth, pl. 3, No. 70, also Contenau, *Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, pl. 33, No. 221, pl. 44, No. 327. The strange position of the forelegs in the present specimen may be a crude attempt to

represent the animal as running; something similar may be observed in Nos. 59 and 61 on Hogarth's pl. 3. On No. 7 below, a wounded quadruped is apparently about to fall forward in the same position. On my specimen, however, there is nothing to suggest that the animal is wounded; compare No. 6, where a stag has fallen forward with his forelegs bent under him, though the arrow or dart above seems to have missed its mark.

## 2 Bonner

Duck, with wings shown by deep channels round them, plumage of back indicated by a checker work of fine incisions. The small rectangular projection which serves to suggest the feet is slightly channeled at the sides and is perforated from side to side. This projection is roughened underneath by very fine incisions at right angles to one another. Four incisions from side to side under the tail. Syro-Hittite?

Steatite, gray-green, 36 x 22, thickness 8. Weight 6.57 grams. Bought from a Lebanese dealer.

The duck form suggests the possibility that this object may have been meant for a weight; but weights in the form of birds or animals are



usually worked fully in the round except for a broad, flat base (cf. the agate weight, No. 3), while this duck is thin from side to side and could not have been meant to sit upright. It may have served only as an ornament.

Small figures of animals and birds were probably made in the Mesopotamian area from very remote times. Ernst Heinrich, in his *Kleinfunde in den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), shows a duck-like bird seen in profile (pl. 13c). It is somewhat larger than my specimen and more than twice as thick. The stratification indicates a date of about 3000 B. C. For very thin examples of birds in profile one may refer to the beautiful jade pendants made in the Early Western Chou period of Chinese art, *i. e.* early in the first millennium before Christ. Although the birds cannot in every instance be identified, some are certainly ducks or geese. Examples may be seen in *Archaic Chinese Jades, collected in China* by A. W. Bahr (1927), pl. 26, No. 2; *An Exhibition of Chinese Jades* (C. T. Loo, Inc., 1950), pl. 11, Nos. 6-7, pl. 24, No. 5; *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Sonnenschein Collection* (1952), pl. 48, No. 8. Here both sides of the jade are identical as also in pl. 49, No. 1 and in the duck of my collection.

I owe the references in this paragraph to the kindness of Professor Max Loehr.

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Weight in the form of a water-bird with its head and neck bent back as if preening tail-feathers. Such objects are commonly called duck weights, but some good authorities identify the birds as swans (C. F. Lehmann, on the testimony of Olshausen and Hartmann, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, etc., incorporated in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 23 [1891], pp. 516-17, 521). On base, a goat standing on its hind legs, its head with long strongly curved horns, turned over back. I do not think this creature can be a man-goat; the legs might be taken for human, but the feet are hooves. The presence of this intaglio design shows that the object, like some

others of similar character, served both as stamp seal and weight; so Lehmann's fig. 2 (*op. cit.*, p. 521). Both drill and graver were used in cutting the figure of the animal.

Agate, brown, white, and brownish gray. 20 x 13 x 10. Weight 3.71 grams, about one fourth of the Phoenician-Egyptian shekel (13.5 to 15 grams); see Evans, "Minoan Weights and Currency," *Corolla Numismatica* (honorary volume for B. V. Head), pp. 340-341. Perforated from side to side through wings. The head and neck of the bird are not so clearly indicated as on the London specimen illustrated by Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 521, fig. 1).

This object was acquired along with a group of Minoan Cretan stones, and was probably found in Crete; but it bears a fairly close resemblance to a Berlin specimen published by Lehmann (*op. cit.*, fig. 2), which also has on its base a horned quadruped. If I understand Lehmann rightly, both the London and the Berlin specimens discussed by him may be of Hittite origin. Von der Osten tentatively classes a similar object in the *Brett Collection* as Neo-Babylonian (pl. 12, No. 160; cf. *Introd.* p. 1). Mrs. Brett's specimen is of haematite, 23 x 14, and weighs 8.6 grams. Other examples are listed by Von der Osten in *Newell Collection*, p. 102. Illustrations: p. 4, fig. 2, No. 507; pl. 31, No. 478; pl. 32, Nos. 500-01, 503-5, 507-10, 512. Note also the specimens found in Eastern Crete, illustrated and discussed by Evans (*op. cit.*, pp. 350-352). Does the fact that these objects were found in Eastern Crete point to an Oriental origin?

4

Bonner

Two recumbent bulls, back to back, heads turned back over shoulders, legs bent under bodies, tails laid across hind quarters. A curved line over the rump of each bull seems to serve only to divide the field between the two animals. Late Minoan.


Rose quartz. Lentoid, diameter 23, thickness 10. Perforated. An earlier perforation was attempted and abandoned a little to one side of the thickest part of the stone. A slight fracture,

which probably occurred in the process of drilling, has destroyed the lower part of the hind legs of one of the bulls.

For the back to back position, cf. Walters, pl. 2, No. 73, "two oxen (?) recumbent, back to back. Between them a tree. Late Minoan, from Crete. Rock crystal, lenticular." Cf. also horned sheep so arranged, Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 570, fig. 544 b; and horned sheep and wild goat, *ibid.*, fig. 544 c. See also Von der Osten, *Brett Collection*, pl. 1, No. 8 "two animals back to back in opposite directions. Archaic or Sumerian." The position of the individual bulls is almost identical with that shown on a clay seal impression from Knossos (MM III) in Evans, *PM*, I, p. 694, fig. 515. See also the fine ring-stone from Kouklia (Palaipaphos) in Cyprus (*JHS*, 73[1953], p. 133, with pl. IV b).

5

Unknown location

Two bulls, back to back, each recumbent to r., heads to front. Double axe between horns. Between the two animals, the linear sign , which resembles one shown in Evans's table, *PM*, I, p. 642, fig. 476, No. 29, extreme right of col. 3. See also the Middle Minoan written inscription shown at *PM*, I, p. 615, fig. 452a, middle of second line. Late Minoan.

Lentoid, diameter 30. Material unknown.

Because of the general resemblance of this stone to the preceding one I have taken the liberty of publishing it here, though I have no means of obtaining the authorization for which I should have asked had I known where to apply. The illustration is from an impression sent some twenty years ago by a dealer whose identity I do not remember, and I find no correspondence referring to the matter. It may have been a Paris dealer, or one of two Lebanese dealers now dead. In any event, the stone has doubtless passed into private possession. I have seen no publication of it.

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Stag to l., forelegs bent under body as if the animal were falling forward, head looking back.

Above, an arrow flying over, but missing its mark. Late Minoan I.

Carnelian sphendonoid, capped at both ends with modern base metal. Ring attached to upper cap. 28 x 15 x 9.

Amygdaloid and sphendonoid gems seem to have been most common in Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I a. (Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 493, Pendlebury, *AC*, p. 170). This stone and the next belong to the "Wounded Quarry" type (Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, pp. 542-3, figs. 495 b, 496, 499; also fig. 375 b on p. 450). Cf. also a Late Minoan stone in the Metropolitan Museum (Richter, *Cat. of Engraved Gems*, pl. 1, No. 6).

7

26186

Quadruped (stag?) to l., struck by a dart at the base of the neck. Shrub or small tree in front. There is a confused indication of branching antlers behind the animal's head, but this may also, perhaps, be interpreted as foliage of the tree bending far over to r. The line of the trunk cannot, however, be traced all the way, and the engraver's intention is not clear. Middle Minoan III.

Steatite, grayish green. Lentoid, perforated, 18 x 17 x 8.

8

26187

Flying bird, the head destroyed by gradual wearing away of the edge where the perforation enters. Middle Minoan III. Steatite, grayish green. Lentoid, perforated in the axis of the bird's body. Diameter 16, thickness 6.

Flying birds are well represented among the clay sealings from Hagia Triada; see D. Levi, *Annuario*, 8-9 (1925-1926), pp. 89-90, figs. 39-43; also Evans, *PM* IV, 2, p. 542, fig. 497 (a heart-shaped amethyst from Knossos).

9

26188

Bird woman, a type represented by several clay sealings from Hagia Triada, but indistinct here. The present specimen seems to be much like one published by Levi, *Annuario*, 8-9 (1925-1926), p. 118, No. 104 (fig. 120, also on pl. 12). Others are shown as Nos. 102, 103 on pl. 14.



See also the Zakro sealing shown in *PM*, I, p. 707, fig. 531, f. Middle Minoan III.

Steatite, dark green. Lentoid, diameter 17, thickness 6. Perforated in a line at right angles to axis of design.

10

26180

Stamp seal, conoid, with top broken off. On base, a bird pecking at a fruit; crude work. Early Minoan III?

Steatite or possibly dark brown jasper. Present height 10, diameter of base 11.

11

26185

Two dolphins, swimming in opposite directions, with a flying-fish between them. Middle Minoan III.

Green stone. Sphendonoid, 19 x 13 x 7. Perforated in long dimension.

For glyptic representations of flying-fishes, see Evans, *PM*, I, p. 677, fig. 499; IV, 2, p. 494, fig. 429; and Supplementary pl. 54, 1.

12

26177

Flat three-sided seal, corners rounded, perforated through one corner. Engraved on both sides. A, goat to l., so thin and wasted as to seem a mere carcass. Above, to be seen best if the piece is turned through an angle of 90°, a bird, apparently alighting on a stick; but if that was the engraver's intention, the bird is crowded against the goat's back and has no relation to the rest of the design. B, a large heavy bird standing to l. over a smaller slender bird. The larger bird has the head and neck thrown back over the body in an unnatural manner, so that the junction between the breast and the rest of the body is awkward and impossibly thin. Early Minoan?

Steatite, 15 x 14 x 4.

13

26183

Small signet with handle, base quadrilateral with rounded corners. Spiral design. Probably Middle Minoan I.

Steatite. Perforated through handle. Height 11, base 12 x 9.

14

26181

Three-sided prism seal. A, crudely executed man with bird's(?) head to r. B, uncertain design, perhaps two jars with a snake (or snakes) coiled round them. C, uncertain object, perhaps stylized head of horned sheep; the outline of such a sheep's head in Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 496, fig. 434 is very similar. But the design might also be taken for a vessel containing a plant with drooping shoots. Early Minoan III.

Steatite, dull greenish yellow. Sides 12 x 10. Perforated.

15

26178

Three-sided prism seal; A, a tree(?); B, a whorl of curves radiating from a center; C, swastika. Early Minoan I.

Steatite, dark green. Length 11, which is also the horizontal diameter of the almost square sides. Corners slightly rounded. Perforated.

16

26182

Three-sided prism seal. A, man seated to r., l. leg raised slightly; figure bent forward and hand extended as if to touch some indistinct object on or in front of the raised knee. But the work is very crude and the engraver's intention uncertain. Small circular depressions drilled round the edge making a ring round the figure. B, ground down so that the original design is obliterated. In modern times someone has scratched in two small circles, each enclosing a Greek cross and some small cuts inside the circumference. Another similar circle and a cross are almost abraded away. C, uncertain quadruped running to l. Early Minoan III.

Steatite, sides 14 x 12. Perforated.

17

26179

Conoid signet, top broken. On base a kind of rosette made by a central circle or hub to which nine smaller circles are connected by short spokes. A similar design, but with two circles at center, is to be seen on a Middle Minoan triangular prism in the British Museum

(Walters, pl. 1, 4). The present piece is probably Early Minoan III.

Yellowish stone. Perforated laterally. Sides marked with bands made by pairs of parallel slanting lines. Present height 15, diameter of base 13.

18

26173

Long-bearded man in long garment standing to l. raising l. hand to face in a gesture of homage as he stands before an altar. It stands upon a small elevated platform and is surmounted by a crescent resting on a vertical support. Within the hollow of the crescent is a seven-pointed star. On the same platform with the altar is a cross resting on a cylindrical base. At the bottom are three signs which may belong to a Semitic alphabet; one is a good *shin*, the others uncertain.

White glass paste, a clear layer over an opaque one. Octagonal with corners slightly rounded, slightly convex on engraved face, flat on back. 19 x 14 x 7. From a cast.

Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian seals with octagonal outline and showing similar subjects are illustrated in Von der Osten's *Newell Collection*, pls. 31-32, Nos. 470-497; also in the same writer's *Brett Collection*, pl. 12, Nos. 145-146. In the former work, p. 9, Von der Osten remarks that "This type of seal remained in use in Mesopotamia through the Neo-Babylonian period and down to the Seleucid and perhaps to some extent into the Parthian period." A relatively late origin may explain several features of the present piece which might otherwise throw some doubt upon its genuineness.

Among these points are the following. Though used from Assyrian times on, glass paste does not seem to occur often for just this type. Further, most of the seals with octagonal, slightly convex faces are described as rounded on the back. The cross, though it occurs often as a symbol on seals of much earlier date than this, is usually equal-armed and does not stand on a base; it is often simply free in the field of the design. There are, however, two interesting examples in the collection

of the Morgan Library (*Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, edited by Edith Porada, Vol. I, pl. 121, Nos. 810, 811). These are classified as Neo-Babylonian drilled style stamp seals. In both examples the symbol has a small circle at the top of the upright, which, as in the Michigan specimen, is longer than the horizontal. It stands behind the human figure. The meaning of the symbol has not been explained. Finally, I have seen no alphabetic signs on other Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian seals. Whether these irregularities mark the piece as an imitation is a question that I must leave to those who are expert in the archaeology of the Near East. If not a genuine original, we must allow for the possibility that it is a modern cast in paste of a genuine stone.

19

26030

Approximately hemispherical stamp seal, Sassanian. The engraved base shows a well-known Sassanian symbol, here consisting of three crescents on a short support; 12 round dots around the edge. The symbol shown in Von der Osten, *Newell Collection*, pl. 34, No. 599, is very like the present example. More elaborate designs made of crescents are illustrated in the same work, pl. 34, Nos. 600-606.

Carnelian. Diameter of base 11, height 9. Perforated. The illustration is from a cast.

## CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC

20

Bonner

Lion recumbent to r.

Sardonyx, dark brown, almost black, over white. Horizontal oval, *ca.* 18 x 12. Set in a modern gold ring. From a cast.

The work has been assigned on good authority to the fourth century before Christ. Certain features suggest the possibility that it might be placed even earlier, especially the relative proportions of the lion's head, shoulders, and flanks, which are not unlike those of the lions on black-figured Attic vases; and perhaps also the flat treatment of the mane, as con-



trasted with the bushy heads of later lions. I have seen no glyptic representation of a recumbent lion that closely resembles this; compare, however, the later examples, Fossing, *Thorvaldsen Museum*, pl. 15, No. 1292, and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, pl. 60, No. 8307.

21

Bonner

Eros seated to l. on ground, r. foot caught in trap, r. hand on chin, as if in attitude of weeping, l. hand resting in crook of r. elbow. The right wing, which is usually neglected in designs of this type, is here shown behind the head. A small tree behind Eros bends far over him to l. A Z-shaped mark in the field at extreme l. is probably due to accidental scratching.

Sardonyx, brown layer over white. Broad horizontal oval, ca. 18 x 15. Set in modern gold ring. From a cast.

A good specimen of a common type, which appears with variations, such as a butterfly on or over the trap; a rock, or a temple built on a rock, at l.; or a second Eros appearing at l. with palm-branches. For examples, see Walters, Nos. 3457-60, 3750; Fossing, Nos. 752, 1896-7; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 42, No. 44; pl. 64, No. 60; *Beschreibung*, Nos. 3895, 11250. The stone described above is on the whole most like the brown paste in Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 3895.

22

26076

Two Erotes standing face to face, with hands joined, about to wrestle.

Yellowish red carnelian with a whitish layer through which the figures are cut. Horizontal oval, 13 x 11 x 2; enlarged by two thirds. Crude, sketchy work.

A poor specimen of a common type. Nearest to it, but better, are the two sards in the British Museum, Walters, Nos. 1525, 1527, and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, Nos. 3049, 7500 (where a herm is placed at one side). Other attitudes representing later stages of a wrestling bout are described in Walters, Nos. 2913-2916 and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 6796. From a cast.

23

26080

Bearded head to l., with garland of olive(?) leaves. Low forehead, very short snub nose. Possibly a portrait, but not Socrates, for the head is not bald; and for the same reason, probably not a satyr.

Carbuncle (garnet cut *en cabochon*). Circular, diameter 9, thickness 4. Obv. convex, rev. flat. Enlarged 2 x 1. From a cast.

24

26190

Head of Seilenos to l., ears pointed, head bald. The exaggerated line of the cheek-bone suggests that the engraver may have intended a mask rather than a regular head.

Pale green stone, not identified; streaks and patches of pale yellow, and on edges and back, speckles of black. Upright oval, 14 x 11 x 6. Obv. flat, rev. convex. The illustration is from a cast.

25

26032

Youthful head to l., crowned with modius (kalathos) and seven rays. Below, a crescent (compare the crescent under a bust of Selene, Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche*, 2963, pl. 26).

Nicolo. Upright oval, 10 x 9 x 2.5. Enlarged, 2 x 1. From a cast.

The god is probably Helios Sarapis, though radiate heads of Sarapis are usually bearded, as on the coin shown in B. M. *Cat. Alex.*, 284, pl. 15. This little stone seems to be unique in presenting a beardless type of Helios Sarapis.

26

26097

Athena seated to r. wearing helmet. She holds a spear in her r. hand, and in her l., a globe on which stands a figure of a winged Nike facing l., and holding a garland in her extended r. hand. Shield on ground at feet of Athena.

Amber glass paste, darkened with age. Upright oval, 13 x 11 x 3. Both sides flat, edge beveled. From a cast.

The seated type of Athena seems to be late; compare Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 7225, pl. 54; Fossing, No. 597, pl. 8.

27

Museum of Archaeology,  
University of Michigan

Sphinx recumbent to l., tail erect. The headdress is a cap crossed by diagonal lines. Two feathers project backward from the forehead, possibly a relic of the feather headdress sometimes worn by sphinxes of the Egyptian type.

Amethyst, scaraboid seal. Horizontal oval, 19 x 17 x 8. Perforated in the long dimension. Obv. slightly convex, rev. convex. The object is a surface find from the excavation conducted by the University of Michigan at Seleucia on the Tigris from 1927-28 to 1931-32. This accounts for the weathered condition of the surface, which is especially noticeable on the head and face; but the stone is clear and of good quality.

The illustration is from an impression.

## MAGICAL AMULETS

28

Unknown location

Obv. Falcon-headed god (Horus) standing to r., clothed in Egyptian kilt and also a close-fitting upper garment which shows only around the waist and lower part of chest. R. hand holds the ankh, the l. a tall scepter with the head of a gazelle at the top. The headdress is elaborate and of an unusual form, a tall central cylinder with a disc at the top—thus far resembling the white crown of Upper Egypt—and three volute-like pairs of projections at the sides. Round the figure, the inscription *αβλανα-θαναλβα αβρασαςξ*. Neat work.

Rev. Inscription in six lines: seven characters, not of the "ring-sign" type, but more like letters in a cryptographic alphabet; the first and fourth are identical. Then follows the formula *χαβραχ φνεσχηρ φιχρο φννρω φωχω βωχ*; this is "the greatest name, whose number is 9999," as fully explained in *SMA*, pp. 141-2.

Material unknown. Upright oval, 30 x 24. The reverse side is smaller, so the edge was beveled.

The illustration is a photograph, reversed in printing, of a good wax impression which was given to Mr. Henri Seyrig, and by him lent

to me. He knew neither the location nor the material of the original.

29

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Ibis-headed Thoth standing to l., elaborate crown (a modified form of the *atef*?) on head, head-cloth over neck and shoulders. Egyptian apron round loins. In r. hand a pen or stylus, in l. a tablet so held as to resemble a roll of papyrus or some such cylindrical object.

Rev. *ουσει ρβιθω*. *Ουσειρ* is obviously Osiris, but the presence of the name on a Thoth amulet is rather strange; there is a similar situation in the Michigan chalcedony described in *SMA*, p. 293, No. 244, shown on Pl. 12. There the obverse shows a seated cynocephalus, an animal sacred to Thoth and the sun, with a disk on his head, while the reverse bears the single word *Ουσειρι*. But divine names on amulet stones are not always exactly appropriate to the designs; see the examples cited in *SMA*, p. 176. *Βιθω* has no known meaning.

Rock crystal. Upright oval, 29 x 15. Convex surface. The illustration is from an impression, but the description above is given as from the original stone.

30

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Above, a hawk sitting to l., on head a tall headdress or ornament in the form of a slender cylinder pointed at the top, perhaps a stylized form of the white crown of Upper Egypt; lying against its slope an indistinct somewhat V-shaped object. Under ground line, five magical characters.

Below, ibis standing to l., atef crown on head, caduceus under wing; the bird's feet rest upon a cushion-like object.

Over the hawk's head *ωφρη*, behind its neck and back *ιαρβαθα*. *Ιω* may be a form of *ιω*, *ρη* is "the sun." *Ιαρβαθα* is the first member of the solar formula *ιαρβαθαγραμνηφιβαωχημω*, for which see *SMA*, p. 205, and Pl. 10, No. 210, where the formula encircles a design composed of a scarab with a hawk on each side.

Behind the ibis in vertical column are the letters *δαρυ*, and the remainder of this word *ργω*,



was probably engraved vertically in front of the ibis, where the stone has lost a splinter wide enough to accommodate it. *Daryngo* is a magical or planetary name of Hermes-Thoth, here represented by the ibis with caduceus; see *SMA*, pp. 196 f. and Pl. 3, Nos. 47-49. In No. 48 the ibis stands on a thick base like the one represented in the present specimen.

Rev. Above,  $\chi\rho\alpha\theta\alpha\omega\rho$ , below  $\iota\epsilon\omicron\mu\beta\omicron\beta\alpha$ . I do not remember seeing the lower inscription elsewhere. In the upper  $\chi\rho\alpha\theta$  may be an attempt to transliterate the Egyptian word *hrd*, child, which is also an element in the name Harpocrates, "Horus the child" (see *SMA*, pp. 198 f.), but the latter part of the word remains obscure.

Haematite, upright oblong, upper corners slightly beveled on obverse side; 30 x 14.

For the use of sacred birds in amuletic designs, compare *SMA*, Pls. 3, 45-49; 5, 111; 10, 200-210.

The illustrations are from impressions, the films reversed in printing.

31

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Group of three deities. In the middle, Sarapis standing to l., wearing tunic and mantle, r. hand apparently holding tip of mantle, l. resting on a tall scepter. Facing him a goddess who cannot be positively identified; her head-cloth fits closely round her face, with the effect of a veil or cowl, and her r. hand holds a tall staff crossed at the top by three horizontals; possibly a torch. Behind Sarapis, Isis-Tyche with tall scepter in r. hand, cornucopia in l., and headdress of two upright feathers (?).

Rev. Lion walking to l., carrying on his back the mummy of Osiris, its head to l., with atef crown. Behind, Anubis to l., his r. hand touching the forehead of Osiris, the l. holding a whip.

Bronze leaf, with suspension ring. Almost circular; height 28 without the suspension ring, width 30.

The interest of this object consists in the circumstance that its form and material are chiefly used for amulets of Palestinian or Syrian

origin (*SMA*, chapter 15, and Plates 14-16), while the subjects represented are Egyptian. It would seem that the leaf form was adopted by Egyptian makers from Palestinian models, probably at a late date. For the obverse subject, cf. *SMA*, Pl. 1, Nos. 19 and 20, where Sarapis is placed between Demeter and Persephone. Here also, since Isis is often identified with Demeter, it is probable that the other goddess, who holds a torch, is Persephone. The reverse subject, the Funeral of Osiris, is well known from dynastic monuments and from magical amulets; see *SMA*, p. 26, and Pl. 1, Nos. 8-10, Pl. 19, Nos. 354-357.

32

M. Henri Seyrig

Cylinder with four figures engraved around it, as follows: 1, a man carrying a palm-frond; in front of him, the Egyptian sign for water (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List, p. 479, No. N 35); 2, a man carrying a water jug, covered with a fold of his garment; in front of him an incense altar with horns (see the references given in *SMA*, p. 113, note 44); 3, a man carrying a Canopic figure of Osiris with atef crown; in front of him, a tall candelabrum; 4, a man carrying on his head a flat utensil, perhaps a basket; in front, a poorly drawn palm-tree with bunches of dates. All four men have shaven heads; No. 1 wears only a tunic, the others are clothed in garments with a fringe in front similar to the linen garments of Egyptian priests.

It will be observed that in three of the four instances the symbol placed in front of each figure has a certain appropriateness for the figure next in order, that is to say, the figure behind which it stands. Thus the sign for water is appropriate for No. 2, the incense altar is appropriate for Osiris in No. 3, and the date-palm in front of No. 4 is appropriate for No. 1. Even in the case of No. 4, if the utensil that the man carries is the winnowing basket, which may belong to the cult of Isis as Demeter, the candelabrum (or torch?) in front of No. 3 might have a certain fitness.

Mr. Seyrig has given the correct interpretation of this object in the letter (June 11, 1953) in which he drew my attention to it. It is a procession of four priests, or at least devotees, of Isis, and as such, as he remarks, it may be compared with the procession on the Vatican relief (Amelung, II, pl. 7; also in Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, p. 599, with pl. 10, 1). Here the figures are: 1, priestess with uraeus and situla; 2, scribe with roll; 3, priest with vessel of Nile water; 4, woman with sistrum and ladle. But another Isiac relief is nearer to the plan of the Seyrig cylinder, as it is also nearer to the description of the procession in Apuleius *Met.* 11, 10-11. This is a relief in Germany, first published by Schede in *Angelos*, 2 (1926), pp. 60-61, with pl. 4; also in Nilsson, pl. 11, 1. Here the principal figures are 1, Anubis with palm and garland; 2; priest wearing garland, arms covered with his mantle, carrying a sacred object, probably a sistrum; 3, a person, probably female, carrying Canopic figure of Osiris; 4, a man with bare torso and an apron round the hips and thighs; he carries a scepter in his r. hand, a round vessel in his l.

Haematite cylinder, height 23, diameter 12. Perforated, the hole pierced from both ends, the regular procedure in ancient stones. The use of the cylinder form to present processional figures suggests that the spindle-shaped and cylindrical pieces shown in *SMA*, Pl. 20, Nos. 365, 368, and 369 may owe something to the stock characters of the Isiac procession.

Illustrations are unfortunately not available. I owe the description to Mr. Seyrig.

33 M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Aphrodite nude, standing to front, head to r., drying her hair, tresses of which she holds out in each hand. She stands on the back of a lion walking to r.

Rev. plain.

The illustration is from an impression, but the design is described as if from the original stone.

Brown jasper with greenish spots. Upright oval, 18 x 11.

The figure of Aphrodite in the Anadyomene type is common on ordinary gems and is occasionally engraved on magical stones; for the former, see *Cat. of the Southesk Collection*, I, pl. III, C 20, and Walters, *B. M. Cat.*, Nos. 1213, 1438, 2803 (none illustrated); for magical stones, *Southesk Cat.*, pl. XIII, N 24, and *SMA*, Pl. 3, No. 55.

I have seen no specimen showing an Aphrodite of the Greek type standing on a lion's back, and Mr. Seyrig has suggested (by letter) that she is here equated with the Syrian Goddess. The latter, however, is usually shown sitting on a lion or on a throne supported by lions (Strong-Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 21, and Frontispiece, Nos. 4, 5, 8; yet it is perhaps worth noting that the Hittite goddess sculptured on the rock at Boghaz Keui stands on a lion; Strong-Garstang, p. 6).

It is possible, I think, to arrive at a more precise explanation of the amulet type by examining Egyptian representations of the Syrian goddesses (or, *the Goddess* in her various manifestations); such a proceeding is amply warranted by the predominant influence of Egypt on amuletic gems of Graeco-Roman times. Astarte was represented in Egypt as a warlike, lion-headed goddess standing in a chariot, or else standing on the ground, wearing a tall, conical crown with feathers, and holding *ankh* and *was* scepter. Anat is seated on a throne, holding in one hand spear and shield, in the other a battle-mace. But Qadesh, the city goddess of Qadesh on the Orontes, presents noteworthy analogies to the Aphrodite of the Seyrig amulet. In Egypt she is shown in frontal position, nude (except, in some instances for a short, thin tunic), standing on the back of a lion walking to the right. Her arms are held well out from the body, the right hand usually grasping three snakes, the left three flower buds (lotus or papyrus). When, as happens in some of the representations, her hands are held higher, at the level of her face, the posture is strikingly like that of Aphrodite drying her hair. It is also to be observed that just as Qadesh is assimilated to Hathor by her characteristic hairdress, and



sometimes by the crescent and disk on her head, so also Aphrodite was regarded as a Greek equivalent of Hathor; for a single example, see the name ΑΘΩΡ on the reverse of a lapis lazuli amulet showing on its face a figure of the nude Aphrodite wringing her hair (published by Drioton, *Ann. du service des antiq. de l'Égypte*, XLV [1947], p. 83).

One difficulty must be mentioned. The Egyptian representations of Astarte, Anat, and Qadesh are not numerous and belong mostly to the New Kingdom (nineteenth dynasty); a doubt therefore arises whether any of them could have influenced a Graeco-Roman gem of the second or third Christian century. Yet there is proof, and precisely in connection with Qadesh, that monuments of the type, whether they dated from the New Kingdom or were later copies, were imitated in the Roman imperial period. The Museum of Roanne has a coffin on which in Roman times was painted a poor copy of a pharaonic stele representing Qadesh standing on the back of a lion between attendant gods. The model was a work resembling a stele of the Louvre (C. 86; see J. Leibovitch, *Ann. du serv.* XLI [1942], pp. 79-86, plates VIII, IX). The maker of the Seyrig gem or his predecessor in developing the type has produced an *interpretatio Graeca* of some Qadesh monument which had come down to his time.

Illustrations of the Egyptianized Syrian goddesses may be seen in Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 279-80; Müller, *Egyptian Mythology (Mythology of All Races, Vol. XII)*, pp. 156-7; Erman, *Religion der Aegypter*, p. 150.

Examples of Qadesh stelae are shown in the previously cited article of Leibovitch; in another by the same author in *Bull. de l'Institut de l'Égypte*, XIX, pp. 81-91 (figs. 6, 7); and in an article by Charles Boreux, "La stèle C. 86 du Musée du Louvre et les stèles similaires," *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 673-687 (*Bibliothèque archéol. et hist.*, Haut-Commissariat de la republ. franç. en Syrie, XXX).

In this section I am under special obligations to Professor John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

34

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Helios standing to front, apparently nude but for a mantle hanging down his back as far as mid-thigh. Nine rays round head. Raised l. hand holds a whip, r. holds a torch reversed. Under the l. foot, there is something that resembles a grasshopper or locust (it is not, as I had thought possible, a flaw in the stone). Poor work.

Rev. A neatly cut inscription, ΤΙΤΑΝ, ΑΒΑΡΑΡΟΧΩΡ. The letter after ΤΙΤΑΝ looks more like delta than alpha, the three certain instances of which letter differ from this one. Yet there is also a peculiarity about the letter if taken as delta; and since delta could not be pronounced, I have preferred to read alpha, which thus begins a typical *vox magica*.

Bluish white chalcedony. Upright oval, 13 x 12; edge beveled, obv. slightly convex. Enlarged in the illustration, 2 x 1.

I was at first disposed to doubt whether the object in Helios' right hand could be a reversed torch, because the reversal seemed to suggest extinction, and such a symbol seemed inappropriate in association with the sun-god. But after re-examining the stone Mr. Seyrig assures me that the object can be nothing else; and he further points out that the reversed torch sometimes signifies purification and fructification of the earth, a point set forth by R. Vallois in connection with his study of a bronze bas-relief found at Delos (*BCH*, 45 [1921], pp. 256, near end; 258, note 4; 260, 265). To this I would add that if the lowered torch has a cathartic value, one can better understand why a locust, that plague of growing crops, is shown under the foot of the god.

In connection with the reverse inscription one may note that common as it is among the Roman poets to call the sun Titan, that use is on the whole late and rare among the Greeks, though it is to be found in Empedocles 38 (cited by *LSJ*).

35 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 52-534

Obv. Lion-headed Chnoubis snake to l., the tail making a double loop. Round the head, nimbus with seven double rays. Below, *χμουμς*, one of several spellings of the god's name.

Rev. Above, the letters ZMX, below a form of the Chnoubis symbol, here a horizontal line crossed by three lines broken into three segments, each segment at a broad angle to the next.

Nephrite, upright oval, 17 x 13. Both sides convex.

A good specimen of a common type, well executed, but presenting no unusual feature except the letters on the back. Their meaning is unknown.

36 In private possession in Stamboul

Obv. Lion-headed snake, coiled, to l., nine rays round head. Below, beginning at r., *χνουμς*, to be read from outside. Above, *πιν* to be read from inside. In the r. field, the Chnoubis symbol (a straight stroke crossed by three reversed curves or, as here, by broken lines, making a sign like a long S).

Rev. Inscription in nine lines, here given with the words divided and accents supplied: *αποστρεψαγαι* (read *ἀποστρέψατε*) *πάσαν τάσιν* *πάσαν ἀπεψίαν* *πάν πόνον στομάχου* *ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ* *ὃν ἔτεκεν* *Νόννα*, "Avert from Julian, son of Nonna all (abdominal) tension, all indigestion, all stomach pain."

Light green, translucent stone, perhaps jadeite. Upright oval, 22 x 17.

The stone is a good example of a type extensively used as a medical amulet, specifically for ailments of the digestive tract (see *SMA*, pp. 54-60). The obverse design is extremely common, and needs no explanation that is not available in the reference just given; but the inscription suggests a few comments.

The errors in the first word are due to misreading of Γ for T in the copy, or to careless cutting of the latter sign; and *αι*, being pronounced like *ε*, often takes its place. For *τάσις* as a symptom of inflammation, cf. Galen, *Meth.*

*medendi*, in Kühn, *Corpus Medic. Graecorum*, X, p. 66; Soranus, *Gynaec.*, II. 19 (p. 106, 15 Ilberg), and II. 50 (p. 127, 27). For *πάν πόνον*, where the accusative neuter takes the place of the masculine, cf. the same phrase in II Chron. 6. 28 and the remarks of Helbing, *Gram. der Septuaginta*, p. 51, and Mayser, *Gram. der griech. Pap.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 32.

Nonna, the mother of the person who owns the stone and is supposed to utter the charm, is mentioned, as is customary in magical spells, merely in order to make the identity of Julian certain. The name, which is probably of Anatolian origin, but was fairly common in Egypt in later Roman times, has been discussed more fully elsewhere.

Photograph and description were given by M. Henri Seyrig.

37

26193

Obv. Snake moving to l., eight-pointed star above. Below, *ρεαλκμη*, the last letter under the others; this magical word has not been noted elsewhere.

Rev. A form of the Chnoubis symbol in which the three reversed curves are not crossed by a line, but a dot is placed opposite the middle of each curve. Under the symbol, *Ιαω*.

Quartz, bluish white above, reddish brown on bottom; the latter color may have been imparted to the stone by a cement used in setting it. Horizontal oval, 13 x 11 x 5. Obv. very convex, rev. slightly so.

38

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Uterine symbol with key, as described in *SMA*, p. 79, and illustrated on Plates 6 and 7 of that book, Nos. 129-143.

Rev. Inscription in eight lines with ouroboros round the edge. The first line has three characters like minuscule *etas*, but with sharp angles, which often occur on medical amulets (*SMA*, p. 63) and one like a Z with a horizontal crossing the slanting stroke; this is probably a suggestion of the Chnoubis symbol (*SMA*, p. 58). Next comes *ορωριωνθ*, a magical name constantly associated with the uterine symbol



(*SMA*, p. 85), and evidently belonging to a demon believed to be concerned with the womb and its functions. Next, *ιαηωιαω και ου σαβαωθ ιαηωιαω*, in which the name Iao Sabaoth appears, and the remaining letters are meaningless. Finally, *αιροβορον*, evidently referring to the ouroboros serpent round the edge, but in a peculiar form, which, in fact, is the only thing that gives this insignificant stone any interest. The spelling represents an extreme vagary of vulgar pronunciation, taking the form of a weakening of a vowel sound in an unaccented syllable. In such a position an *ου* may become *ο* (Mayser, *Gram. der griech. Pap.* I, p. 116, 18b), and *ο* may become *ε* (Mayser, I, p. 94, 12, 1). Here the two stages are telescoped, and *αι* is written for *ε*, the pronunciation having become the same. The engraver has treated the word as a neuter.

Haematite (the usual material for stones of this type). Oval, 19 x 14.

Not illustrated.

39 Baron L. Beck-Friis, Stockholm

Obv. Anguipede to r., round shield on l. arm, r. arm lifted, hand holding whip, the lash of which waves over the cock's head. Chest nude, kilt round waist. Snake legs twice curved. Star in field under cock's beak, *ε*ν in l. field, small  $\lambda$  between snake legs.

Inscription beginning at bottom and running round the edge counter-clockwise, some letters indistinct, others in inconsistent forms: *Ιαω αββρασας* (the sigma, if such it is, is here, and here only, of the four-stroke type, and turned to l.) *σενσων* (or *οων*) *αλυναι*. Similar inscriptions elsewhere suggest that the last word may be a misreading of *αδωναι*; lambda and delta were easily confused and *ν* may be a haplograph for  $\omega$  (V, W).

Rev. Harpokrates as a youth to r., nude, l. hand raised to face, r. holds a cornucopia, from which a streamer hangs down almost to the ground. It was probably intended, as on similar better executed specimens, for a garment rolled together and hanging from the arm. From the

horn projects something slightly resembling the head and neck of a snake. On the god's head a crown, which apparently consists of a central ovoid body (the white crown?) with an uraeus at each side, their heads outward; but it may be a careless representation of the crown more commonly worn by Harpokrates, the *hemhem* (three upright reed-bundles resting on a pair of horns).

Round the edge is a meaningless inscription of fifteen signs, a few of which can be read as Greek letters, but only if their position in relation to the others is disregarded. It is curious that just as the anguipede of the obverse has *ε*ν in the field opposite his waist, so also Harpokrates has *ε*ν in a similar position, but at the r. and upside down. (The pieces belonging to a puzzling group of four amulets have in similar position the letters *ε*νο on each side of the anguipede; see *Hesperia*, 20[1951] under D, pp. 307-309, Plates 99-100, Nos. 65-68). On the bevel are eleven signs, formerly twelve, for one has been lost in a slight break in the margin. They are meaningless, and only two or three can be read as Greek letters. It is not to be forgotten that writing on an amulet was believed to be powerful even though nobody could read it; see *SMA*, pp. 193 f., and A. Bertholet, "Die Macht der Schrift in Glauben und Aberglauben," p. 16 (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1948, No. 1, published 1949).

The designs of both obverse and reverse are common (obv. *SMA*, pp. 123-128, Pl. 8-9; rev. *SMA*, p. 146), though the standing Harpokrates type occurs oftener on coins than on amulets known to me. Both the anguipede and Harpokrates are solar divinities (*SMA*, pp. 127, 140), and the combination of the two in this stone is rare and of some interest.

Dark green plasma. Upright oval, 30 x 23.

This stone was brought to my attention by Dr. W. Schwabacher, of the Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm, to whom, as well as to Baron Beck-Friis, I am indebted for the opportunity to become acquainted with the piece and to publish it.

40 Art Museum, Princeton University:  
40-392.<sup>3</sup>

Obv. Beardless man standing to r., head and legs in profile, chest in front view. He is dressed in Persian costume; the so-called Phrygian cap or hood, with heavy turn-up, worn low on forehead and covering ear; a low-necked, long-sleeved tunic, at waist tucked into long, close-fitting trousers, which descend so low that they look as if they were prolonged to make boots for the feet. R. hand hangs at side holding ankh, l. forearm extended. At r. of figure a goat-headed pillar covered with letters.

All parts of the human figure except the chest (where the engraver seems to have started with an iota and then desisted) are covered with letters, and so is the whole field. Though minutely inscribed, these letters can all be read (with one or two doubtful places), but most of them form no recognizable words, only meaningless combinations of letters, chiefly the vowels. I transcribe only the words that are known, and have some definite association in magic even though their meaning has not been explained.

1. At right and left of the head and neck the common magical word *ακραμμαχαμαρι* with an unusual nu added at the end. Its meaning is unknown (*SMA*, pp. 154, 191).

2. On the upper part of the Phrygian cap, *Ιωω*, an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew name of God; and on the turn-up *Ιεωω*, probably a variant of *Ιωω*; on the cheek, neck, and the upper chest, further variations, *ιαηιαεωω*, the whole suggesting a quasi-liturgical cantillation on the original name *Ιωω*.

3. On the rectangular base under the feet, *αβλαναθαναλβα*, a palindrome, probably meaningless, which owes its magical power to the fact that it reads the same from either end; see *SMA*, pp. 191, 202.

4. In the l. field beginning at the level of the man's shoulder there is a narrow column of

letters among which is the extremely common magical name *Abrasax* (*SMA*, pp. 133 f.); the rest is meaningless.

On both arms and both legs of the figure the engraver has cut various arrangements of the seven vowels, and on the pillar and in the r. field there are letters which may form magical words; but since these are not known elsewhere, they are not worth recording.

Rev. Inscription in thirteen lines, with over 150 minute letters, which are clear enough to be read with a good glass, but are not worth reproducing in type. Vowels greatly predominate, and the syllables formed by such consonants as are present do not make any recognizable words, magical or otherwise. The inscription, like most of those on the obverse, was cut merely to create the impression of mysterious power by virtue of the writing itself; compare the example discussed in *SMA*, pp. 193 f., and see the important monograph of A. Bertholet cited under No. 39.

Rock crystal, unusually clear. Upright oval, 21 x 15 x 8. Obverse face slightly convex, reverse very convex; edges sharp. Small chip at bottom. Enlarged, 2 x 1.

A brief description of this stone was published without illustration in 1947, in *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (catalogue of an exhibition at the Walters Gallery), No. 587. Since the design and inscription were not discussed, and no attempt was made to place the stone in relation to other similar objects, treatment of it here begins from the beginning. In a broad way, the design places this specimen in a group with five others, none of which has been adequately published. For four of the five we depend upon engravings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and experience shows that engravers of that period often misunderstood and wrongly represented details of the designs before them, especially when dealing with magical stones.

<sup>3</sup> I am enabled to publish this curious stone through the courtesy of the Art Museum, Princeton University; and I am also indebted to Miss Frances Follin Jones, Assistant to the Director, for valuable help.



The five are as follows:

1. Amethyst belonging to Fulvio Orsini, published by Baronius, *Annal. Eccl.*, II, a. Chr. 120, No. 10; illustrations also in Macarius, *Abraxas*, p. 6; Chiflet, *Abraxas Proteus*, pl. 7, 29; Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, pl. 4, 7; Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée*, II, pl. 168.
2. Amethyst said to have been brought from the Levant by De Thou, illustrated in J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, opp. p. 156, from a drawing which he found among the memoirs of Peiresc.
3. Amethyst in the collection of Passeri, published by Gori, *Thesaurus gemmarum antiq. astriferarum*, I, pl. 197.
4. A broken sard. Same work, I, pl. 196.
5. Amethyst in the Southesk collection (*Catalogue*, I, No. N 59, pl. 13). The illustration does not show all details clearly, but the main features are visible.

Common to all these and the Princeton crystal also is the one element of a human figure covered with inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> In details, no two of the designs agree throughout. Except in No. 1 and the Princeton stone, the man is nude. In Nos. 2 and 3, the figure has small wings on the head, and in No. 3 they appear on the heels also. In Nos. 2-5 the man holds in his left hand a long scroll fashioned like a snake, though in some of the examples the head might be that of some other animal; and in two examples, Nos. 2 and 3, the tail of this snake-scroll forms a base on which the man stands. On the Princeton stone the man's hand is extended in front of the "goat-pillar," and does not grasp it; and this pillar, which might be

thought to correspond to the snake-scroll, makes a clear break where it meets the base. Yet the angle at which the pillar inclines forward, and the fact that the pillar and base are of the same thickness, strongly suggest that the pillar is derived from the snake-scroll.

Human or monstrous figures marked with letters and magical words are well known from the drawings in magical papyri; examples can be conveniently inspected in the plates at the ends of the two volumes of Preisendanz's *Papyri Magicae Graecae*, I, pl. 1, No. 2; II, pl. 1, Nos. 6-7; pl. 2, No. 11; pl. 3, No. 14. Lettered figures are rare on gem-amulets because the spaces available for inscriptions are so small. See, however, the cock-headed demon shown in *SMA*, Pl. 8, No. 171, and the divine figure described under No. 274, p. 299. None of these examples helps to identify the inscribed men listed for comparison with the Princeton crystal.

There is one feature of the Princeton stone that is particularly significant, and which does not appear on the other stones that seem to be related to it. This is the unmistakable Persian costume of the man. The only figure so clad that appears on amuletic gems is that of Mithra himself; but in the manner characteristic of syncretistic amulets, Mithra is here simply incorporated into the fabric of Egyptian magic. This is shown by the magical words, which are common in Egyptian magical papyri and on gems of undoubted Egyptian origin; by the ankh which the figure carries; and, if the goat-pillar is derived from the inscribed serpent, by the circumstance that Egyptian gods and goddesses are often shown grasping serpents in one or both hands, and sometimes standing upon the long tails of the snakes.

<sup>4</sup> In the first edition of his *Gnostics* (1864), p. 208, n. 2, C. W. King said that the most complete example of the "lettered man" known to him was that in Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquité*, Vol. 6, pl. 22. But I find it impossible to believe that any genuine amuletic stone looked like the monstrosity shown on that plate, although the engraving evidently has some relation to genuine specimens. Either Caylus has reproduced a forgery crudely and stupidly imitated from a genuine stone, or else the engraver's drawing is so grossly inaccurate as to give no true idea of the subject. In either event the illustration has no value for the critical student of such types.

## 41 In Private Possession at Tripoli

Scarab bearing on its flat face a design representing a sea-horse (*Hippocampus antiquorum*) or, less probably, a thick-bodied winged snake. Round it 17 characters, among them nine that can be read as Greek letters; but they make no sense.

Rock crystal. The inscribed face measures 32 x 22. Thickness of the scarab, 10. Seen at Tripoli by the Rev. Fr. R. Mousterde of the Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth. To him I owe the photograph, as also a drawing and description.

The creature represented is in several respects like the small fishes, common in warm seas, known as sea-horses.<sup>5</sup> The one wing-like projection on the back could be interpreted as the dorsal fin, the thick body corresponds to the brood-pouch of the males belonging to this genus. The sea-horse swims in an upright position like that shown on the scarab; yet it is true that on magical stones snakes are sometimes so shown, even when there is no coil to support them in the upright position (*SMA*, Pl. 18, No. 339; *Hesperia*, 20 [1951], pl. 96, No. 20). It is harder to judge of the head, which does not accurately imitate either that of the sea-horse or that of the snake. It appears here set at right angles to the neck, while in the sea-horse the angle is smaller, and the effect has been compared to the horse-head used for the knight in the game of chess.

The sea-horse is frequently found in the Mediterranean, and is mentioned by ancient writers because of medicinal (or poisonous) properties that were imputed to it.<sup>6</sup> That circumstance would be enough to account for its

appearance on a stone which its meaningless inscription seems to mark as magical.

Little help towards identifying the animal on the Tripoli stone can be got from ancient representations of the sea-horse, that is, representations of the actual fish, as distinguished from the very numerous representations of the hippocamp, a monster made up of the protome of a horse and a fish's tail. Those to be mentioned were collected by Lamer in his excellent article *Hippocampus* in Pauly-Wissowa, and only one can be regarded as certain. On a red-figured vase-fragment from Athens (now in Jena), a woman's garment is adorned with an embroidered border of sea-horses.<sup>7</sup> In two glyptic examples, the form of the hippocamp (marked as such by horse's forelegs) has probably been influenced by the engraver's knowledge of the little fish; so an island stone, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 5, 21, and, less certainly pl. 6, 27 (archaic Greek).

Winged snakes seem to be as rare in ancient art as true sea-horses; I can refer to only one certain example. A remarkable sardonyx cameo in the Hermitage, which formerly belonged to Christiana of Sweden and later to the Duke of Odescalchi,<sup>8</sup> shows conjugate heads now thought to represent Alexander and his mother Olympias. On the helmet worn by Alexander is a winged snake; its slender body is quite different from that of the thick-bellied creature on the Tripoli crystal. If the wings were added to give the reptile a demonic character, there may be an allusion, as was long since suggested,<sup>9</sup> to the story that Zeus Ammon visited Olympias in the form of a serpent. On the closely similar, but finer, sardonyx cameo in Vienna, repre-

<sup>5</sup> For a brief account of these interesting fishes, see the article "sea-horse" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. There are good illustrations in some of the dictionaries, as Merriam-Webster, *New Internat. Dict.*, s.v. "sea-horse," and *Century Dict.*, s.v. "Hippocampidae." Others may be found in the *Cambridge Natural History*, Vol. VII, p. 635, fig. 387; *American Natural History* (Scribners), Vol. IV, p. 287; *Riverside Natural History*, Vol. III, p. 286, fig. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Dioscorides 2. 3; Galen, Vol. XII (ed. Kühn), p. 362; Ael., *N.A.*, 14. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Zeitung*, XV, pl. 108, No. 2, with col. 108 of text.

<sup>8</sup> Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 53, 2; cf. also II, pp. 251 f.

<sup>9</sup> By M. A. De la Chausse, *Le Grand Cabinet Romain* (Amsterdam, 1706), p. 12.



senting the same subject, the snake on Alexander's helmet has no wings.<sup>10</sup> An alternative explanation of the winged snake is that it is simply a reminder of Alexander's conquest of Egypt. Such reptiles were believed to exist in Arabia or Libya and were said sometimes to fly into Egypt, where they were devoured by ibises.<sup>11</sup>

Mention should perhaps be made of a gem illustrated by Gronovius, representing a Janus-like combination of a bearded head backed by a youthful one.<sup>12</sup> On the helmet worn upon the older head is fixed a serpent with wings like a bat's and the claws of a bird. The engraving inspires no confidence in the accuracy of the details or the antiquity of the object, and it has no value as evidence.

Strange as the design on the Tripoli crystal may seem, it does not stand alone. A closely similar stone is shown in Gronovius's 1695 edition of the *Dactyliothea* originally compiled by Abraham Gorlaeus (Vol. II, No. 558). The material, according to Gronovius, was *dracontias* which, according to Pliny (*N. H.*, 37, 10), was a stone found in the head of a serpent (*draco*). But the identification was in all probability suggested at random, for, as will presently appear, Gronovius could hardly have seen any such stone. He calls the design *draco alatus*.

This illustration does not appear in the first edition of Gorlaeus's work, and Gronovius evidently took it from another source, namely the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* of Athanasius Kircher, (1652-1655, Vol. III, pp. 523 f.). This work provides a line drawing which agrees closely enough with Gronovius's cut to warrant the conclusion that the differences are due only to the Dutch engraver; but when we compare Kircher's cut and description with the Tripoli crystal, the situation is different. The stone seen by Kircher, also a scarab, was almost twice as large as the other, and there are minor

differences in the design and inscription; *e. g.*, the animal shown on the Tripoli stone is thicker than Kircher's "draco," and the three letters at the top of it form an arc, while in Kircher's drawing they stand on the same level. There are also minute differences in the forms of the letters.

The strange and apparently meaningless design and inscription of the Tripoli stone, and the fact that nothing like it is known except Kircher's gem, at first suggested the possibility that the Tripoli crystal might be a modern forgery based upon the old illustration; examples of counterfeits suggested by old engravings were noted and discussed in my paper in *Hesperia*, 20 (1951), pp. 304-307. But the sound judgment of Father Mousterde, expressed in his letter of March 9, 1951, shows the error of any such suspicion. While allowing the possibility that some modern forgeries may have been imported from Europe into Syria for sale to unwary tourists, he points out that such deceptions are far more likely to be attempted at places much visited by travellers, such as Damascus, Aleppo, and Beyrouth, than at a small place remote from the ordinary course of travel, like Tripoli. He also calls attention to the extreme hardness of rock crystal, which might well deter a forger from spending much labor upon a design of little interest and no beauty, which could scarcely appeal to amateurs. On the whole then, it seems that the Tripoli gem must be accepted as one of a rare group of objects bearing a design for which no satisfactory explanation is at hand, though some magical significance may be reasonably inferred.

42 Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Gorely, Jr.

#### ENEMIES' TONGUES

"Destroy their plans, O Lord, confuse their tongues"  
(Ps. 55.9).

The Revised Standard Version is quoted here, not because of a conviction that it gives

<sup>10</sup> Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 53, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Hdt., 2. 75; Joseph, *A. J.*, 2, 245; Pomp. Mela, 3. 82; Cic., *N. D.*, 1, 36.

<sup>12</sup> J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graec. Antiq.* (Leyden, 1697), Vol. I, plate preceding I.

the most correct rendering of a verse that has been variously interpreted, but merely because it provides a suitable text to introduce the matter that follows. The wish that the words of an enemy, whether true or false, may be disregarded or silenced is natural to anyone who has become entangled in the conflict of human purposes and desires. In the passage cited, as also in Ps. 31. 18, "Let the lying lips be dumb," the wish is uttered as the prayer of a righteous man and a defense against the insults and slanders of the wicked. But it is certain that such wishes did not always proceed from the innocent; there must have been guilty persons among the many who resorted to magical spells in order to silence the testimony of those who could divulge their secrets. The step between prayer and spell is a short one, and the language of the two may differ very little.

An uneasy conscience seems to speak in a curious inscription on the back of a privately owned intaglio<sup>13</sup> of which the courtesy of the owners enables me to give a detailed description.

Obv. Mask of Medusa with small wings growing over the forehead. Round their roots are twined two snakes, interlaced above with confronted heads, as in some forms of the kerykeion of Hermes. Four other snakes dangle about the face, completely surrounding it except on the right side, where locks of hair hang as low as the mouth.

Fairly good work, which has been referred to the first Christian century. It might, I think, be somewhat later, and in fact it must be later unless the inscription on the back was added long after the obverse design; that, however, is not improbable. The style of the lettering on the reverse is much the same as that of numerous crudely engraved legends on magical amulets manufactured in the years 100 to 400. Close dating within that period is not easy; a

conservative guess might assign the obverse design of this stone to the second century, the reverse inscription to the third. Because of the peculiarities presented by the lettering, I show an enlarged photograph on the accompanying plate.

Rev. Inscription in ten lines:

ΓΟΡΓΩ  
ΝΑΧΙΑΛ  
ΕΥΚΟΑΛΙ  
ΟΤΟΥΤΑΥΡ  
ΟΒΙΟΝΑΙΕ  
ΑΝΑΔΛΩΩ  
CΙΝΑΛΞΙΩ  
ΜΗΤΙCΤΕΥΕ  
CΒΩCΑΝ  
ΧΝΟΒΙ

A fairly good sense can be made of this if we allow for the careless epigraphy characteristic of such amulets—the confusion of alpha and lambda arising from the omission of the cross-stroke of alpha; the exaggeration of serifs, which makes it hard to distinguish the epsilon at the end of line 5 from a theta; and perhaps the strange form of xi in line 7, an upright crossed by two shorter lines of unequal length. The engraver, like some others who cut magical inscriptions, did not clearly distinguish between the forms of zeta and xi. There are also outright mistakes of the engraver or the scribe who supplied his copy. Here belong the omission of *v* in *αλιο<v>* (line 4) and the omission of a lambda if the name was really \**Ἄλλιος*, the doubling of *ω* in *λαλωσιν* (line 6), the insertion of *λ* in *ἀξιῶ* (line 7), and the reading of *πι* as *τι* (line 8). I transcribe as follows, adding such punctuation as would be needed in a modern text:

Γοργών. Ἀχιλλεύς ὁ Ἀλίο<v> τοῦ Ταύρου. Ἰούλις.  
ἐὰν λαλω{ω}σιν, ἀ{λ}ξιῶ, μὴ πιστενέσθωσαν. Χνοῦβι.

<sup>13</sup> Besides my deep obligation to the owners, I am indebted to Miss Hazel Palmer, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, who called my attention to this stone (and also No. 35), and to the Museum for providing excellent casts.

Professor B. D. Meritt kindly gave me the benefit of his expert opinion about certain points relating to the Locrian inscription.



The first and the last words are vocatives calling upon the demonic beings to whom the charm (in form a prayer) is addressed, namely, the Gorgon represented on the obverse, and the lion-headed snake Chnoubis. The latter is chiefly associated with amulets for ailments affecting the digestion (*SMA*, pp. 54 f.); its appearance in such a context as the present is unusual and not clearly motivated. As for the former, the Gorgon mask had served as an apotropaic symbol from very ancient times, and could be used on any amulet intended to avert danger or misfortune. Two poor specimens were published in my *SMA*, pp. 263-4, Nos. 64-65 (Pl. 3); another, now in the Metropolitan Museum (where it bears the number 81. 6. 315), was published by King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pl. M 6.

The charm itself, apart from the invocations, reads: "Achilles son of Alius, son of Taurus; Ioulis; if they talk, let them not, I pray, be believed."

Evidently some owner of the amulet feared that the persons named intended to accuse him of some misdeed, or else that they were going to reveal something to his discredit, whether as witnesses in a lawsuit or as mere talebearers who had learned his secrets. As I have divided the words, these two persons whose talking the owner fears are Achilles, "son of Alius, son of Taurus," or "son of Alius (nicknamed) the Bull"; and Ioulis, which is a late colloquial form of *Ιούλιος*, Julius. He is not further identified. One might have expected that instead of naming both the father and the grandfather of Achilles, and neither in the case of Ioulis, the writer of the spell would have identified both enemies simply by their fathers' names (or even better, by their mothers', the usual practice in magic); and hence one might think of dividing the phrases after the name Alius; but the resulting chiasmus ("Achilles, son of Alius; son of Taurus, Ioulis") is too artificial for such a text as this.

Besides, though it may be a mere coincidence, there is another circumstance that makes one hesitate to separate *Alius* from *Taurus*.

This is an inscription of Opuntian Locris, found by Ross near the village of Atalante (*I.G.*, IX, No. 285), in which a *Λεύκιος Ἀλλίος Ταῦρος*, gymnasiarch, is honored with a statue. It is possible that among the Greeks who took the name of the gens Allia, probably former *liberti*, Taurus appeared often as a cognomen, in which case it would be imprudent to separate the two names here. The Locrian inscription is dated to the first half of the first century.

Red jasper. Elliptical, upright, 20 x 16 x 5. Beveled edge. Modern gold setting. High polish, probably renewed in recent times.

A special interest attaches to this amulet as one of a small group which seem to have been either made or subsequently inscribed to meet a special situation, and not merely to afford general protection. For examples of such highly specialized amulets, see *SMA*, pp. 104-109, 116-118. In the present instance it is likely that the stone was originally engraved and sold, without inscription, as an amulet which would protect the wearer against various dangers. Later, an owner, possibly many years after the first, had the reverse inscription added to counteract the special danger which he apprehended from the testimony or the malicious gossip of certain enemies.

Among gem amulets I have seen no close parallel to the spell on the back of the Gorely jasper, but examples may be found on certain lead curse-tablets, which I cite from Audolent's *Defixionum Tabellae*, adopting several corrections of the irregular spelling.

No. 49. καταδῶ Θεαγένην, γλῶτταν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ λόγον ὃν μελετᾷ.

No. 217. Ne contra me nec dicere nec facere valeant.

No. 222 B. . . . defixi sic inimicorum meorum linguas. Adversus me obmutescant.

Compare also a curse-tablet from Beisan published by H. C. Youtie and myself in *TAPA*, 68 (1937), p. 54, lines 4-6: *φίμωσον [α]ὐτ[οὺς] καὶ τυ[φλ]ῶσον αὐτοὺς καὶ κώφηνον αὐτοὺς καὶ ποίησον αὐτοὺς [ἀφρ]ένους ἀλάλ[ους . . .] τυφλοὺς ἔμπροσθεν Π[αναχρίας].*

The gap after ἀλάλους would accommodate nine letters. The name at the end is supplied from other parts of the tablet.

43

Mr. Joseph V. Noble

Obv. Man with short pointed beard riding lion to l.

The rider wears a low-crowned cap or helmet, a corselet (indicated by the lower edges turned outward in front and behind), and trousers to ankles. The last-mentioned garment is treated almost as if it were a long mantle wrapped round the waist and divided to cover the legs, since the folds curve round the body and descend vertically. There is little doubt, however, that the unskillful engraver intended to represent trousers. A blanket or saddle-cloth lies across the animal's neck and sweeps backward. The rider's r. hand is concealed behind the lion's head, the l. brandishes a straight sword.

The lion, whose head is very clumsily rendered, seems to be biting the tail of a scorpion, which hangs from his mouth. Over the scorpion is an indistinct sign, then (moving clock-wise) a star, two small indistinct signs over the rider's head; then, behind the rider, Λ (on its side), N, Δ, A.

Rev. Meaningless inscription in three columns, NONW/NCAMM/NON.

Circular black jasper, diameter *ca.* 14; the visible part of the reverse is about 9 in diameter. Thickness *ca.* 3. Edge beveled, the bevel

covered by the setting, a modern gold ring. The illustration is from a direct photograph enlarged 2 x 1.

The presence of the lion and the scorpion suggests some allusion to astrological ideas, since both animals are signs of the zodiac, and the meaningless inscription suggests magic. The Greek lettering shows that the stone was cut in some place where the Greek alphabet was well known, whether or not the language predominated in current use. The rider's trousers are a mark of oriental influence (Sassanian), but in Byzantine times the garment was widely adopted for cavalry. On the whole, it seems safe to assign the object to an early Byzantine date. I have seen nothing quite like this design elsewhere, though amulets of an earlier period show Harpokrates and Helios riding or standing on a lion (*SMA*, Pls. 10-11, fig. 211, 212, 225).

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO *Hesperia*,  
20 (1951), p. 335.

The British Museum gem described under No. 52 and illustrated on plate 98 is apparently not a unique example of the design discussed (i. e., a person standing on a crocodile and holding a fish over his head). In his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* II, p. 467, No. 24, Athanasius Kircher gives an illustration of the same design on a rectangular stone (if the cut may be trusted). He does not give the location of the object, and offers nothing helpful for its interpretation.

CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



# AN EARLY THOLOS TOMB IN WESTERN MESSENIAS<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 37-38)

IN 1926 the late Dr. K. Kourouniotis published<sup>2</sup> a brief preliminary report on the discovery and excavation of a small tholos tomb in the region to the northeast of the Osmanaga Lagoon, a short distance beyond the inner end of Navarino Bay in southwestern Messenia. The tomb had been constructed in level ground about ten minutes to the south of the village formerly called Osmanaga, but now renamed Koryphasion. The place lay close to the boundary of two fields belonging respectively to Charalampos Christophilopoulos and Nikos Adamopoulos; and the owners had themselves attempted to excavate the tomb—without success, although they made a deep sounding. A slight rise in the level of the earth above the grave was no doubt a remnant of the tumulus which had originally been heaped over it.

The excavation was carried on in 1926 under the direction of Dr. Kourouniotis, who was assisted by Ph. Stavropoulos, then an *epimeletes*. The tholos had been built of small flattish unworked stones, while the dromos, which provided entrance from the northeast, was unwallled. The chamber had a diameter of *ca.* 6 m., and its original height was calculated to have been about the same. The doorway, with a width of 1.95 m. and a depth from front to back of *ca.* 1.50 m., was 2.75 m. high. Above it three lintel blocks, large but not worked, were found still resting *in situ*. The whole opening of the doorway was solidly blocked by a well-built wall of small undressed stones.

A thin blackish stratum, perhaps the vestiges of a pyre or pyres, was found to extend across the entire chamber at a height of *ca.* 1 m. above the floor, and was thought to mark the burial level. The interments had been disturbed and the tomb had been plundered. No skeleton was preserved in order, but small bits and splinters of human bones were found scattered here and there throughout the deposit.

A good many fragments of pottery were recovered. From them, Dr. Kourouniotis records, were put together two large two-handled vessels of somewhat unusual shapes and bearing linear decoration, a large ewer of an early Mycenaean type, and a kylix, likewise of unusual form, at least in its handle. The clay and technique of

<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Chr. Karouzos, Director of the National Museum in Athens, and to Mrs. Karouzos for permission to study and publish the material here presented and for all the many facilities and help they kindly provided. My warm thanks are also owed to John Travlos, Ph. Stavropoulos, and Demetrios Theocharis, who assisted in a search for photographs, notes, and other information that might have been left by Dr. Kourouniotis. I have likewise benefited greatly from talks and discussion with Professor George E. Mylonas, who was to have shared in the writing of this paper. The photographs of the pots were taken by G. Tzimas of the staff of the National Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Πρακτικά, 1925-1926, pp. 140-141. Cf. also *Arch. Anz.*, 1926-1927, col. 384.

these pieces, the excavator observed, recall those of the Mycenaean ware from Thermon. The only objects mentioned apart from pottery are small fragments of silver vessels and of a large pyxis of Egyptian porcelain.

The material unearthed from the tomb was brought to the National Museum in Athens and was shown to me by Dr. Kourouniotis, with whom from 1926 to 1928 I shared a workroom in the Museum. Several pots in addition to those listed in the preliminary report were reconstructed from fragments, and the whole collection seemed to me to be of considerable interest and importance; for it represents something new—a ceramic stage much earlier than yet known from any other tholos tomb on the mainland of Greece. Dr. Kourouniotis agreed that a detailed publication with good photographs was highly desirable. Apparently he never found time to complete it; at any rate I have not been able to learn that any such manuscript was discovered among his papers after his lamented death in 1945.

During the post-war rehabilitation of the National Museum, when all the antiquities that had been buried for years in underground bomb-proof shelters were brought back to the light of day, some of the pots from the tholos tomb again came to my attention along with a box of fragments still retaining its label. The pots, once restored, had all disintegrated and the fragments were in a sadly deteriorated state, the painted patterns having been worn away or become so faint as to be hardly distinguishable. It has seemed worth while nevertheless to salvage what is left and to publish a description of the pottery. It is presented both for its own intrinsic interest and as a tribute to the memory of Dr. Kourouniotis, a sound archaeologist, a loyal colleague, and a rare friend.

The pottery was all recleaned in the spring of 1953 and seven pots have again been reconstituted. This work was done by Triantaphyllos Kontogeorgis, a technician on the staff of the National Museum, for whose services, kindly put at my disposal by the Director and Mrs. Ch. Karouzos, I am much indebted.

1. Capacious handmade krater, with two large and two small horizontally set handles (Pl. 37).

H. 0.345 m.; d. of rim 0.445 m.; greatest d. at level of handles, 0.457 m.; d. of base *ca.* 0.175 m. Repaired from many fragments; some bits of rim and parts of side missing.

Relatively coarse terracotta red or pinkish-tan clay, containing many extraneous particles of tempering matter. Surface smoothed, possibly once slipped. Spreading rim has a flat top with sharp edges. Handles thick and slightly grooved on outer face. Solid, broad, pedestal-like foot, *ca.* 0.025 m. high, and slightly convex underneath. Surface badly eaten away, and all

but the scantiest traces of painted decoration have been obliterated. Probably once bore a pattern in mat paint.

2. Big, handmade spouted bowl with basket handle (Pl. 37).

H. *ca.* 0.265 m.; h. including handle *ca.* 0.31 m.; d. of rim 0.145 m. to 0.166 m.; d. of body 0.296 m.; d. of base *ca.* 0.10 m. Repaired from many fragments; only insignificant bits missing.

Pinkish-tan clay containing numerous tempering particles. Surface in bad condition, but was probably once smoothed and slipped. Basket handle flat on top, *ca.* 0.035 m. wide, 0.013



m. thick, with flattish sides. Straight rim, flat on top, with sharp edges. Spout set along axis of handle and a little below rim (0.02 m. to 0.05 m. below). Orifice through side of pot leads to spout, which is open on top, *ca.* 0.06 m. long and 0.04 m. wide. Base flat, but not exactly perpendicular to vertical axis of vessel. Much damaged surface retains scanty traces of decoration in dull black paint: possibly a series of multiple triangles below rim, with apices pointing downward.

**3.** Smaller handmade spouted bowl with basket handle (Pl. 37).

Similar to No. 2.

H. *ca.* 0.165 m.; h. including handle 0.203 m.; d. of rim 0.129 m. to 0.134 m.; d. of body *ca.* 0.176 m.; d. of base *ca.* 0.078 m. Repaired from many fragments; some small bits missing.

Pinkish-tan clay stiffened with tempering particles. Surface badly damaged, probably once smoothed and slipped. Handle *ca.* 0.03 m. wide and 0.01 m. thick; slightly concave on top along longitudinal axis. Rim upright with rounded lip. Spout *ca.* 0.034 m. wide and projecting *ca.* 0.04 m., similar to that of No. 2 in its attachment and connection with interior of vessel. Bottom roughly flattened. No clear traces of painted patterns on badly injured surface, but the pot no doubt once bore decoration in mat paint.

**4.** Large handmade flaring bowl with basket handle attached to interior (Pl. 37).

This is probably the peculiar kylix mentioned in the preliminary report.

H. *ca.* 0.123 m.; d. of rim 0.288 m.; d. of base 0.07 m. Restored from many fragments; greater part of handle and some parts of rim and body missing.

Terracotta-red clay containing many tempering particles. Lip roughly flattened on top, with fairly sharp edges. Handle flat, 0.045 m. wide, *ca.* 0.01 m. thick. Bottom flattened. Surface largely worn away, but traces of painted decoration in dull black can be distinguished. On interior below rim was a festoon-like pattern of

double arcs or loops—there were probably 12 such units in the circuit. On the exterior below the lip was a corresponding border of triple triangles or zigzags, apices toward the top; here, too, there were apparently 12 units in the complete design. It is likely that the flat top of the handle was also decorated.

**5.** Twin bowls, probably handmade, connected by solid cylindrical strut and by handle (Pl. 37).

A (to left): h. *ca.* 0.116 m.; d. of rim *ca.* 0.185 m.; d. of body *ca.* 0.178 m.; d. of flat bottom 0.062 m. b (to right): h. 0.103 m. to 0.107 m.; d. of rim *ca.* 0.183 m.; d. of body *ca.* 0.173 m.; d. of bottom *ca.* 0.06 m. Handle: h. *ca.* 0.03 m.; w. 0.038 m.; th. 0.009 m. Restored from many fragments; considerable parts of rim and body missing.

Terracotta-red clay containing a good many small dark tempering particles. Surface badly damaged: was certainly smoothed, probably also slipped. Spreading rim with slightly rounded lip. On exterior below rim is a zone bordered by a broad line above and below; it still preserves traces of a pattern of triple triangles, or rather zigzag lines, in dull purplish-black paint. The interior of the rim may also have been decorated, but the pattern is not recognizable.

**6.** Large wheelmade ovoid jar with narrow mouth and neck and two horizontally set handles (Pl. 38).

H. 0.467 m.; d. of rim 0.13 m.; d. of neck *ca.* 0.11 m.; d. of body 0.497 m.; d. of flat bottom 0.095 m. Reconstructed from innumerable small fragments; a bit of rim and some parts of body missing. Surface has suffered much damage.

Grayish-tan clay containing numerous white particles of tempering matter. Surface smoothed and possibly slipped. Spreading rim with plain lip. Inside of lip, outside of neck, and a zone *ca.* 0.06 m. wide on shoulder coated solidly in black paint showing some traces of luster. Below are four broad horizontal bands in the same

pigment; the lowest, at the level of the handles, as it crosses the latter, divides into two stripes. The paint is crackled here and there, and in some places it shows reddish blushes. It was no doubt originally a glaze of reasonably good quality.

7. Neck of large wheelmade jar similar to No. 6 in shape (Pl. 38).

D. of rim 0.16 m.; d. of neck *ca.* 0.112 m. Repaired from three fragments. Vast numbers of small disintegrating fragments from the body, but the edges of the fractures are so crumbling and powdery that mending is impracticable.

Pinkish-tan clay with particles of tempering matter. Surface smoothed and coated with grayish slip. On interior of rim a festoon-like series of six arc-shaped figures painted in solid color. On exterior below neck a broad band, likewise in dull black. The pigment was probably once a glaze, but its luster has vanished. The fragments show that there were other similar horizontal bands lower down on body.

8. Fairly large wheelmade ewer of elegant form, with one round vertical handle (Pl. 38).

H. 0.324 m. to 0.327 m.; d. of rim 0.105 m.; d. of neck 0.045 m.; d. of body 0.203 m.; d. of stem *ca.* 0.075 m.; d. of base 0.083 m. Restored from many fragments, with considerable gaps here and there.

Fine tan clay. Surface smoothed and slipped. Broad horizontal rim bending down in curving flange along outer edge. Heavy round handle, *ca.* 0.019 m. thick. Raised ridge at junction of neck and body. Base flat on bottom. Interior and exterior of rim and all of neck coated solidly with lustrous black paint. On shoulder below plastic ridge a zone, bordered underneath by broad horizontal band, is decorated with fine parallel curving vertical lines, sometimes called a trickle pattern. Still lower is another broad expanse painted in solid color and toward bottom of vessel two further zones framed by horizontal lines and filled with the

same pattern as above. The closest analogy in shape is the ewer from the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae<sup>3</sup> and a comparable trickle pattern occurs on an amphora from the same shaft grave.<sup>4</sup>

9. Fragment of rim and body of wheelmade narrow-mouthed jar (Pl. 38) with handle (or possibly two or even three handles) set vertically high on shoulder.

H. of fragment 0.146 m.; d. of rim 0.124 m.; d. of neck 0.109 m. Put together from 12 pieces.

Fine pinkish-tan clay. Surface smoothed, coated with creamy slip which is badly worn away. Interior and exterior of rim and neck coated in solid color. Broad shoulder zone, bordered below by three horizontal bands, contained simple linear decoration in thick strokes, but design is not clearly recognizable, possibly a racquet motive filled with crosshatching. The medium is a streaky brownish-black paint with blotches of reddish-brown. As preserved the paint is dull, but it was probably once lustrous. On its upper surface, between bordering lines, handle bore a longitudinal wavy stripe.

The sherds include many fragments of several large coarse jars apparently similar to No. 6 in shape, some still showing traces of horizontal bands, others undecorated. One vessel, with two large handles attached at upper end to rim, has a fairly regular ellipsoid mouth (Pl. 38, a). The crumbling state of all this material precludes mending. Some pieces seem to be from a small brazier with rim bent back above handle for protection against the heat of the charcoal fire. The only other piece worth noting is a peculiar hollow pedestal (Pl. 38, b), almost conical in shape, wheelmade, of fine tan clay, with traces of slip and remains of narrow horizontal bands along exterior and interior of lower edge. It evidently supported a shallow open vessel solidly coated with reddish-brown somewhat lustrous paint on the interior. Apparently of Early Mycenaean fabric.

Among the foregoing pots Nos. 1 to 5 are handmade products in Mattpainted Ware, and there can be no doubt that they must be assigned to the Middle Helladic

<sup>3</sup> Karo, *Schachtgräber*, No. 945, pl. CLXXV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 956.



Period. Nos. 6 and 7, tall ovoid jars with narrow mouth, are wheelthrown and display simple decoration of horizontal bands in paint that once possessed luster. The shape has parallels in the later stages of Middle Helladic when the use of glaze was already becoming known;<sup>5</sup> and these two vessels may safely be attributed to a pre-Mycenaean phase. The ewer, No. 8, is of course a real Mycenaean product, which, except for details of rim and handle, may be compared to the ewer from the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, as mentioned above. The decoration, too, finds an analogy in the trickle pattern represented on a jar from the Sixth Shaft Grave; and our ewer clearly takes its place in an Early Mycenaean milieu. The fragment described under No. 9 is also from a wheelmade Mycenaean pot: it looks later in style than the ewer, though its state of preservation does not permit a hard and fast judgment. In any event, on the analogy of other tholoi, there may have been several successive burials in the tomb, and this pot does not necessarily belong to the oldest interment.

Since all previously known tholoi on the Greek mainland are now generally agreed to date at the earliest from Late Helladic II, the presence of a preponderating group of Middle Helladic pots in the tomb near Pylos is a phenomenon that calls for more than passing attention in connection with the history of this type of sepulture. I do not see how the conclusion can be avoided that inhabitants of continental Greece before the end of the Middle Bronze Age were already familiar with the construction of underground tholoi. It may be argued that southwestern Messenia was a backward region in which Mattpainted pottery continued to be made and used long after Mycenaean civilization had developed and begun to flourish in Argolis. But recent archaeological exploration has revealed a different picture. A cemetery of chamber tombs at Voly-midia above the village of Chora, where excavations are now being conducted by my colleague, Professor Sp. Marinatos, has yielded substantial numbers of pots assignable to Late Helladic I, without admixture of Mattpainted Ware, and it looks as if the sequence of Middle and Late Helladic in western Messenia is the same as that in eastern Peloponnesus. There are indications that similar evidence will be found at other Messenian sites.

Many views have been expressed regarding the source from which the tholos tomb was introduced into the Mycenaean world. Some have rejected the theory of its importation from abroad, and have held it the product of local invention and ingenuity. Others have sought its primal home variously across a vast region stretching from the Middle and Near East through Egypt and Libya, Crete, and even as far afield as Spain. The appearance of a tholos in mainland Greece as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century B. C. is a new factor that will henceforth have to be taken into account in researches on the problem of the origin of the beehive tomb.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

CARL W. BLEGEN

<sup>5</sup> Dr. J. L. Caskey informs me that fragments of similar vessels have been found in a stratified Middle Helladic deposit at Lerna. Some sherds bearing decoration in the same kind of lustrous paint are illustrated in the preliminary report: *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 8, f and p. 30.

## THE ROMAN GOVERNOR'S PERMISSION FOR A DECREE OF THE POLIS

“**M**AKING his native city at home and abroad obedient to the (Roman) rulers (the local statesman) ought not to go so far as to lower its dignity, nor as to submit the neck to the halter when the leg has been bound, as some, who refer even insignificant matters as well as more important questions to the (Roman) governors, bring the reproach of servility upon it, nay rather destroy completely the city government by demoralizing, discouraging and rendering it powerless everywhere. For just as those who have grown accustomed neither to eat nor to bathe without permission of a physician do not enjoy even as much health as nature does give them, so those who invite the (Roman) governor's decision upon every decree which the city council has passed and upon every privilege accorded in the routine administration of the polis, force the governors to be their masters more than (the governors) wish.”<sup>1</sup>

The last words, to which I here give a new interpretation by assuming two cases of hendiadys, read in Greek as follows: οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἡγεμονικὴν κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βούλονται δεσπότας εἶναι τοὺς ἡγουμένους.

The passage indicates that in the time of Plutarch there was no clear rule as to just what enactments of the polis had to be submitted to the Roman government for its approval. Apparently the more important (μείζω) enactments needed to be submitted, but the cities were submitting more than the Roman government required or desired. The growing control by Rome resulted from psychological attitudes in the Greek polis, attitudes Plutarch denounced. The cities were afraid that without moral support from the Roman governor they could not control their own local magnates (πρώτοι) who were not submissive to enactments of the local government, unless the enactments were approved by the governor. Thus the cities acquired the habit of submitting even insignificant enactments.

In 1900 in an influential article on the inscription now to be cited from Heberdey's edition, *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, Vienna, 1912, No. 19, Th. Mommsen,<sup>2</sup> pointing to the rôle of the governor in this inscription and in the documents on the Opramoas

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Political Precepts*, 814 e-815 a (ed. Bernadakis, *Moralia* V). Some of the problems connected with this passage have been treated in Chapter V of my book, *The Ruling Power: a Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides*, published as Part 4 of the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XLIII, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> “Volksbeschluss der Ephesier zu Ehren des Kaisers Antoninus Pius,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, III, 1900, pp. 1-8.



Monument at Rhodiapolis,<sup>3</sup> concluded that the ordinary measures of a community were not laid before the governor, but that extraordinary measures required his consent. Perhaps the same important qualification is to be understood in David Magie's far more sweeping statement, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, p. 641, "The enactments <of a Greek city> had to be approved by the Roman governor." In note 29 on p. 1504 Magie supports his statement with references to five inscriptions. One document, cited in evidence by Magie, is the inscription *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, No. 19, containing an Ephesian decree and a letter of enthusiastic support from the proconsul. The Ephesians have voted to celebrate the birthday of the emperor Antoninus Pius on a lavish scale with a cash distribution to every citizen out of public funds. In his letter the proconsul approves this perennial demonstration of loyalty with words which read as follows: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖν, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς, ὥσπερ [ἀν] | ἐ<ι> αὐτὸς εἰσηγησάμενος ἔτυχ<ο>ν, νενομοθετήσθω.<sup>4</sup>

If I am not mistaken, the proconsul says, "Let also these articles stand enacted by you: such action seems to me as right and fine as if I had just sponsored the articles myself." The word *νενομοθετήσθω* does not mean that the articles shall be enacted into Roman law; it is a hortatory perfect imperative, followed by the dative of agency (*ὑμεῖν*). It refers to the law of Ephesus. The Ephesians cleared with the governor after enacting this important law which would impose a permanent drain upon the city finances, but their behavior in so important a question is no indication that they were in the habit of consulting with him in every case. After all, not every decree is accompanied by a letter of approval from a Roman governor.

A second case cited by Magie occurs in another inscription at Ephesus, *S.I.G.*, 867 with three documents, of which the first may be rendered freely:

[C. Po]pilius Carus Peto [proconsul says:] "I learned from the decree sent to me by the splendid city of the Ephesians that the *clarissimi proconsules*, my predecessors, made the days of the festival of the Artemisia holidays and that they proclaimed it by edict. Therefore I too considered it necessary in reverence to the goddess and in honor of the most splendid city of the Ephesians to proclaim in an edict that these days shall be holidays and that the *iustitium* for the same days shall be preserved, those of the festal assembly over which T. Aelius Marcianus Priscus the agonotheite, son of Aelius Priscus, presides, a most respectable man worthy of every honor and commendation."

An Ephesian decree engraved below the proconsul's edict declares the whole month a holiday but makes no reference to the proconsul. The Ephesian decree, of course, merely creates local Ephesian law.

There is in my opinion a clear difference between the action taken by the governor when the Ephesians submitted a request that he declare a holiday during the Ephesian festival of Artemis, and the action taken by the governor when the Ephesians con-

<sup>3</sup> Now to be consulted in *T.A.M.*, II, 905.

<sup>4</sup> The iota of ἐ<ι> was omitted; the penultimate word seems first to have been written εὐτυχῶς and then incompletely corrected to ετυχον. I have added the word ἀν at the end of line 54.

sulted with him about their plan to celebrate the emperor's birthday with a distribution of cash to all Ephesian citizens. In the first case, he was expected to do something positive, namely close the Roman courts and make the holiday a legal holiday in provincial law. In the other case, he was not expected to do anything but give his approval to an enactment by the polis of the Ephesians. In the latter case he permits a statute of Ephesian law to come into existence; in the former he creates beside the article of Ephesian law a parallel article of provincial law.

Other cases cited by Magie in note 29 on page 1504 are:

*T.A.M.*, II, 175 (= *I.G.R.*, III, 582). Sometime between A. D. 185 and 192 the city of Sidyma voted to set up a *σύστημα γεροντικόν* and to ask the proconsul to support actively the decision of the Council and Demos (*παρακ[λ]ηθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν συνεπικυρωθῆναι τὴν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κρίσιν*). They have enacted the law, and have asked him to make it an official enactment of provincial law. But this was quite pointless and the proconsul politely refuses to give them the *ἐπικύρωσις* which they have asked. He says merely, *τὰ καλῶς γεινόμενα ἐπαινέσθαι μᾶλλον προσήκει ἢ κυροῦσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ τὸ βέβαιον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν*. Neither the city nor the proconsul uses the word *ἐπικυρώω* or *ἐπικύρωσις*, which would have been clearer than his broad word *κυροῦσθαι*. He is using a general term, but their term *συνεπικυρωθῆναι* shows that what they have wanted from him is parallel action, an *ἐπικύρωσις*. If so, he refuses to make this an article of provincial law because such action as theirs requires no support: <sup>5</sup> there is no danger that their commendable action will be set aside. The normal reason for an *ἐπικύρωσις* was, I submit, the possible unenforceability of a good law important for the welfare of the city. I content myself with emphasizing in connection with this document that it was the Greek city and not the Roman magistrate who wanted to make Rome assume part of the responsibility for enforcing the law. The proconsul commends the law but will not open his court or that of his successors to all and sundry cases which the enforcement of the law might entail, not because he does not think it a valuable law but because he thinks that Sidyma is quite capable of enforcing the law herself, and because in a Roman court any cases arising out of the enactment could easily be settled on the basis of the law of Sidyma.

*Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, No. 27, of A. D. 104. The negotiations concerning the endowment of Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus. This case, which as Case I has been treated in my book *The Ruling Power*,<sup>6</sup> Chapter VII, "Roman Declarations Protecting Greek Endowments," falls into a special category. The donor has asked that the endowment be not only ratified by the city but also secured with supplementary ratifications (*ἐπι[κυ]ρωθῆναι*) by the governor and his legate. The latter grant the

<sup>5</sup> The word *βέβαιον* certainly suggests the word *βεβαιῶ*, which belongs to the terminology of supplementary ratifications: see *The Ruling Power*, p. 979.

<sup>6</sup> See note 1 *supra*.



request as a very special favor, and they place the endowment under the protection of the Roman law and of the Roman courts of the province. In similar cases a declaration of special protection for an endowment is made sometimes by a governor, sometimes by a financial commissioner from the imperial government, sometimes by the emperor himself. As far as I can see, permission from the governor and his legate to make or accept the endowment is neither necessary nor really asked, but the supplementary ratification was most desirable and therefore requested.

*Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, No. 54, dated by Heberdey on the uncertain evidence of the lettering to about the time of Caracalla. It reads as follows:

Ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μητ[ρό]  
 πολὺς τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τρεῖς νεωκ[ό]  
 ρος Ἐφεσίων πόλις κατὰ τὸ κυ[ρω]  
 θέν ψήφισμα ἐτείμησεν  
 τὴν λαμπροτάτην Κνιδίων  
 πόλιν, τὴν ἀδελφὴν,  
 παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀναστήσαντος  
 τὴν τειμὴν τοῦ δήμου  
 Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Συμμάχου  
 καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἐν τῇ πατρ[ίδι]  
 ἑαυτοῦ

With a reference to Mommsen's article in the *Jahreshefte*, III, Heberdey interpreted the phrase κυ[ρω]θέν ψήφισμα as meaning a ψήφισμα which had received the permission of the governor. So also Magie. The next question would then be whether the governor gave his approval or took supporting action. Since there was hardly need of supporting action (ἐπικύρωσις) here, and since mere approval, if my theory is right, was not ἐπικύρωσις or κύρωσις, I submit that the phrase means "decree formally passed." Both νόμος and ψήφισμα were commonly used by Greek writers to mean "bill under consideration" or "forthcoming enactment," and the phraseology here reflects the language in which the presiding officer put the bill to a vote: "Ὅτε δοκεῖ κύριον εἶναι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα."<sup>7</sup> Neither permission nor supporting action by the governor is implied at all.

In note 32 on page 1506 Magie cites still another case of interest to us: *I.G.R.*, IV, 1414 at Smyrna. This records the gift of four βάθ<ρ>a to φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί. The authority is cited with the significant words ψηφισαμένης τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς καὶ ἐπικυρώσαντος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀνθυπάτου Δολλι<αν>οῦ Ἀουεῖτου, who is dated by

<sup>7</sup> Compare *A.J.P.*, LXXII, 1951, p. 218 and *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 350.

Chapot<sup>8</sup> around A. D. 206-210. Here we undoubtedly have a case of ἐπικύρωσις by the proconsul after a decree of the city council, but with so little evidence we cannot reconstruct the circumstances.

If my conception of the distinction between permission and supporting action, which are sometimes confused, is correct, Greek cities often wanted the Roman government to adopt something other than a sympathetically tolerant or hands-off policy; they wanted the Roman government to co-operate actively by parallel enactments which would support certain of their own enactments and so help them to enforce their law even upon persons who, though subject to the law, might be safe from local sanctions because of a privileged position either as high ranking Roman citizens or in some other way. The supporting action is sometimes called the ἐπικύρωσις. The free cities (*civitates liberae*) were not bound to consult the governor as frequently as the other cities, but though they did not ask his permission for their enactments, they may have been just as eager as any other polis to enlist supporting action from the Roman government.

*Supporting action* can be frankly mentioned because it represents an accommodation, not an infringement of Greek liberty.<sup>9</sup> *Permission* is usually granted in more oblique language and is less frequently advertised, because it represents a restriction upon Greek liberty.

JAMES H. OLIVER

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

<sup>8</sup> V. Chapot, "Données nouvelles sur la prosopographie de l'Asie Proconsulaire," *Mélanges en hommage à la mémoire de Fr. Martroye*, Paris, 1941, p. 90. Or is this Julius Avitus (cf. Magie, p. 1585) ?

<sup>9</sup> A letter of mere appreciation from the governor rather resembled supporting action. It has not escaped me that referring to the document which we now cite as *T.A.M.*, II, 905, III, A, the distinguished jurist Pietro Bonfante, *Bull. dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano*, III, 1890, p. 193, note 4, thought that the legate of Lycia Pamphylia was confirming the election of Opramoas to the office of archiphylax when he replied to the city, Ὀπραμόαν . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδέχομαι τῇ περὶ τὸ σεμνότατον ἔθνος φιλοτειμία αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν μαρτυροῦντω[ν]. But that was before Mommsen's article and before Wilhelm's study of the word ἀποδέχομαι, *Wiener Anzeiger*, LXV, 1922, pp. 129-136. The legate was merely expressing pleasure at a benefaction by Opramoas in order to encourage local patriotism.



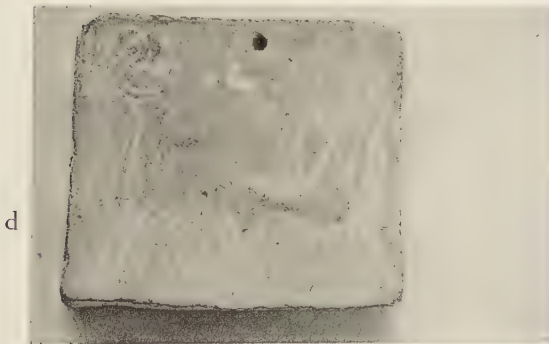




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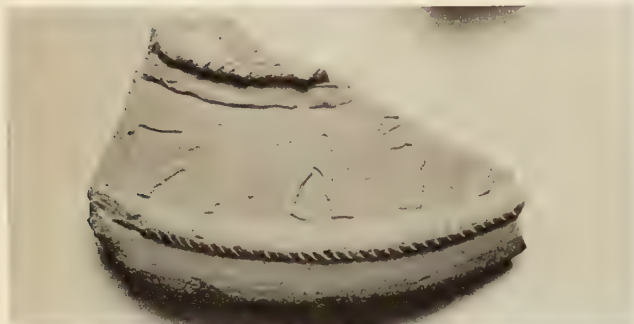
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SAUL S. WEINBERG: CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE: PRE-HELLENISTIC PERIOD





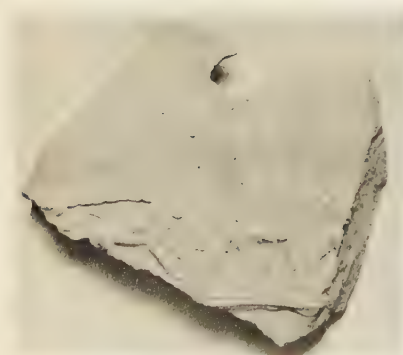
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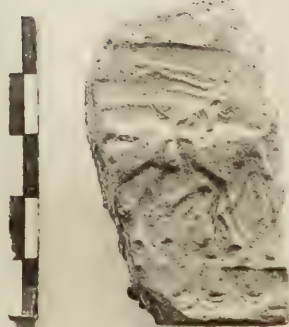
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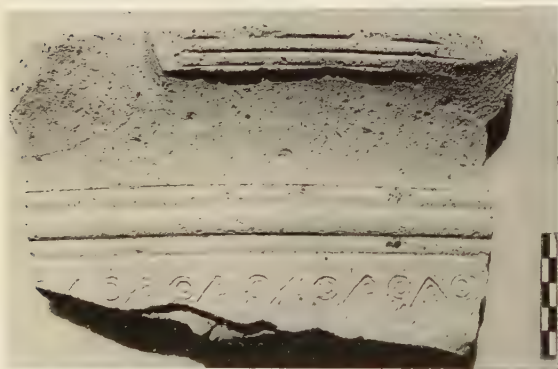
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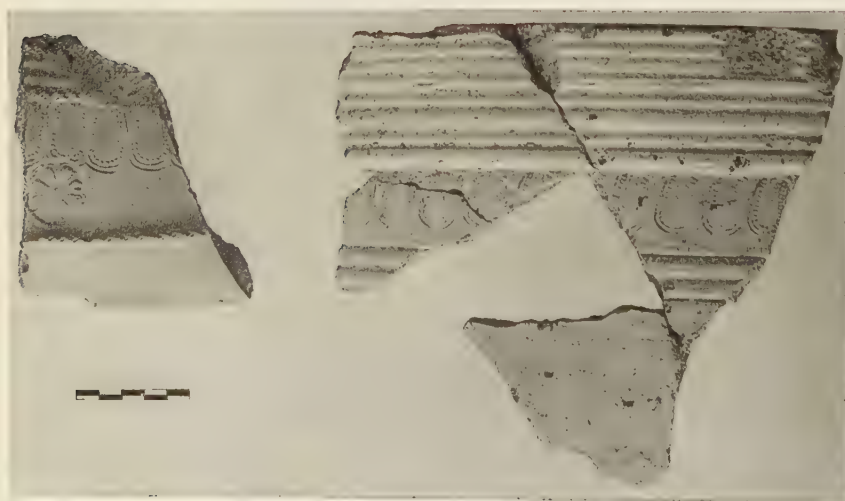
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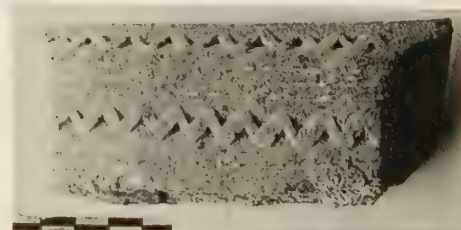
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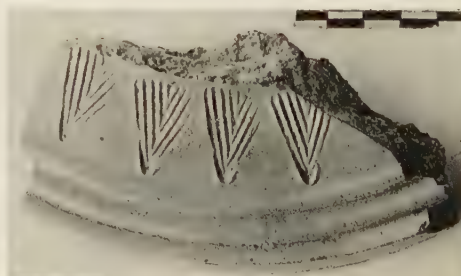
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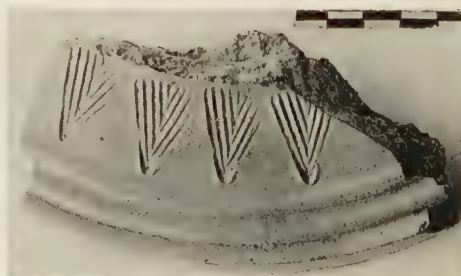
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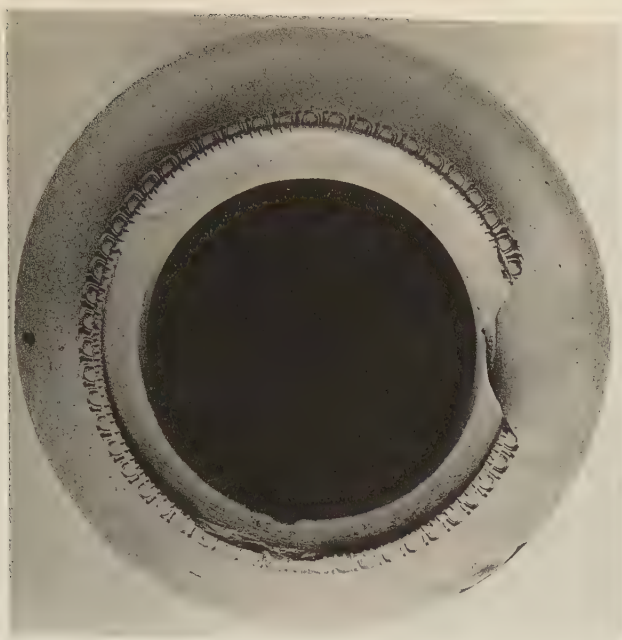
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a



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c and d Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

SAUL S. WEINBERG: CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE: PRE-HELLENISTIC PERIOD





SAUL S. WEINBERG: CORINTHIAN RELIEF WARE: PRE-HELLENISTIC PERIOD





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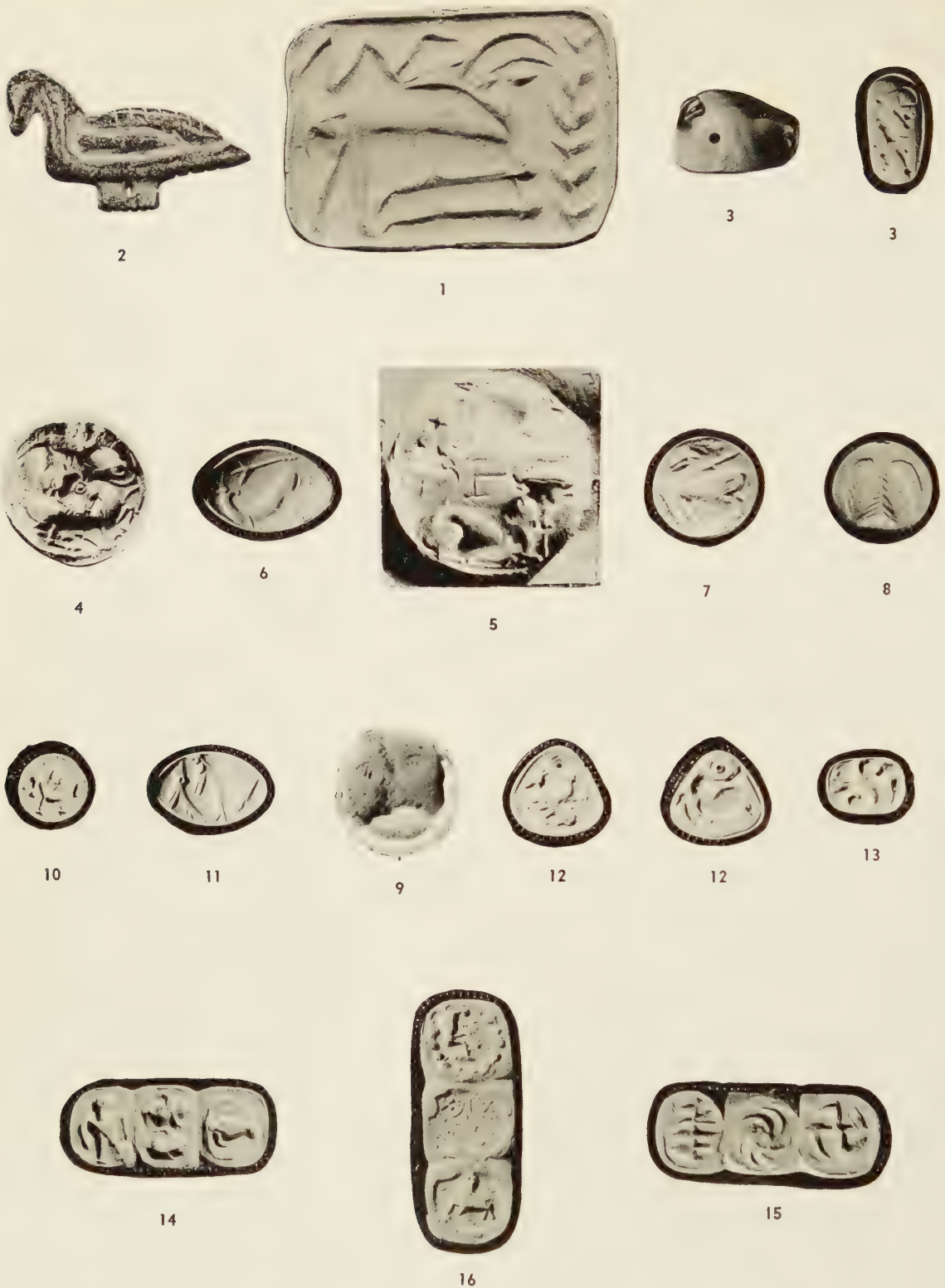


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CAMPBELL BONNER: A MISCELLANY OF ENGRAVED STONES



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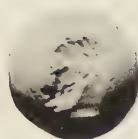
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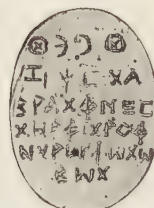
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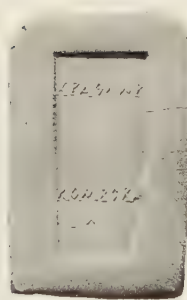
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1. Large Four-Handled Krater



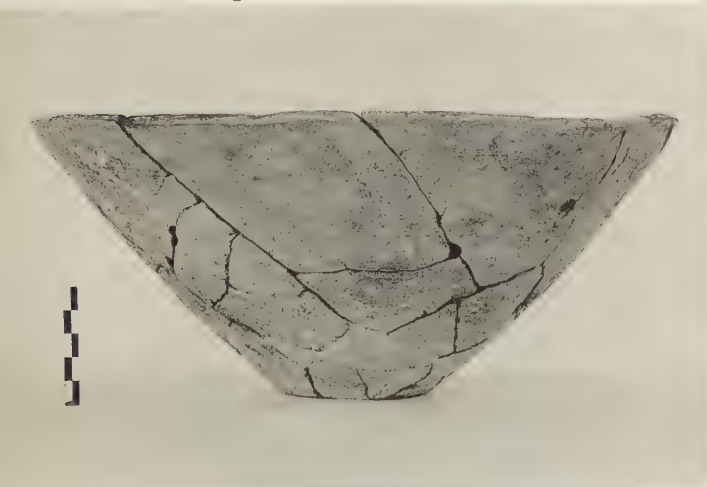
2. Large Spouted Bowl with Basket Handle in Matt-painted Ware



3. Smaller Spouted Bowl with Basket Handle in Matt-painted Ware



5. Twin Bowls in Matt-painted Ware



4. Large Flaring Bowl in Matt-painted Ware



4. Large Flaring Bowl: Interior, showing Handle





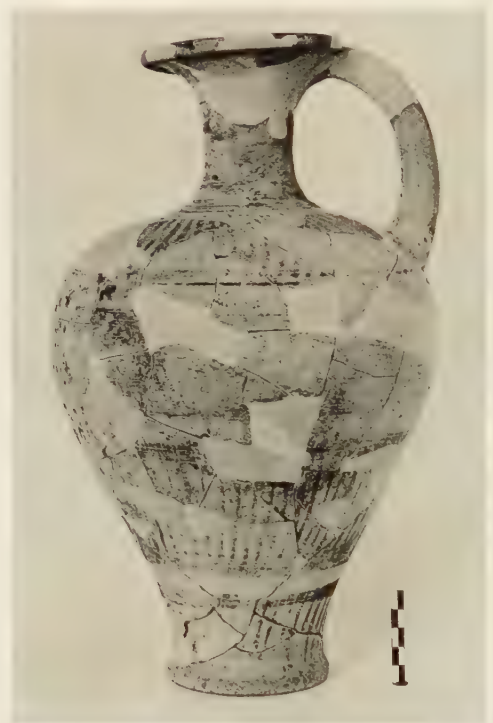
6. Large Ovoid Jar with Narrow Mouth:  
Decorations in Lustrous Paint



7. Neck and Rim of Large Jar Decorated in Black Paint,  
probably once lustrous



9. Fragment of Jar in Mycenaean Fabric



8. Large Ewer of Early Mycenaean Type



a. Neck and Handles of Large  
Jar with Ellipsoid Mouth



b. Pedestal of a Broad Open Vessel  
in Early Mycenaean Fabric







Above, Lioness recorded by Piet de Jong at Time of Discovery;  
Below, Palmette restored by Piet de Jong.

# LINTEL WITH THE PAINTED LIONESS

(PLATES A AND 39-48)

## I. DISCOVERY OF THE LINTEL

FIVE fragments of Pentelic marble of what appeared to be some kind of lintel were found in February and March of 1938 by the late Arthur W. Parsons while excavating a part of the original fill of the "Valerian Wall" to the southeast of the ancient Agora of Athens.<sup>1</sup> They were in the stretch of wall approximately half way between the Stoa of Attalos and the Propylaea of the Acropolis.<sup>2</sup> The discovery of the fragments was reported by Professor T. Leslie Shear<sup>3</sup> who dated them to the latter part of the fifth century B. C. on the evidence of both the style of the painting and the workmanship of the block.

## II. DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE LINTEL

Four of the fragments have traces of a painted band of palmettes, a fact which is not particularly important. But what is noteworthy is that the largest fragment has, in addition to the palmette ornament, the rear half of a lioness painted on a plane parallel to that of the palmette (Pls. A; <sup>4</sup> 39, a; 41, a).

The fragments show little sign of having been exposed to the weather, an indication either that they were set up in a protected position or that they were not used for a great length of time.

The all-over height of the largest fragment, shown in Plate 41, a, is 0.495 m. This is almost exactly 1½ Attic feet (0.328 m. + 0.164 m. = 0.492 m.).

When we compare the five fragments with one another, we find that they can be separated into the two following varieties:

- 1) Those fragments which have a finished horizontal surface immediately beneath the palmette band (cf. Pl. 41, a).
- 2) Those fragments which have a finished horizontal surface at a distance of 0.052 m. below the palmette band (cf. Pl. 41, b).

<sup>1</sup> The fragments are in the temporary museum of the Agora, Inv. A 818a, A 818b, A 818c, A 818d, and A 812. The Valerian Wall was erected in the latter part of the third century after Christ (cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332).

<sup>2</sup> On the plan in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 386, this part of the wall lies near the small circular building in the Eleusinion.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 221, fig. 17.

<sup>4</sup> The color plate is the generous gift of the author.—Ed.



The clamp cutting in the upper surface of the biggest fragment (Pls. 41, a; 43, b, A; 45, b) is unusual. The head of the clamp is 0.191 m. from the vertical (actually slightly inclined) joint which goes with the clamp. Now, fifth century Athenian clamps for wall blocks  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Attic feet high are ordinarily 0.26 m. to 0.30 m. long, with the cutting for the clamp running 0.13 m. to 0.15 m. on either side of its vertical joint. If the clamp of Plate 41, a, were symmetrically placed about its vertical joint, the clamp would be 0.382 m. long; but this is too long for an ordinary clamp in a wall block  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Attic feet high. Here, then, is an indication that the clamp had a shorter hold on the block next our lintel fragment than it had on the lintel fragment itself. Such a shorter hold on a block can only be explained if that block is not long enough for a full half clamp hold upon it (Pl. 45, b). The clamp of Plate 41, a, would hardly be left exposed. It would probably be hidden by something placed on top of it; and this is proved by the fact that the finish of the top of the block indicates that something did rest on the block.

Enough of the left side of the largest fragment is preserved to show that the side was finished for contact with some member. Further, we note that the side is inclined inward as it rises, indicating that the fragment was set up against an inclined member (Pl. 41, a). The fascia beneath the lioness tips outward as it rises (Pl. 41, a) with the same angle of inclination as that of the side of the fragment. The corresponding fascia of fragment 4 (Pl. 42, a) is perpendicular to the bottom of the fragment (Pl. 44, b). Both front and back friezes are perpendicular to the bottom of the fragment (Pl. 44, b).

The engraved lines on the fragments are of considerable interest. There are constructional setting lines: for example, that on the under side of the corbel, shown on Plate 41, a, at A and on Plate 46. There are engraved lines limiting colored fields (Pls. 41, a; 43, a; 46). The lioness shows in a number of places that she was outlined on the marble with a pointed tool (Pl. 39, a), and the same may be said of the palmettes (Pl. 39, b). Engraved lines also greatly help in the recovery of the pattern of an ornament; the engraved lines on the ceiling of the coffer (Pls. 39, b; 41, b, A) tell us that the ceiling had an ornamentation of painted lozenges. The lozenge decoration supplies important information, namely a possible width and length for the coffer (Pls. 42, b; 43, a; 47; 48, a and b), as we shall see.

Patterns of ornament are revealed not only by engraved lines. Due to the ravages of time, the marble beneath certain colors has suffered more than beneath other colors—a weathering process which often brings out the pattern distinctly.

The palmettes of the big fragment do not turn the corner in a ship-shape way, for there is not sufficient space in the corner (Pls. A; 41, a); the 0.03 m. in the corner (Pl. 41, a) should be 0.007 m. greater for a proper corner. This unworkmanlike corner probably indicates the use of a stencil for which the axial unit of the ornament was not an exact subdivision of the fascia to be decorated. To explain

the unsatisfactory corner, we may suggest that a correct stencil was prepared for one side of the coffer, and that this stencil, although the axial unit of its ornament was not an exact subdivision of the other side of the coffer, nevertheless was used for both sides of the coffer.

The palmette ornamentation on the fragment represented on Plate 41, b (cf. also Pl. 43, b, C), does not turn the corner with a palmette as in the fragment shown on Plate 41, a, but with the motive between the palmettes. The distance from the corner to the axis of the first palmette is 0.04 m. (Pl. 41, b), one centimeter more than the distance from the corner to the axis of the first motive between the palmette of Plate 41, a.<sup>5</sup> The two different methods of turning the corner probably mean that there were two distinct coffers.

The series of lines to the rear of the lioness are hard to interpret. They suggest a bird of some kind, perhaps an eagle with its head and tail turned toward the lioness, the rest of its body turned in the other direction. There is an early bronze tripod relief at Olympia, with eagles in one zone and an eastern goddess with a pair of lions in another.<sup>6</sup> The eagle represents Zeus, son of the Mother of the Gods, and the lions symbolise the power of that goddess; both Zeus and the lion are thus connected with the Mother of the Gods.<sup>7</sup> The other motives on the tripod are stock ornaments for the period, but the eagles are less common. Was the tripod at Olympia dedicated to the Mother of the Gods and set up in the Metroon at Olympia?

Good examples of color applied to marble thus far discovered in Athens are mostly confined to architectural motives such as eggs and darts, beads and reels, honey-suckles, plain bands, frets, and the like.<sup>8</sup> There are, however, three marble stelai and a marble disc in the National Museum at Athens decorated with paintings of various subjects; unfortunately all are in such bad condition that the paintings can be made out only with the greatest difficulty. Wiegand has published in color the rear quarters of a lioness, found on the Acropolis of Athens, which is very similar to what is left of our lioness, but his lioness is at a somewhat bigger scale than ours.<sup>9</sup> His lioness seems to be painted on plaster on a poros background. The color of the background of his lioness (he suggests that she may have been a sphinx) is blue, like the background of our lioness. During World War II, Wiegand's fragment was removed from the Acropolis Museum in Athens and stored for safety; it is still (1954) in storage. So far as Athens is concerned, our lioness is the best example of a painting on marble. The colors have faded considerably since the discovery of the fragments sixteen years

<sup>5</sup> The axial distance of the palmettes varies but little—0.0735 m. to 0.0745 m.

<sup>6</sup> F. Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 204, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 44-53.

<sup>8</sup> F. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, 1851, pls. XXIII, XXIV, XXVI; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 119 f., figs. 8, 9; VI, 1937, p. 42, fig. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Th. Wiegand, *Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, pp. 230-231, pl. VI, 3.



ago. Fortunately Mr. Piet de Jong noted the colors soon after the fragments came out of the "Valerian Wall" (Pl. A).

The finest examples in Greece of paintings on marble are those on the stelai from Pagasai now in the museum at Volo.<sup>10</sup> They date from Hellenistic times, later than our lioness. Examples of color applied to marble statues are strikingly evident in the case of the famous maidens of the Acropolis Museum in Athens. H. Schrader gives six good colored plates of the maidens, all earlier than 480 B.C.<sup>11</sup> There is an extraordinary example of gold applied to a marble head of Hellenistic date in the museum of the Agora of Athens.<sup>12</sup> A modern expert on gilding asserts that the gold of this head was put on with a brush.

In Professor Shear's account of the discovery of our fragments, he wrote that the color of the lioness was yellow and that its background was bright blue. To Professor Shear's color note may now be added that:

- 1) The horizontal bands next the blue background of the lioness were bright vermilion; the bands next these red bands were green.
- 2) The plain band heading for the corbel was red.
- 3) The background of the palmette ornamentation was blue, though not so well preserved as shown in Plate A.
- 4) The palmette ornament was probably gold.
- 5) The horizontal bands next the palmette ornamentation were also probably gold; the horizontal bands outside these probable gold bands were red.
- 6) The band around the background of the lozenge-shaped decoration of the soffit of the coffer was blue (Pls. 39, b; 41, b; 42, a and b; 43, a).

A fairly shrewd guess can be made as to how the lioness and the palmette decoration were painted. To aid the painter in the application of his colors, the outlines of the lioness were, as has been said, engraved on the marble with a pointed metal tool; in doing this perhaps a stencil was used. The animal does not seem to be modeled (in a painting sense), but the use of three tones in the treatment of the end of the tail is observable (Pl. A).

About methods of painting in the fifth century in Greece we have some information. For the encaustic process there seem to have been at least the two following methods:

<sup>10</sup> A. Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπταὶ Στῆλαι Δημητριάδος-Παγασῶν*.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, pls. I-VI. Colored architectural terracottas, colored terracotta statuettes, and the colored plastered walls of public and private buildings are a few of the other examples which demonstrate the love of the ancient Greeks for color.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 177, pl. 53, 1-2.

- 1) Colored waxes were applied to the marble with a heated spatula.
- 2) Molten wax was mixed with color to make a paint which could be applied with a brush.<sup>13</sup>

A hot iron was run over the painting to even out the irregularities caused by the wax. The hot iron also tended to drive the wax, and its paint, into the pores of the marble, thus not only giving the painting a good grip on the marble, but also preventing dampness from getting under the painting, which would cause the painting to peel. Then tallow was applied to the surface of the painting and carefully rubbed into the pores of the painting with a soft material; this helped to prevent the moisture and other injurious ingredients of the atmosphere from working their way into the painting.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to encaustic we find another Greek method of painting in the fifth century B. C. The colors were mixed with the white of egg and applied with a brush. This method did not require the application of a hot iron, for the surfaces of such paintings were smooth and the white of egg firmly glued the colors to the marble.

The colors <sup>15</sup> yellow, blue, green and red appear on our fragments. The yellow came both from a yellow earth and from a plant. The blue was prepared by fusing a mixture of sand, nitric acid and copper filings. The red was either oxide of lead (a by-product in the production of silver) or cinnabar, a sulphide of mercury.

To this list of bright colors should, in all probability, be added gold, as has been suggested above. That gold leaf was used in the fifth century B.C. is proved by the Erechtheion building inscription.<sup>16</sup> A sizing must be painted on the marble before the gold leaf is applied—the sizing adheres to the marble, and the gold leaf in its turn adheres to the sizing. Another method of gilding was to powder gold filings (sometimes to pulverize a rich gold ore) and to make the powder into a paint by mixing the powder with the white of egg; this paint was put on with a brush, and the white of egg was the glue which made the gold paint stick to the marble.<sup>17</sup>

The lioness seems to be a straightforward piece of encaustic painting; that is, the color of the animal and the color of the background were painted directly on the marble; there is no over-painting of these two colors. But the accessories of the lioness were painted on top of the general color of the lioness, in the manner of vase paintings of the fifth century B. C.

<sup>13</sup> Resin and gum arabic seem also to have been substituted for wax in both these methods, and sometimes oil was added to the concoction.

<sup>14</sup> For encaustic painting, cf. *Encyclopedia Italiana*, XIII, pp. 942-3. Encaustic painting is not used today on account of its technical difficulties.

<sup>15</sup> Vitruvius, who wrote in the first century B. C., records a list of colors and states how they were prepared (VII, 7-14, Morgan transl. pp. 214-220), but he does not describe how paintings on marble were made.

<sup>16</sup> "Two leaves of gold were bought for gilding the two eyes of the column" (cf. Paton and Stevens, *Erechtheum*, pp. 396-397, lines 41-43).

<sup>17</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIII, has a good deal to say about the properties of gold.



In painting the palmette decoration a different method was used:

- 1) Blue coloring matter was mixed with white of egg (to make the color adhere to the marble) and then applied to the *whole* background with a brush.
- 2) A stencil was made of the ornament and by means of this stencil the ornament was engraved on the blue background with a metal point. The metal point sometimes cut through the coat of paint, thus, in a number of places, leaving its mark on the marble (Pl. 39, b).
- 3) The blue background beneath what was to be the actual ornament was removed by stippling with a small metal tool struck with a hammer (Pl. 39, b).
- 4) Either the white of egg or some kind of sizing was applied with a brush to the stippled areas, to fill the pores and to make a good surface upon which gold paint would stick well.
- 5) Powdered gold mixed with white of egg was then applied with a brush to the stippled areas. Two coats of gold paint were required for a first class job. Gold is the most difficult of colors to be applied to marble. It requires a much longer time (six to twelve months) than ordinary colors before it is sufficiently fixed to resist the rays of the sun, the rain, and the small quantities of various acids which are present in the atmosphere especially of cities.

The above method of painting an intricate repeating ornament (such as our palmette) on a colored background saves much time, and an even color is assured for the background. The writer successfully made a colored copy on marble of a section of the palmette ornament. The copy and its stencil are in the temporary museum of the Agora. The colors are as bright today as they were when made five years ago.

A stippled surface does not always mean that the surface where this occurs was covered with gold. Take the case of the coffers of the Propylaea of the Acropolis of Athens. Penrose publishes two of these with backgrounds of blue:<sup>18</sup> in both cases the backgrounds are clearly stippled, while the ornaments are now whitish in color and very smooth. There seems to be no reason to doubt Penrose's accuracy in the matter of these Propylaea backgrounds; but in his text he says that he is not certain about the places where gold is indicated in his plates.<sup>19</sup> The many fragments of coffers of the Temple of Ares in the Agora of Athens,<sup>20</sup> which are stored in the temporary museum of the Agora, have well preserved backgrounds of blue, and yet these backgrounds are *not* stippled. The above goes to show that, as we would expect, there were different methods of applying colors to marble in the fifth century B.C. in Athens.

The workmanship and technical details of our fragments point to a date a little

<sup>18</sup> Penrose, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 4 and 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56, last line.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 41.

after the middle of the fifth century B.C. The nearest parallel to the palmette ornament seems to be the closely similar pattern painted on the sima of the Parthenon.<sup>21</sup> But we have no parallel for a coffer of this date decorated with painted lozenges. There is only one other example found in the Athenian Agora of an all-over lozenge decoration painted on marble of about the same date as that of our lioness. This is the case of an Ionic capital where the space between the palmettes of the volutes is decorated with small painted lozenges.<sup>22</sup> In the Temple of Bassae we have an approximately contemporary decoration of lozenge-shaped marble coffers between marble ceiling beams.<sup>23</sup>

Nor have we any parallel of about the middle of the fifth century B.C. for a painted marble architrave.

### III. PLACING THE FRAGMENTS ABOUT A COFFER

Let us try to place our fragments about a coffer.

Even if the fragments do not come from the same coffer, a possibility suggested by the two different ways in which the palmette ornament turned the corner, in all likelihood the fragments come from similar coffers; that is, it will suffice to look for a coffer which will explain the two varieties of coffer blocks illustrated in Plate 41, a and b.

The lozenge-shaped decoration of the soffit of the coffer tells us that the coffer was rectangular, with the long diagonal of the lozenges parallel to the frieze of the lioness (Pls. 39, b; 42, a, fragment 5; 42, b). If the coffer had been square, there would not have been small lozenges, but small squares, in the coffer. On fragment 5 of Plate 42, a, the band defining the lozenges starts from the corner of the fragment (Pl. 42, b). Undoubtedly all four corners were alike (Pl. 43, a). We would then have a certain number of half lozenges along the long sides of the coffer, and a certain number of half lozenges along the short sides of the coffer, though not necessarily the same number as those along the long sides. Just how many half lozenges should be placed along both the long and short sides of the coffer is the problem to be solved in trying to determine the size of the coffer.

The lozenge decoration may also be considered in a second way. Let us suppose that we start with a rectangular coffer, which is not excessively long in proportion to its width. A natural way for the decorator to determine his lozenges would be to draw the diagonals of the coffer (cf. Pl. 48). The angle between the diagonals must, however, be such as to make well shaped lozenges, not greatly elongated lozenges. He could then put the same number of half lozenges on all four sides of the coffer; but

<sup>21</sup> Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. VII, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Inv. A 1930.

<sup>23</sup> Cockerell, *Temple of Bassae*, pl. IX.



he would have to select a number of half lozenges which would make the size of the lozenges in proper scale with the structure of which the fragments formed part. It is obvious from the above that the width and length of the coffer are so uncertain that, without more data, the five fragments can be arranged about a coffer only in a tentative way (Pl. 42, a).

#### IV. POSSIBLE ORIGINAL DISPOSITION OF THE FRAGMENTS

From what sort of construction did our fragments come? In attempting to answer this question we should keep in mind the fundamental conditions which the fragments must fulfil, to wit:

- a) A decorated coffer is placed above the level of a man's eye. There is no reason for putting such a coffer at a level below the eye of a man, where it would not be seen.
- b) The lioness, a fairly elaborate and delicate painting, must be placed where it can easily be seen, that is, on the outside of the structure of which it formed part, and not too high above a man's eye. On the other hand, the palmette, an architectural decoration of less importance than the lioness painting, may be placed on the vertical sides of a coffer (Pls. 41, a and b; 42, a), for the coffer would surely be placed in a less conspicuous position than the frieze of the lioness.
- c) If the coffer is rectangular (as indicated by the lozenges on the soffit of 5, Pl. 42, a), then the long dimension of the coffer is parallel to the frieze of the lioness.
- d) It follows that the two different types of fragments (Pls. 41, a and b; 42, a; 44, b) must be placed on opposite sides of the coffer, for their palmette bands are both parallel to the long axes of the lozenges and therefore parallel to each other—fragment 5 (Pl. 42, a) could not have come from the sides of the coffer.
- e) As the front and back of the coffer were decorated with palmettes, the sides of the coffer would also be decorated with palmettes. This means that all four sides of the coffer were intended to be seen.
- f) Of special importance is the fact that the front and rear friezes of the fragments given on Plate 41, a and b, were vertical, while the side of the fragment on Plate 41, a, was inclined.
- g) The good preservation of the fragments indicates either that they occupied a protected position in their building or that they were used for only a short time.

- h). Are we to consider the lioness as a purely decorative piece of painting, or are we to attach some symbolism to her use? Surely the latter alternative is to be preferred to the former.

Keeping the above conditions in mind, let us consider from what sort of structure the fragments might, or might not, have come.

1) From the wall of a building.

If fragment 1 (Pl. 41, a) came from a wall, the height of the fragment, 0.495 m., would indicate that the building to which the wall belonged was of moderate size; for example, the ordinary wall blocks of the Erechtheion average 0.49 m. in height. As fragment 1 had a decorated coffer, the fragment would have to span an opening in the wall—it would have to be a lintel of some kind. But, as the height of the lintel was that of an ordinary wall block—main door lintels are two courses high on account of the width of such doors—the lintel could not have spanned a wide opening; the height of the lintel is correct for a small door not more than 0.85 m. wide or for a window about as wide as those of the east portico of the Erechtheion, where the height of the lintel was 0.485 m. (only 1 cm. less than the height of the lioness lintel), where the length of the lintel was 1.54 m., and where the clear opening of the windows was *ca.* 0.655 m.<sup>24</sup>

In the case of a small door, the decoration of our lintel would be too near the pavement because the delicate painted portions could be injured. The scale of the lioness and of the palmette would, however, go well with a window the lintel of which was not less than 4.50 m. to 5.00 m. above the pavement, well out of reach.

But how would our lintel be supported? The question is answered by looking at the under side of the lintel (Pl. 41, a). At A (Pl. 41, a) is a corbel which is decidedly peculiar for the soffit of a window lintel. The bottom of the corbel has an engraved line which lies in the plane of the face of the palmette ornament painted on the inside of the fragment; and there is a somewhat rough finish inward from the engraved line (at A, Pl. 41, a), showing that the lintel was supported by a projection from the jamb of the course below. This projection would undoubtedly be continued to the base of the opening. Such an arrangement gives us a splayed opening. A splayed opening allows more light to pass through the opening than if there were no splay (Pl. 45, c; angle A is not as large as angle B). And we shall see later on that the head of our opening was also splayed (Pl. 44, b). As the demand for more light is decidedly greater for a window than for a small door starting from the floor, we may claim with a fair amount of certainty that our lintel came from a window.

<sup>24</sup> *Erechtheum*, fig. 27. The underside of the lintel and the inside of the jambs were cut away during a repair. Originally both lintel and jambs may have been splayed (cf. *Erechtheum*, p. 45, pl. XVIII, fig. 1), a feature we shall find that our fragments have.



Let us now attempt to establish the size of the coffer in the bottom of our lintel. As the window had no great width—let us assume about a 0.75 m. clear opening on account of the moderate height of the lintel—the coffer in turn could have had no great length as the length of the coffer was the same as the width of the window at the top of the latter (Pl. 43, a and b). On Plate 43, a, the length of the coffer, namely 0.762 m., may be fairly accurate; but, it will be observed, the width of the coffer depends upon the width of the wall. The window on Plate 43, a, is supposed to be in a wall as thick as the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion, which is 0.807 m. thick. The east windows of the Erechtheion are in a wall 0.639 m. thick; those of the Picture Gallery in the Propylaea on the Acropolis of Athens are in a wall 0.885 m. thick.<sup>25</sup> We propose the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion as the wall in which to imagine our lintel, because:

- a) The Hephaisteion must have resembled in size the building from which our lintel came, for both constructions had wall courses *ca.* 1½ Attic feet high; both constructions were of moderate size.
- b) On account of the excellent preservation of the Hephaisteion, we are sure of the width and height of the east cross wall and of the dimensions of the pronaos in front of that wall.
- c) The Hephaisteion and the construction from which the lintel came were both built in Athens at approximately the same time; the date of the Hephaisteion is 449-444 B. C., which is the approximate date of the lintel.

It should be understood that we do not claim that the lintel came from the Hephaisteion; but, to demonstrate certain points, the east cross wall of that temple is an appropriate wall in which to suppose that the lintel was originally located, provided there were no columns inside the temple; it is known that the temple was not originally planned to have interior columns.<sup>26</sup>

In the wall of the Hephaisteion the coffer would be *ca.* 0.37 m. wide (Pls. 43, a; 44, b). In a narrower wall, the width of the coffer would be reduced to 0.285 m. (Pls. 43, a, A; 44, b, distance D-C).

Let us suppose, then, that the lintel comes from the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion, and that the coffer measured 0.762 m. x 0.37 m. (Pl. 43, a). Can our five fragments be placed around such a coffer? Although the fragments probably come from two distinct windows (as we may infer from the two different ways in which the palmette ornament turned the corner), yet we may imagine that the five fragments came from the same coffer provided they can be placed around the coffer without the fragments invalidating one another. Thus Plate 42, a, will illustrate how frag-

<sup>25</sup> *Erechtheum*, pl. XVII; R. Bohn, *Die Propylaeen der Akropolis zu Athen*, pl. IX.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, pp. 65-73.

ments 1 and 5 can be placed in the corners of such a coffer, and how fragments 2, 3, and 4 can be approximately located in accordance with the difference of their vertical sections (Pl. 44, b).

Fragments 4 and 5 of Plate 42, a (cf. also Pls. 41, b; 44, b) have portions of a plain vertical surface and of a projecting fascia below that plain surface, which in a way correspond respectively to the surface on which the lioness is painted and to the fascia below the lioness. There are some differences, however, between fragment 1 and fragments 4 and 5 of Plate 42, a. The plain surface of fragment 5 (Pl. 41, b) is well enough preserved to enable us to assert that there are no indications of it having been painted; and the height of the fascia beneath this surface is unknown but what there is left of it, on fragment 4, is not inclined to the bed of the lintel, as is the fascia beneath the lioness (Pl. 44, b). We may, therefore, assign the fragments which received little if any special treatment, namely, fragments 4 and 5, to the inside of the wall, and the remaining fragments, namely, 1, 2, and 3, to the outside of the wall.

Why was the corbel necessary? The wall above the orthostates being composed of blocks of nearly uniform height, and the lintel also having approximately that uniform height, the corbel lifted the head of the window 0.052 m. above the bed of the wall course corresponding to the lintel, an arrangement which, just as in the case of the splayed jambs, allowed more light to pass through the window than if no corbel had been used (Pl. 44, b). If, in the case of a window lintel, more light is wanted, the lintel must be splayed on its outside, not on its inside. Here then, we have a second indication as to which side of the lintel was the outside and which the inside.

The splaying of both head and jambs of the window probably means that light was wanted, perhaps badly, for the interior of a building.

As the lioness was on the outside of the fragment 1 (Pl. 41, a) and the palmette on the inside of the fragment, the block must have occupied a position in which both lioness and palmette were seen. A lintel in a wall fulfils this condition—the lioness could be seen by those who were outside the building, and the palmette by those who were inside the building. In fact, all four sides of a coffer beneath a window lintel can be seen.

Plate 44, b, shows how the spacing of the palmettes may have been arranged on the short sides of our trial coffer; Plate 43, b, B, indicates the way the palmettes may have been spaced on the long sides of the same coffer.

Does a coffer 0.762 m. in length (Pl. 43, a and b) make the frieze of the lintel long enough so that the painter had room for a good composition? If the frieze is too short, the frieze and, along with it, the coffer must be made longer. Plate 44, a, shows that a coffer 0.762 m. long would give the painter a frieze sufficiently long for a good composition, perhaps a lioness bringing down a bull.<sup>27</sup> (Compare Plate 43, b,

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 77 ff., fig. 54.



for the fact that the length of the coffer equaled the width of the window at the top of the latter).

On Plate 41, b, at B in plan and B' in section (cf. also Pl. 42, a, fragment 5) is an engraved line, and the prolongation of the line appears on the soffit of fragment 4. Did it define a field of color? Was it a setting line for a grille or for wooden shutters? Was it a constructional line to guide the mason in cutting the block? Apparently it did not indicate the vertical face of a block beneath, for on both sides of the line the soffit is dressed alike, and fairly well dressed at that. But the well dressed portions are too small to make the definite statement that the scratch does not indicate a vertical face beneath. The significance of the engraved line is not clear.

The two different methods in which the palmette ornament turned the corner in the coffer may mean, as we have mentioned above, that there were two distinct coffers; hence two distinct wall openings. Now, a good-sized door with a window on either side of it is not an unusual Athenian motive of the fifth century B. C.; witness the east portico of the Erechtheion and the Picture Gallery of the Propylaea of the Acropolis of Athens (cf. note 25). Is it possible that our lintel formed part of such an architectural composition? We shall see that there are indications that this may have been so.

Let us carry one step further the hypothesis of placing the lintel in the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion—let us see if a central door with a window on either side of it can be arranged in the wall. The first seven courses above the orthostate of that temple measure quite consistently 0.511 m. in height. The eighth course measures 0.494 m. which is within a millimeter of the height of the lioness lintel (Pl. 45, a). Course 9 measures 0.487 m. (measured in the opisthodomos because the vaulting of the mediaeval church prevented its measurement in the pronaos and the cella); courses 10 and 11 measure 0.42 m.; courses 12 and 13 measure 0.404 m.<sup>28</sup> Let us place the lintel of our window in line with course 8 where there is only 0.008 m. difference in height between the wall course and the lintel. Plate 45, a, shows that a central door with a window on either side of it is a possible treatment for the east cross wall the length of which was 6.253 m.<sup>29</sup> The clamp cutting in the upper surface of our biggest fragment (Pl. 41, a) supports the theory of a central door and two windows, for the wall block between our window lintel and the door jamb must be a short block (Pl. 45, a) and a short block forces a longer clamp cutting in the window lintel than in the short block, provided an ordinary clamp is used (Pl. 45, b).

Plate 46 gives the reader an idea, in isometric, of the way the front and bottom of the window lintel might look.

There is an important parallel between our supposed windows in the Hephaisteion

<sup>28</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-57 for the east cross wall and footnote 157 for the height of its courses.

<sup>29</sup> Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.

and the windows in the east wall of the Erechtheion. The vertical friezes of the lioness lintel indicate that the lintel came from a wall with vertical faces (which is true of the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion); and the jambs of the lioness lintel were inclined. These two features, vertical wall and inclined jambs, occur in connection with the Erechtheion windows.

We have discussed at some length the possibility that our fragments originally came from a window in a wall, because there is *only one* objection to such a theory, namely, that there is no precedent in Greek architecture of the fifth century B. C. for a window lintel decorated with painted motives. But the lintels of the windows of the east portico of the Erechtheion were highly ornate, for they were decorated with carved moldings and the moldings were very probably painted.<sup>30</sup> The contrast between a plain wall and a decorated colored lintel existed in each case. If the interior walls of a building were covered with paintings and the building itself were dedicated to some deity, it seems within the realm of possibility that the outside of the lintels of the windows lighting that building might be decorated with paintings symbolic of the deity in honor of whom the building was erected. A progressive painter would not hesitate to do such a thing, precedent or no precedent. There was no lack of pioneer painters in Athens in the fifth century B. C.<sup>31</sup>

2) But the wall of a building may not be the only place where our fragments could have been used. Professor Homer A. Thompson<sup>32</sup> has made the following interesting suggestion.

We have seen that the lioness is appropriate to the Mother of the Gods; we know that her statue is many times represented in Greek art as a seated figure, generally carrying a phiale in one hand and a cymbal in the other and accompanied by lions.<sup>33</sup> Jane Harrison publishes a terracotta plaque of this seated goddess, with a lion and bull frieze below the goddess.<sup>34</sup> The same writer refers to the bull-devouring lions in the *Philoktetes* (*op. cit.*, p. 50). Further, literary evidence decidedly favors Pheidias as the sculptor of the most famous statue of the Mother of the Gods, a statue which he made for the Metroon in the Agora of ancient Athens. A number of statuettes representing this goddess have been found in the excavations of the Agora. They strongly resemble each other and were almost certainly inspired by Pheidias' famous statue. In these statuettes, lions, symbolic of force and domination, accompany the goddess (Pl. 40, a).<sup>35</sup> Langlotz<sup>36</sup> regards as a copy of Pheidias' work

<sup>30</sup> *Erechtheum*, pl. XVII, pl. XVIII, fig. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Much later, at Pompeii there are architraves which are covered with stucco and then decorated with painted scenes.

<sup>32</sup> The writer wishes to thank Prof. Thompson for the valuable help he gave as the present article progressed.

<sup>33</sup> Jane Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-53.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48, fig. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Inv. S 731.

<sup>36</sup> *Phidias-probleme*, p. 66.



in the Agora the statue found a few years ago at Livadhia and now in the museum at Chaeronea (Pl. 40, c); he would date the original earlier than the pedimental groups of the Parthenon. It is tempting to think that the Mother of the Gods in the Agora was a commission which led up to Pheidias' appointment to the work on the Parthenon. Hence a date around 450 B.C. might well be suitable for his statue of the Mother of the Gods.

The fact that several small marble bas-reliefs have been found in the Agora representing the Mother of the Gods as seated in a naiskos (Pl. 40, b)<sup>37</sup> leads Professor Thompson to believe that our fragments may have come from a construction which had something to do with Pheidias' statue, such as a free-standing naiskos sheltering the goddess. Plate 47, 1, attempts to show what the monument may have looked like, with its lintel decorated with painted lionesses and its soffit embellished with painted lozenges. It will be seen that the corbel of the soffit permits more light to fall upon the statue than if the corbel had not been used.

There is an objection to the naiskos shown on Plate 47, 1; the palmette ornament on the back of the lioness fragment cannot be seen. But this difficulty could be overcome by opening the sides of the naiskos as shown on Plate 47, 2, or by opening the back of the naiskos as shown on Plate 47, 3.

If we would, in still another way, overcome the objection to a naiskos with solid sides and back, we may do so by changing the naiskos into a baldacchino which, with its four free-standing supports, is open on all sides. Plate 48, a, gives an idea of what a baldacchino might look like.

For both a naiskos and a baldacchino we submit the two following rather compromising considerations:

- a) The corbels seem unnecessary. To have no corbels and to continue the under side of the fascia beneath the lioness as a horizontal joint for the monument as a whole would have been the natural thing to do (Pls. 47, 48).
- b) The sides of the monument were probably inclined (because the block in contact with block Pl. 41, a, was inclined), while the fronts and backs of the monument were vertical (because the frieze of the lioness and the frieze of the rear blocks of the coffer were vertical; see Pl. 44, b). We would expect to find either all four sides of the monument inclined or all four sides vertical.

3) The corbel on the underside of the largest fragment (Pl. 41, a) suggests wooden construction. This possibility, added to the fact that the lioness is appropriate to the Mother of the Gods, led Professor Rhys Carpenter, a few years ago, to believe that our fragments might have come from a marble throne upon which the goddess was seated. He was justified in making this suggestion, for Greek sculpture records

<sup>37</sup> Inv. S 9222.

many thrones inspired from wooden chairs; for example, there is a bas-relief found in the Peiraeus<sup>38</sup> which actually shows the Mother of the Gods seated on such a throne (Pl. 40, d). Professor Carpenter would place our fragments about a coffer in the under side of the throne (Pl. 48, b). To make the coffer visible the coffer needs to be raised above the level of a man's eye; this means a substantial pedestal, but such a pedestal is quite possible (Pl. 48, b).

The distance from the top of the base to the top of the head of the statue shown on Plate 48, b, can be calculated approximately at 3.70 m. by using the thickness of the fragment of Plate 41, a, as a measure (0.495 m.). It will be seen that we are dealing with a colossal statue; so big, indeed, that, like the Lion of Amphipolis,<sup>39</sup> our statue would probably be constructed in courses; this, too, is possible (Pl. 48, b).

There are some factors, however, which seem to the writer to exclude the possibility that our fragments came from a throne:

- a) If our coffer blocks were used in the throne of a colossal statue, there probably was neither a naiskos nor a baldacchino over the statue; the goddess was an isolated statue (Pl. 48, b). Under such conditions, why were the sides of the coffer block together with the two carved lions leaning against that coffer block so markedly inclined (Pl. 48, b)?
- b) As the statue and its pedestal can be calculated at *ca.* 5.00 m. in total height (Pl. 48, b), the monument, on account of its large size, would require carefully prepared foundations; no suitable foundations in or near the Metroon, in connection with which the statue was made, have been found, although the building and its neighborhood have been completely excavated.
- c) A throne is broader than it is deep (Pl. 48, b). Therefore the fragment of Plate 41, a, and the fragment of Plate 41, b, must have come from the front and back of this throne (as indicated by the direction of the lozenges). As the drapery around the calves of the statue hid most of the front of the throne between the two carved lions (Pls. 40, c and d; 48, a and b), we are obliged to put the painted lioness at the back of the throne and the plain fragment, Plate 41, b, at the front of the throne. The corbels then go at the rear of the statue, where their employment cannot be satisfactorily explained.

The writer believes that there is only a slight possibility of our fragments being connected with a throne.

When we reconsider the three proposals as to how the fragments were originally used—in the wall of a building, in a naiskos or a baldacchino, in a throne—we see

<sup>38</sup> Berlin Museum No. 691. Jane Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 46, fig. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis*, pp. 35-41.



that the fewest objections are encountered when the fragments are supposed to come from the lintel of a window in the wall of a building.

#### V. LOCATION OF THE CONSTRUCTION FROM WHICH THE FRAGMENTS CAME

We have already mentioned the Eleusinion as being fairly close to the place where the fragments were found (the distance is *ca.* 45 m.). The Eleusinion is not yet completely excavated, but it is known that there were buildings in the precinct suitable in date and type for our lioness lintel.<sup>40</sup> The foundations of one of the buildings thus far excavated show that the building apparently consisted of a cella with a colonnade on the east side of it and another colonnade on the south side of it. The interior dimensions of the cella must have been *ca.* 6.60 m. x 13.60 m. As the east cross wall of the Hephaisteion was 6.253 m. long and was found long enough for a central door with a window (spanned by our lioness lintel) on either side of it (Pl. 45, a), our fragments could have come from the colonnaded building (or from some other building not yet excavated on the north slope of the Acropolis).

The place where the fragments were found does not by any means rule out a derivation from the Metroon on the west side of the Agora, for an architrave block from that building was found in the "Valerian Wall" just south of the Stoa of Attalos. Consider how the Beulé Gate was built of blocks from the Monument of Nikias! To the Mother of the Gods, the parent and protector of all living things, were intrusted the state documents in the Metroon. We have seen that the statue which Pheidias made of her had something to do with the Metroon, and that the lioness of our lintel may well have been an attribute of the goddess. In view of the strong presumption that our fragments came from a window, is it not possible that the lioness lintel came from a window in a wall of the Old Bouleuterion, which housed the state records and which was built *ca.* 500 B. C. but undoubtedly underwent numerous alterations before it was succeeded by the Hellenistic Metroon? The introduction of such a window might well have been made at the time the statue of Pheidias was provided.

Although it is not known exactly how the fragments of the lioness lintel were used or from what construction they came, yet, as the investigations in the Agora are still in progress, a definite solution may some day be obtained.

It is unsatisfactory to publish fragments for which many important details are so tantalizingly lacking as in the case of the lioness lintel. We trust, however, that, on account of the exceptional importance of the fragments, the reader will be indulgent.

GORHAM P. STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

<sup>40</sup> J. Frazer, *Pausanias*, I, 14, 3; II, pp. 119 ff.; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 134-6.

# INDIRECT TRADITION IN THUCYDIDES

## I

AT the opening of the Peloponnesian War Perikles encouraged the Athenians with hopes of victory, recounting to them, among other assets, their financial strength, in current income and in reserves of various kinds, including an accumulation of coined money which lay on the Acropolis ready to their use at the time he made his speech. The relevant passage is in the thirteenth chapter of Book II in the accepted book-texts of the author.<sup>1</sup> The dramatic date was spring of 431 B. C. just before the Spartan invasion of Attica. Thucydides reports the speech of Perikles in indirect discourse, making his main points in order, and, in three instances, adding explanatory footnotes of his own. The statement about income, and about money on the Acropolis, reads as follows: <sup>2</sup>

“And he bade them be of good cheer, since there were coming in six hundred talents by and large of tribute each year from the allies for the State apart from their other revenue, and since there still existed on the Acropolis at that time six thousand talents of coined silver.”

And now the footnote (as it is generally rendered):

“The maximum had been, in fact, ten thousand talents, lacking three hundred, from which expenditures had been made for the Propylaia of the Acropolis and the other buildings and for Poteidaia.”

<sup>1</sup> This text has been treated at length most recently by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, III (1950), pp. 118-132, and by Arnold Gomme, in *Historia*, II, 1953, pp. 1-21. See also especially Silvio Accame, *Riv. di Fil.*, LXXX, 1952, pp. 240-245; A. E. Raubitschek, *Cl. Weekly*, XLV, 1951-2, pp. 230-231; W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Cl. Phil.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 262.

This present article, in a condensed form and adapted for oral presentation, was given as the presidential address before the American Philological Association at its joint meeting with the Archaeological Institute of America in New York, on December 28, 1953. As it was delivered there and as it has now been written out in publishable form, the manuscript has been studied by both H. T. Wade-Gery and Malcolm F. McGregor, who were joint authors with me of our discussion in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*. Without wishing to hold either of my collaborators to agreement in details I am happy to say that this publication is made with their approval. I wish particularly to express my thanks to McGregor for many helpful criticisms and to acknowledge my indebtedness to Herbert Bloch for his invaluable assistance on the question of the manuscripts. It has been a source of great pleasure, as well as of profit, that I have been able to consult D. Mervyn Jones of Oxford by correspondence about the manuscripts of Aristophanes.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. II, 13, 3: *θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐναντὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδόντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτειδαίαν ἀπανηλώθη).*



This passage from Thucydides exists also, in part, in another version, different from that of the book-texts, which we know from the scholia on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes. The scholiast's quotation begins too late to report the current income; it commences with the verb *ὑπαρχόντων*, and gives the amount of the accumulated reserve:<sup>3</sup>

"Since there always existed on the Acropolis down to that time six thousand talents of coined silver."

And now the footnote:

"The bulk of them, lacking three hundred, were in fact still there, from which expenditures had been made for the Propylaia of the Acropolis and the other buildings and for Poteidaia."

The sense of the two passages is radically different: the book-texts have a maximum of 9700 talents, from which expenditures had been made for the Propylaia and the other buildings and for Poteidaia that reduced the actual balance on hand in 431 B. C. to 6000 talents; the scholiast's text describes a fairly level bank balance down through the years of 6000 talents in the reserve, of which actually 5700 talents were on hand in the spring of 431 B. C., and from which expenditures had been made for the Propylaia and the other buildings and for Poteidaia.

The antiquity of this scholion and its legitimate place in the manuscript tradition of Aristophanes are beyond question, even though a recent note by Arnold Gomme seems to disparage the value of the quotation from Thucydides by claiming that it was not in the scholion in its original form.<sup>4</sup> The alleged reason for assuming a later date for the quotation ("added by a later reader") is that "it comes at different places in the scholion in different sources." It must be emphasized that the character of the quotation, rather than the date (within limits), determines its value and that in this instance the different chronological strata observable in the scholia on line 1193

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193: καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ οὕτως "ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει αἰεὶ ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμον ἑξακισχιλίων τάλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἔς Ποτειδαίαν ἐπανηλώθη."

αἰεὶ ποτε V, ἀγει ποτὲ R

τριακοσίων R, τὰ V

εἰς τε τὰ V, εἰς τὰ R

ἀκροπο (abbreviated) VR

εἰς VR

Ποτίδ (abbreviated) V, Ποτιδαίαν (corrected from Ποτιδαίαν?) R

This text is that which Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I have printed in our study of the Athenian tribute lists (*A.T.L.*, II, p. 97, T38i; *A.T.L.*, III, p. 119). It is derived from the published facsimiles of the Ravennas and Venetus manuscripts, and differs from them only in the correction of obvious minor errors and of one or two late spellings, as shown in the critical apparatus.

<sup>4</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 1 note 2.

are of no importance for the value of the reference to Thucydides. The order of the scholia is here, also, of minimum importance.

Let us examine the relevant manuscripts. The Codex Ravennas, of the tenth century, is the oldest.<sup>5</sup> Rutherford's description of the scholia which belong on the same page with the quotation from Thucydides is correct, but his edited text is misleading<sup>6</sup> in that it separates τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς from what follows: εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον, etc. The correct arrangement may now be followed in the facsimile edition published in Leiden in 1904 by J. van Leeuwen. The scholion in which we are interested begins on p. 14v in the left margin opposite line 1193 of the *Plutus*: τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον αἰὲ φυλάττων τῆς θεοῦ. Its first business is to explain that "the goddess" meant "Athena." Actually τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς is a gloss on τῆς θεοῦ, just as in line 1189 τὸν πλούτον λέγει is a gloss on ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ. But using τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς as a lemma the scholion reads as follows: τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον τὰ χρήματα κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῇ β' οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἄγει ποτὲ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐπανηλώθη —τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον· ἐπειδὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειντο· μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὸ ταμείον ὅπισθε τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναοῦ.

The Venetus Codex (V) of the eleventh century has the scholia in the same order as the Ravennas.<sup>7</sup> This is now available for study in facsimile in the edition published in London and Boston in 1902 by John Williams White and Thomas W. Allen. Page 21v contains the scholia on line 1193 of the *Plutus*: τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δηλονότι· εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέφερον τὰ χρήματα κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῇ β' οὕτως· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει αἰὲ ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τὰ ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τᾶλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ εἰς Ποτίδαιαν ἐπανηλώθη· ἄλλως ὀπίσω τοῦ νεῶ διπλοῦς τοῖχος τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον. ἄλλως· ἐπεὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἀπέκειτο μέρος δὲ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὡς μέλλοντος προΐεναι τοῦ πλούτου:—

While both the Ravennas and the Venetus have the reference to "the goddess" as Athena, and while both tell the story of the money on the Acropolis, neither has the complete text of the references particularly concerned with the Opisthodomos.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the scholia which belong with line 1193 are wrongly keyed in the Venetus to the words τὸν Πλούτον in line 1192 (the key number being ξθ), as may be seen in the facsimile. But this is an editorial error on the part of the scribe and has no

<sup>5</sup> See D. Mervyn Jones, *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. II, 1952, pp. 168-171.

<sup>6</sup> W. G. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, I (1896), pp. 116-118.

<sup>7</sup> See D. Mervyn Jones, *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. II, 1952, pp. 168, 171-178.

<sup>8</sup> The words ὡς μέλλοντος προΐεναι τοῦ Πλούτου have been transposed here from the scholia on line 1195 (cf. Dübner, *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*, p. 613).



bearing on the place of the quotation from Thucydides in the tradition of the ancient scholia.<sup>9</sup> So far as Thucydides is concerned, both R and V are in agreement, not only in the essential wording of the quotation but also in the prominent place to which the quotation is assigned within the scholia.

An element of confusion appears in the Aldine *editio princeps* of 1498, for which Musurus used as his main source the Codex Estensis (E) now at Modena.<sup>10</sup> The notes on the Opisthodomos only are credited to line 1193. The gloss-lemma which explains that "the goddess" of line 1193 was Athena and which is followed by the account of the money on the Acropolis—including the quotation from Thucydides—is postponed, even past the scholion on line 1194, so that finally it follows the lemma Ἴνα ἔχων προηγῇ τῷ θεῷ from line 1195. The proper scholion for this line is τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν ὡς μέλλοντος προΐεναι τοῦ Πλούτου, as is made clear in Dübner's edition. The gloss τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς (with the Thucydidean passage following it) cannot explain τῷ θεῷ, for "the god" obviously was not Athena. In the Codex Laurentianus (Θ) of the fourteenth century, which has the same disposition as the Aldine text, the lemma for τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς has been abbreviated so that it reads merely ἵν' ἔχων προηγῇ, and the connection would be quite unintelligible without the rest of the manuscript tradition. The Ravennas and Venetus codices show how the correction in attribution must be made. The scholion beginning with τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς belongs to τῆς θεοῦ at the end of line 1193 rather than to τῷ θεῷ in the middle of line 1195. This was observed as early as Hemsterhuis,<sup>11</sup> and is set right in Dübner's edition, though Dübner fails to give to the scholion its position as the first of the several scholia on line 1193. The position is guaranteed by the oldest manuscripts (VR), and the vagaries of assignment that appear in Θ and in the Aldine text are important largely as editorial curiosities. They have no value as evidence for a late date of the quotation from Thucydides in the manuscript tradition. Gomme suggests (*loc. cit.*) that there are manuscripts of the *Plutus* whose scholia still need examination. There are, in fact, no other known manuscripts so old as the Venetus and the Ravennas, whose authority in the matter of disposition must here be counted as definitive.

One may well question, however, how the scholion quoting Thucydides came to be attached to the gloss τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. It is here that Jones, with whom I have had recent correspondence on this problem, thinks one may find a "later date" for the quotation. He envisages an original commentary which had for line 1193 only the scholia on ὀπισθοδόμον and the gloss on τῆς θεοῦ. A scholar using this simple text may

<sup>9</sup> The key-references were not original with the Venetus, but go back to its prototype. Cf. Konrad Zacher, "Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. XVI, 1888, pp. 518-519.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. D. Mervyn Jones, *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. II, 1952, p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> See Richard Porson, *Notae in Aristophanem* (Cambridge, 1820), p. 151: turbari in schol. docet Hemsterh. aberrantibus scil. librarii oculis a τῆς θεοῦ ad τῷ θεῷ.

then have been reminded of the Thucydidean passage, which he copied in at a convenient point. Thus an explanation might be given for the relatively loose organic connection between τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς and the scholion that follows, and at the same time for the use of a mere gloss as the lemma for a rather elaborate (if somewhat remotely related) scholion.<sup>12</sup> But this hypothesis means that the student of Aristophanes who wrote our scholion was antiquarian enough to be reminded of Thucydides. The whole scholion comes from the age of scholarship, and both its parts (if indeed the idea of a later reader is correct) belong to the corpus of ancient learning that has come down in the pre-Byzantine *scholia vetera* on Aristophanes. There is no reason to impugn either its validity or its antiquity,<sup>13</sup> and the assumption of a "later reader" has no pejorative connotations. One can speculate also about what cue reminded the reader of Thucydides, though there is really little profit in so doing. He may, first of all, have remembered generally the wealth of money on the Acropolis and where it was kept (which seems to me most likely), or αἰὲ φυλάττων may have led him to write κἀνταῦθα ἐφυλάττοντο with its consequent reminder of Thucydides and hence with the quotation introduced by the words καθὰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησὶ ἐν τῇ β οὕτως (this seems to me quite possible), or αἰὲ φυλάττων may have reminded him of the αἰεὶ ποτε in Thucydides's account of the Acropolis moneys (because it is so trivial, this seems to me least likely). The realm of high conjecture has already included, in the discussion of this text, such theses as those of Accame<sup>14</sup> and Adcock<sup>15</sup> that the words αἰεὶ ποτε in Thucydides (which they believe corrupt) may be only an echo of αἰεὶ in the αἰὲ φυλάττων of Aristophanes. But this is another matter: such speculation seems to me least profitable of all.

Which version of the text (book-text or scholion) is true to the fact? Can the fact be determined by any other available evidence? Which version is to be attributed to Thucydides?

<sup>12</sup> I wonder whether some such idea as that expressed here lies behind the cryptic statement made by Rutherford (*op. cit.*, p. 117) that "the quotation from Thucydides' text appears to have been copied in by somebody." The observation as given is quite superficial, as indeed, obviously, is Rutherford's further remark that "The variations from the textus receptus are interesting."

<sup>13</sup> On the scholia, see especially Konrad Zacher, "Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. XVI, 1888, pp. 501-746, and the admirably lucid account by John Williams White in the introduction to his *Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston and London, 1914). The Laurentian Manuscript (©) is said to have παρεγένετο instead of περιεγένετο (cf. Dübner, *op. cit.*, p. 613. Dindorf's edition of 1838, Vol. IV, Part 1, p. 354, even reads παρέγετο). This is not true, but this modern error of transmission will surprise no one who knows the frequency of confusion (and the palaeographic ease of it) between the abbreviations for παρά and περί (cf. Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 518). The Aldine and the Laurentian texts both read ἀπότε for αἰεὶ ποτε.

<sup>14</sup> Silvio Accame, *Riv. di Fil.*, LXXX, 1952, p. 244.

<sup>15</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 7, as reported by Gomme.



## II

It is axiomatic that our book-texts are usually superior to quotations, and for this reason there have been generations of scholars (including our own) who have not questioned the supposed maximum of almost 10,000 talents. Bury's history of Greece, published in 1904, states categorically (p. 404): "There had been as much as 9700 talents in the treasury, but the expenses of the buildings on the Acropolis and of the war at Potidaea had reduced this to 6000." In spite of the rising doubt that there could ever have been 9700 talents on the Acropolis at any one time, the third edition of Bury's history, published in 1952, leaves this statement unchanged and makes no comment upon it. The new evidence is largely epigraphical, partly papyrological, and has convinced most historians that the figure 10,000 in the book-texts is factually wrong. Beloch's judgment is a fair illustration: he does not believe that the 10,000 talents come from textual corruption, but somewhat paradoxically he concludes "Es bleibt eben nichts übrig, als anzuerkennen, dass die Angabe falsch ist; wer Thukydides für unfehlbar hält, mag sie für interpoliert erklären." He dismisses the scholion with some impatience.<sup>16</sup>

Busolt is discreetly silent about the whole business of the 10,000 talents. Silvio Accame has twice put forward the suggestion, in 1935 and in 1952, that Thucydides was confused, and that—really—the 9700 talents do not represent the maximum of the treasure on the Acropolis, but the sum of money collected by the hellenotamiai between 448 and 431, that is, from the year when the large public works on the Acropolis were begun.<sup>17</sup> The book-text, in his opinion, is nonsense, but he still insists that Thucydides wrote it. He too dismisses the scholiast's version, claiming that the accuracy of the Thucydidean manuscripts cannot be doubted.

On the other hand, the validity of the scholiast's version has been consistently upheld, now for almost fifty years, by Eugène Cavaignac.<sup>18</sup> Even before it was possible to use the full evidence of the tribute lists, he realized the impossibility of any grand total of 9700 talents, and for "raisons de fond," as he said, urged that the scholiast's text be accepted as the true text of the historian. He avowed that with the book-texts one's reconstruction of the financial history of Athens before the Peloponnesian War could result only in a monstrosity. He discussed both texts, about 1908, with Maurice Croiset; and Croiset agreed with him that the scholiast's text was perfectly admissible, but he warned that no editor could prefer to the Thucydidean manuscripts a text of a scholiast that was not itself more ancient. "Si ce texte était appuyé par un papyrus, ce serait autre chose." Thus M. Croiset.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 341.

<sup>17</sup> *Riv. di Fil.*, LXIII, 1935, p. 491 and LXXX, 1952, pp. 244-245.

<sup>18</sup> *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V<sup>e</sup> siècle, le trésor d'Athènes de 480 à 404* (1908), pp. 107-111. See also the reference in note 19.

<sup>19</sup> *Actes du Congrès de Strasbourg* (Ass. Budé, 1939), p. 90.

It should be made quite clear that there is here no question of "emending" the text of Thucydides, in the sense in which that term is usually understood. Faced with two different ancient versions, we merely seek to decide which version is Thucydidean and which pseudo-Thucydidean. Beloch raised the issue of "method":<sup>20</sup> "dass es überhaupt ein methodischer Fehler ist, unsere gute Überlieferung des Thukydidestextes aus den Scholien zu Aristophanes, die von Fehlern wimmeln, zu 'emendieren,' ---." This merely obscures the problem. The establishment of an ancient text is often a laborious process; generally speaking, however, we have no great cause to complain that the book-texts of Thucydides are corrupt. But this does not mean that individual passages derive a halo of sanctity from the over-all excellence of the manuscript tradition. A corrupt passage can occur in a very good manuscript. Conversely, a very good reading can occur in scholia which otherwise abound in error. The case has been succinctly stated by Alphonse Dain, in his book *Les Manuscrits* (Paris, 1949): "Il n'y a pas de bon manuscrit" (p. 155). Dain means that, when a reading is in question, then that problem is unique and must be considered on its merits quite apart from the excellence of the rest of the manuscript. How "good" a manuscript is may have no bearing on the value of a particular reading. This statement applies to scholia on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes just as aptly as to the transmitted text of Thucydides. The value of the scholiast's reading is that it is a direct quotation from Thucydides, not a paraphrase, and that in style and in content it rings true. It has been fashionable to dismiss the quotation as a corruption, as being from a "bad" manuscript of Thucydides, as being "scholiast's Greek," and in general as hardly being worth serious consideration. But even its imperfections are such as to insure that the transmission of its text has been reliable: the Ravennas has ἀγχι ποτὲ instead of αἰεὶ ποτε, revealing the copyist's attempt to write a form as he thought he saw it, without regard to the sense, and the Venetus has τὰ instead of τριακοσίων, showing that the copyist had used a manuscript in which appeared the numeral τ' (= τριακοσίων, and easily confused with minuscule τὰ), and which he perpetuated without change, as he saw it, by writing τὰ. Yet the correct text is in no way in doubt. These scholia in their present manuscript tradition go back to the tenth century (Ravennas) and the eleventh century (Venetus), and so are (within very narrow limits) as early as any existing manuscript of Thucydides.<sup>21</sup> In their original form, as we have already observed, they belong to the great body of *scholia vetera* on Aristophanes, and so give evidence that the alternative version of Thucydides, II, 13, 3, was known and available to the scholarly world in antiquity and that it has an equal claim with the "book-text" to

<sup>20</sup> *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 341.

<sup>21</sup> F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 205, 279-280. The date of the Venetus is here given as by D. Mervyn Jones, *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. II, 1952, p. 168. Actually the Thucydidean text C may be some years older than the R of Aristophanes, but both are now dated in the tenth century.



a place in the Alexandrian library. Some copies of Thucydides in Alexandrian times evidently preserved one version, some the other.

From one of these was derived the archetype of the book-texts, which Bartoletti and Powell attribute to the sixth or fifth century<sup>22</sup> (the earliest extant manuscript [C] is of the tenth century); one of them was copied in part by the scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes. To dismiss the scholiast's version merely as a "corruption" is to condemn the better rather than the worser text.<sup>23</sup>

Let us for a moment consider these texts on their own merits—as texts—and how they shall be translated from Greek into English. Beloch attacked Cavaignac's rendering of the scholion with great vigor, protesting that it is "sprachlich wie sachlich gleich unhaltbar." It is not true, says Beloch, that there had always been 6000 talents on the Acropolis, and our grammar teaches us that after *τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα* a numeral has been lost (he thinks *μύρια*) that the scholiast has corrupted into *περί*.<sup>24</sup>

We do not need to believe that 6000 talents had "always" been on the Acropolis. Always is a long time, and of course it is "sachlich unhaltbar" that there had always been 6000 talents. The question is rather how long a time does *αἰεί ποτε*, meaning "always, down to now," imply. Sophokles makes Antigone say (*Antigone*, lines 456-457) that the laws of the Gods are eternal: *αἰεί ποτε ζῇ ταῦτα*. In the nature of the case we believe that this is true and that *αἰεί ποτε* here means a very long time indeed. There is no span so great in any passage of Thucydides; though the long-standing enmity of Ionians and Dorians (VI, 82, 2), of Athenians and tyrants generally (VI, 89, 4), of Athens and Oiniadai (II, 102, 2), of Athens and Aigina (IV, 57, 4), and the long-standing friendship of Athens and Phokis (III, 95, 1) and of the Corinthian Aristeus for Poteidaia (I, 60, 2) are all characterized by *αἰεί ποτε*. Here in the nature of the case, when we think of Aristeus, "always, down to now" can include only part of his adult manhood. Aristeus had no predilection for Poteidaia when Aristeus was a babe in arms. Clearly, *αἰεί ποτε* cannot go back longer than the inception of the condition which it describes. As soon as Aristeus began to have political ideas he favored Poteidaia, and continued to do so, *αἰεί ποτε*, down to 432. Something similar is true of what Perikles said about the money on the Acropolis. There had come to be about 6000 talents on the Acropolis soon after the transfer of the treasure from Delos. Five thousand of them are attested for the year 450/49 in a papyrus known as

<sup>22</sup> D. M. Lewis, *Towards a Historian's Text of Thucydides* (Diss. Princeton, 1952), p. 13. Cf. V. Bartoletti, *Per la storia del testo di Tuciddide* (Florence, 1937); J. E. Powell, "The Archetype of Thucydides," *Cl. Quart.*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 75-79; *idem*, review of Bartoletti, *op. cit.*, in *Gnomon*, XV, 1939, pp. 281-282.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 230-231, for illustrative examples of a comparable double tradition in antiquity in the text of Aristotle.

<sup>24</sup> *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>3</sup>, p. 341.

the *Anonymus Argentinensis*, of which more later. Before that date Athenian treasure on the Acropolis was comparatively negligible. We have Thucydides's word for it (epigraphically confirmed by the record of borrowings during the Archidamian War) that there were about 6000 talents on the Acropolis in 431 B. C. Up and down during the intervening years the balance had fluctuated. Income generally matched expenditure, for the text tells us that with the help of this fund the great buildings of the Acropolis had been erected (we know that the Athena Parthenos had also been constructed—at a cost of 847 talents)<sup>25</sup> and that money had been paid out for Poteidaia. It was a heavy blow when the Samian War and the revolt of Byzantion cost 1400 talents. It was a gain when in 434/3 the Other Gods put their 750 odd talents on the Acropolis. But the fund had in fact been systematically maintained since its inception—as Thucydides says, αἰεί ποτε—down to 431, a span of at least 18 years. Lest this seem, even so, too short a time for αἰεί ποτε, one should call to mind that in 411 B. C. Hermokrates the Syracusan went with certain Milesians to Sparta to complain about Tissaphernes for not handing over all the pay he had promised. Inasmuch as the promise was first made in 413 B. C. at Sparta (VIII, 5, 5) and had become a concern of Hermokrates only in 412 B. C. (VIII, 29), the personal differences between Hermokrates and Tissaphernes about pay can have had a duration of perhaps one year, or at most two years. Yet Thucydides (VIII, 85, 3) says of them: ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν αὐτῷ αἰεί ποτε περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀποδόσεως (Hermokrates had always, αἰεί ποτε, down to 411, been at enmity with him about the handing over of the pay).<sup>26</sup>

There are other arguments that have been put forward against the scholiast's text of Thucydides's footnote. How can it be said that the bulk of the 6000 talents still survived, when ἀφ' ὧν modifies τὰ πλεῖστα and the building expenses (which certainly did not survive) have to be deducted? The answer, I believe, is that τὰ πλεῖστα, meaning "the greater part," implies its own substantive, namely, the whole of which the greater part was defined, and it was therefore from this continuous reserve that the buildings had been paid for. The cost of the buildings did not much change the reserve because it was constantly being replenished. Perikles indicated to the Athen-

<sup>25</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 341 note 66 and p. 343 note 84.

<sup>26</sup> Arnold Gomme (*Historia*, II, 1953, pp. 6-7) has now argued that αἰεί ποτε is inappropriate in the scholion in the sense required. To him "it means 'from of old,' 'traditionally,' 'of long standing'; see particularly iii 95.1, vi 82.2, 89.4. In the dozen instances of its use in Thucydides, it once refers to a short period (viii 85.3), elsewhere always to a long one, and vaguely long, not exact. Here it is required to mean 'for 17 years,' 'since the archonship of Euthynos.'" I take issue with him that Perikles must have had in mind here either the name of the archon under whom the league treasure had been voted to Athena or the fact that all this had happened exactly seventeen years ago. And, though Gomme admits that the reference in VIII, 85, 3 is to a short period, he does not bring out—as we have just done—how extraordinarily short the period was, nor the consequence that this one reference makes the conclusions to which he has come in his speculation about αἰεί ποτε quite untenable.



ians that the reserve was in an amount great enough to bring success in war. The note of Thucydides called attention to what the reserve had already done for the buildings and for Poteidaia. The grammatical construction may be illustrated by a simple English sentence, which might be illogical (to a grammarian) but which I think is not unintelligible. Let us imagine that we are speaking of soldiers who have fought a battle engagement with heavy casualties. One might say, for example: The great majority, of whom very few survived, perished utterly. Or, it would run in Greek: οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι, ὧν ἐλάχιστοι διεσώθησαν, ἀπώλοντο. If one argues that there are more logical ways of saying this, that ὧν should have an antecedent other than οἱ πλείστοι, that the language is "tortuous," I should agree. I should deny that it is ambiguous; but even if it were ambiguous, or illogical, I should not hold this to be a sufficient reason for rejecting it, were it to be found in a text attributed to Thucydides. Comment on the difficulties of Thucydides's style is as old as Dionysios of Halikarnassos, and, to put the matter quite bluntly, I doubt that any scholar who has read Thucydides could long maintain that being illogical, or being too brief to be quite clear, or being "tortuous," is a criterion that tells against his authorship.

Rather less needs to be said about Beloch's contention that a numeral is needed for τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα.<sup>27</sup> The numeral, of course, is τὰ πλείστα and ἀποδέοντα is a present participle in the neuter plural which modifies it. There is nothing illogical about the grammar of this, for it is about as simple and as straightforward as anything could be. Yet it has been claimed that the sense is illogical. Gomme avers that "the scholiast's words, τὰ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα, 'the greater part less 300,' do not make sense. Logic demands a *figure* which is short by 300."<sup>28</sup> Is logic so necessary? If we find that 5700 talents were, in fact, the greater part of 6000, and then write that the greater part (less 300) survived, do we mean that the amount surviving was only 5400? I have no wish to quibble, but even in logic I see no reason for demanding more of the Greek than we demand of its English equivalent. There can be no reasonable doubt what is meant when one has been talking about 6000 talents and then says that the bulk of them, lacking 300, are still on hand. The exception involves a single, not a double, subtraction.

On the other hand, when we turn to the accepted book-texts we find that this passage (II, 13, 3) is not good Thucydidean Greek. The reading τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο involves translating τὰ πλείστα as "the maximum," a meaning which it never has in Thucydides. I do not—indeed, could not—deny examples of it in other authors. They exist, for example, in Herodotos, and in Isokrates.

<sup>27</sup> *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 341. Gomme, in *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 7, feels the need of a figure. In his commentary I find it curious that he is willing to accept πάντες (if need be) in lieu of a figure, but not τὰ πλείστα.

<sup>28</sup> Gomme, *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 7.

But in Thucydides τὰ πλείστα, or any form of πλείστος with the article, always means “the greater part” of something. Hence the quotation by the scholiast τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα περιεγένετο is good Thucydidean Greek, whereas τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο is not. This seems to me fundamental. It is not surprising that this meaning of τὰ πλείστα as “the maximum” passed unchallenged in antiquity after the false reading μύρια had been introduced into the text. The ancients—from Isokrates down—would not have been bothered, in principle, by τὰ γὰρ πλείστα μύρια ἐγένετο, and this obtuseness to the niceties of Thucydidean style was in time the permissive excuse for altering a sound text τὰ γὰρ πλείστα περιεγένετο, which is intelligible in Thucydides, into τὰ γὰρ πλείστα μύρια ἐγένετο, which is not.

It would be strange that modern scholars should have accepted τὰ πλείστα here as “the maximum,” were it not that the consistency of Thucydides’s style with reference to τὰ πλείστα was first documented only so recently as 1950.<sup>29</sup> In *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I tabulated every appearance of πλείστος with the article, in all genders, numbers, and cases. The striking conclusion is that τὰ πλείστα is always partitive, never superlative, except only here in the book-texts of II, 13, 3, which on other grounds we know to be historically wrong. Only Reiske, in 1761, seems to have felt the stylistic difficulty of this passage. He felt no historical difficulty, for he had no way of knowing whether the total was ever really as high as 10,000 talents. But he proposed to emend the book-texts to read τὰ γὰρ πάντα (instead of πλείστα).<sup>30</sup> What he should have done, of course, was get rid of μύρια.

Yet in spite of this documentation, and the obvious conclusions that must be drawn from it, Gomme persists in thinking that Thucydides wrote τὰ πλείστα to mean “the maximum.”<sup>31</sup> I set forth below the full evidence: references alone apparently do not carry conviction, and I believe the matter of such importance that the documentation should here form part of the argument. Gomme says that Thucydides seldom needed to speak of “the maximum,” and that for this reason τὰ πλείστα or its equivalent “generally means ‘the greater part.’” The fact is that Thucydides needed to speak of “the maximum” with sufficient frequency to show his habit of speech in so doing—not seldom, but many times—and that τὰ πλείστα or its equivalent always (not just generally) means “the greater part.” When Thucydides wanted to say “maximum,” he omitted the article. This has all been put down in the discussion of this text in the third volume of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, but Gomme now writes (in 1953) that “there cannot be this difference between πλείστα with and without the article.” On the contrary, there is this difference, and of course the recognition of it, or the failure to recognize it, is fundamental to the understanding of this text in Thucydides

<sup>29</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 128-129.

<sup>30</sup> *Animadversionum ad Graecos auctores volumen tertium* (Leipzig, 1761), p. 18: πλείστα] f. πάντα (f. = fortasse).

<sup>31</sup> Gomme, *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 7.



and, consequently, to the understanding of the whole history of Athenian finance in the fifth century. Gomme says that "when the article is omitted it is because *πλείστα* is predicate (iii 17.4, vii 70.4) or due to the noun it qualifies (iv 26.4)." No one denies that *πλείστα* appears without the article in predicate position, and indeed Thucydides frequently preferred the predicate to the non-predicate position in order to avoid ambiguity in meaning. Even without the article it does not always mean "maximum" in either position, for the superlative has a quite normal meaning of "very many" and should sometimes be so translated. Gomme refers to IV, 26, 4 as an instance in which a form of *πλείστος* is given without the article "due to the noun it qualifies." The quotation refers to the loss of spirit suffered by the Athenians at Pylos: *ἀθηναίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρέιχε παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνόμενος* "the unexpectedly long delay in time caused them the greatest discouragement." The use of *πλείστην* does not here imply a maximum; there is no implication that this was the greatest discouragement the Athenians ever suffered; we may translate in English by saying that the delay caused them the greatest discouragement, but in fact the meaning is simply "very great." The idea of "maximum" does not arise, because there is no comparison, beyond that which is very nebulously implied, with other unhappy circumstances of similar nature. The examples quoted below will show many instances in which *πλείστος* without the article has some meaning other than "maximum," but they will also show that all cases of *πλείστος* with the article mean "the greater part." There are instances in which Thucydides went to some trouble to avoid the article when he wanted to say "maximum," and this is what we mean by saying that he has a style which would be violated by so translating *τὰ πλείστα* in II, 13, 3. To support his erroneous thesis, Gomme cites as his clearest instance the two references in IV, 31, 2 and IV, 33, 1 to a body of Spartan troops on Sphacteria. They are described first as *οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων* and second as *οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*. In commenting on the meanings of *πλείστος* with and without the article in these two references, Gomme makes the following extraordinary statement: "whether *οἱ πλείστοι*—*πλείστον* means here 'the majority of all the troops in the island' (as is highly probable) or 'the largest of the three bodies of troops in the island' (possible, but less likely), there is no distinction in meaning, but only of grammatical usage, between *πλείστοι* or *πλείστον* with and without the article." Such rendering of the Greek merits the strongest protest. The difference in usage between *οἱ πλείστοι* and *πλείστον* exists precisely because there is a difference in meaning. The first reference (with *οἱ πλείστοι*) means "the greater number of them and Epitadas the commander"; the second reference (with *πλείστον*) means "those under Epitadas, which were the largest body of troops on the island." What is language for, except to express such differences as these? Thucydides has been at some pains to get rid of the article in the second reference and has recast this sentence with a relative clause, simply because he wanted to say that this was the largest force of those who were

on the island. That *πλείστον* falls into predicate position is incidental; but one will see from the examples below that Thucydides frequently used the predicate position when *πλείστος* without the article was needed.

It is essential to remember that we are dealing here with a matter of literary style. We seek to determine what is characteristic of the way in which Thucydides wrote, not what he *could* have done had he thought with the mind of Herodotos or of Isokrates. We seek to determine not what was possible only, but what was in keeping with his character: *τὸ οἰκείον* rather than *τὸ δυνατόν*. Gomme cites, for example, a sentence from Herodotos (VI, 46, 3): *προσήμε . . . ἔτεος ἑκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσήλθε, τριακόσια*, and asks how else could Thucydides have expressed himself, had he used the same sentence construction. "We cannot suppose," says Gomme, "that he could not use this construction." I am in agreement that Thucydides could have used any construction that may have suited his fancy. He could, indeed, have copied Herodotos had he so wished. But we are not interested in this; we are interested in the style of Thucydides as manifest in the text of his own writings, and here they teach us that he would not have said *ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσήλθε*. Gomme has asked how else he could have expressed the same idea had he used the same construction. The best evidence is that Thucydides would simply have written *ὅτε δὲ πλείστα προσήλθε*. We have quoted elsewhere<sup>32</sup> a sentence in which Isokrates used *τοὺς πλείστους* to mean "the maximum" (IX, 28): *παρακαλέσας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς οἱ τοὺς πλείστους λέγοντες, περὶ πεντήκοντα*. Surely here Thucydides would have said *ὡς οἱ πλείστους δὴ λέγοντες*, just as in II, 97, 3, he said *ὅς . . . πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε* to mean "who established the maximum (tribute)."<sup>33</sup>

But the evidence for Thucydidean style is abundant and should be presented without omissions. The following catalogue contains every instance from Thucydides in which *πλείστος* in any form is used with or without the article:<sup>34</sup>

#### THE USAGE OF ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΣ IN THUCYDIDES

1. (I, 1, 2) *κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων*

As an upheaval, in fact, this was the greatest that had ever come to the Hellenes, and to some part of the barbarians, in a word, even to the farthest reaches of mankind (but cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Cl. Quart.*, N.S. II, 1952, pp. 129-133)

2. (I, 2, 5) *τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ*

Accordingly Attica, from the poverty of its soil enjoying from a very remote period freedom from faction, never changed its inhabitants (Crawley)

3. (I, 3, 2) *κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασ-*

<sup>32</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 128.

<sup>33</sup> See below, p. 201 (No. 53).

<sup>34</sup> All references have been tabulated from von Essen's *Index Thucydideus* (Berlin, 1887).



γικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεται

But that according to the several races (and particularly the Pelasgic) it was called most generally by their own names

4. (I, 4) Μίνως γὰρ παλαιτάτος ὦν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτίσας καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκρίτησε

For Minos was the eldest of those whom we know by tradition to have acquired a navy and he established control to the greatest extent over what is now called the Hellenic sea

5. (I, 4) τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἡρξέ τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο

He became ruler of the Cyclades islands and was himself the first colonizer of most of them

6. (I, 5, 1) καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἥρπαζον, καὶ τὸν πλείστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιούντο

They would fall upon towns unprotected by walls and consisting of mere collections of villages, and plunder them, and they made this the main source of their livelihood

7. (I, 8, 1) οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκησαν

For these had colonized most of the islands

8. (I, 9, 4) φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών

For it is evident that he came with the greatest number of ships himself and also supplied the Arcadians with them

9. (I, 12, 4) καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾤκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλείστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἔστιν ἡ χωρία

The Athenians colonised Ionia and most of the islands; the Peloponnesians the greater part of Italy and Sicily, and various places in Hellas (Jowett)

10. (I, 17) οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμειος

Those in Sicily, indeed, attained the greatest height of power

11. (I, 18, 1) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν

Since the tyrants of the Athenians and those of the rest of Hellas (which had to a large extent even earlier been under tyranny), the greater number and the latest, that is, except those in Sicily, had been put down by the Lacedaemonians

12. (I, 18, 1) ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὦν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάζασα ὁμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ ἡνιομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν

For Lacedaemon, though it suffered faction after its founding by the Dorians who now inhabit it, for the longest time of any we know, yet at a very early age obtained good laws and was always free of tyranny

13. (I, 23, 3) σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ισχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον

About earthquakes, which befell over the widest extent to the earth and were at the same time themselves most severe

14. (I, 30, 3) τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλείστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐπεκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ — —

For most of the period after the battle they remained masters of the sea, and sailed against and ravaged the allies of the Corinthians, until — —

15. (I, 33, 1) ναυτικὸν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν πλείστον

And, except your own, we have the biggest navy

16. (I, 50, 3) πρὸς τὰ νανάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκράτησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα

They turned their attention to the wrecks and

to their own dead, and they got possession of most of them so as to convey them to Sybota.<sup>35</sup>

17. (I, 54, 2) Κορίνθιοι μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός, ὥστε καὶ ναυάρια πλείστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσκομίσασθαι

The Corinthians had retained the advantage in the sea-fight until nightfall, and had thus secured a greater number of wrecks and dead bodies (Jowett)<sup>36</sup>

18. (I, 60, 2) κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλείστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο  
It was mainly out of regard for him that most of the Corinthian soldiers volunteered on the expedition (Jowett)

19. (I, 70, 5) κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξέρχονται καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν

When conquerors, they pursue their victory to the utmost; when defeated, they fall back the least (Jowett)

20. (I, 71, 1) οἶεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀρκεῖν, οἳ ἂν — —

You imagine that peace does not longest endure for those who — —

21. (I, 74, 1) τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνητώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀκνοτάτην

We made the three most useful contributions to it: the greatest number of ships, the ablest general, and the most unhesitating zeal

22. (I, 82, 4) ἥς φείδεσθαι χρὴ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον

Which you ought to spare as long as possible

23. (I, 84, 3) πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ εὐβουλοὶ διὰ τὸ

εὐκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνῃς δὲ εὐψυχία — —

Our habits of discipline make us both brave and wise; brave because the spirit of loyalty quickens the sense of honour, and the sense of honour inspires courage (Jowett)

24. (I, 101, 2) πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ἥ καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες

These Helots were mostly the descendants of the Messenians who had been enslaved in ancient times, and hence all the insurgents were called Messenians (Jowett)

Most of the Helots were the descendants of the old Messenians that were enslaved in the famous war; and so all of them came to be called Messenians (Crawley)

Un très grand nombre des hilotes étaient les descendants des anciens Messéniens, asservis à l'époque: d'où le nom de Messéniens, qui fut appliqué à tous (de Romilly)

I prefer to translate: "Most numerous of the Helots were the descendants of the old Messenians who had been formerly enslaved; and so they all came to be called Messenians." It should be brought out that οἱ ἀπόγονοι is subject of ἐγένοντο and πλείστοι τῶν Εἰλώτων the predicate. This is missed in most of the translations. In more idiomatic word order and wording we might render: "The descendants of the old Messenians who had been formerly enslaved were very numerous among the Helots; and so they all came to be called Messenians."

25. (I, 110, 1) οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἀπόλοντο

Most of them perished

<sup>35</sup> This passage should be read in the light of No. 17 where the same wrecks and the same dead bodies are described and where the recovery of them is given as one reason why the Corinthians felt justified in setting up a trophy. In that passage *πλείστα* occurs without the article, for the Corinthians had recovered more than had the Corcyraeans. Had τὰ *πλείστα* been used it would merely have meant that they got back most of their own.

Though only two parties are involved, the Greek for this uses the word "most," and there *πλείστα* appears without the article. In the quotation here given, there is no comparison with what anyone else has recovered. The Corinthians merely succeeded in getting the greater part of what they had lost in wrecks and in dead. In this instance *πλείστον* requires the article. The different ways of thinking about this salvage operation remind one of the differences in point of view about the Spartans on the island of Sphakteria which we have discussed above, p. 196, and which appear in Nos. 73 and 75 below.

<sup>36</sup> See note 35 above on I, 50, 3. De Romilly (in the Budé translation) has a mistaken rendering here of *πλείστα* as "la plupart."



26. (I, 115, 5) καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων

And got most of them into their power

(Jowett)

27. (I, 122, 4) οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφειγότες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν  
πλείστον δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κευορήκατε

For surely you have not fled these imputations and taken refuge in that contemptuous wisdom which has brought ruin to the greatest numbers

28. (I, 137, 4) Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ  
μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἰργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον

I, Themistocles, have come to you, I who of all Hellenes did your house the greatest injuries (Jowett)

29. (I, 138, 3) τῶν τε παραχρήμα δι' ἐλαχίστης  
βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ  
πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής

He was the ablest judge of the course to be pursued in a sudden emergency, and could best divine what was likely to happen in the remotest future (Jowett)

30. (II, 4, 5) τὸ δὲ πλείστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν  
ἐννεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἶκημα μέγα

But the greater number kept together and took refuge in a large building (Jowett)

31. (II, 11, 1) ὁμως δὲ τῇσδε οὐπω μείζονα παρα-  
σκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνα-  
τωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι  
στρατεύοντες

Yet we have never set out with a larger force than the present; and if our numbers and efficiency are remarkable, so also is the power of the state against which we march (Crawley)

32. (II, 11, 7) καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι  
θυμῷ πλείστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται

Men who reflect the least rush most impetuously into action

33. (II, 13, 3) τὰ γὰρ πλείστα τριακοσίων ἀπο-  
δέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο

[The passage under discussion in this article]

34. (II, 15, 5) ἐκείνοι τε ἐγγὺς οὕσῃ τὰ πλείστον  
ἄξια ἐχρῶντο

Since it was near (i.e. the fountain Kallirhoe) the men of those days used it for the most important offices

35. (II, 34, 8) προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ  
βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὡς ἐπὶ  
πλείστον τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε

He advanced from the sepulchre to a lofty platform which had been erected, in order that he might be heard as far as possible by the multitude, and spoke as follows

36. (II, 35, 3) χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ  
πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστον βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης  
τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον

I too must obey the law and try to satisfy your several wishes and expectations to the best of my ability

37. (II, 38, 1) καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας  
ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα

Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business (Crawley)

38. (II, 41, 1) ξυνηλὼν τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν  
ἂν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλείστ' ἂν εἶδῃ  
καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα  
αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι

To sum up: I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace

(Jowett)

39. (II, 49, 6) ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλείστοι  
ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, ἔτι  
ἔχοντές τι δυνάμει, ἢ —

So that either they died, the most of them on the ninth and seventh days, from the internal burning, still having some strength left, or — —

40. (II, 51, 4) καὶ τὸν πλείστον φθόρον τοῦτο  
ἐνεποιεῖ

And this caused the greater part of the mortality

41. (II, 57, 2) τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλείστον τε  
χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον

In this invasion they remained the longest time and ravaged the whole countryside

42. (II, 61, 3) δουλοὶ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον

For before what is sudden, unexpected, and least within calculation the spirit quails

(Crawley)

43. (II, 64, 3) γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἶκιν, πλείστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ

Know that our city has the greatest name in all the world because she has never yielded to misfortunes, but has sacrificed more lives and endured severer hardships in war than any other (Jowett)

44. (II, 64, 3) μνήμη καταλείπεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἑλλήνες πλείστον δὴ ἥρξαμεν καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν

The memory will have been left that as Greeks we ruled the greatest number of Greeks, and withstood the greatest wars

45. (II, 65, 4) πλείστον ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι

Considering him to be the most valuable

46. (II, 77, 3) ἐπιπαρένησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου πλείστον ἐπισχέιν

They piled up (faggots) also as far as they could reach from the top into the rest of the city

47. (II, 84, 4) οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, — —

The Athenians pursued them, captured twelve ships, and taking on board most of their crews, sailed away to Molycrium (Jowett)

48. (II, 85, 4) κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας διὰ τάχους ἀποστεῖλαι

Bidding them send to him promptly as many ships as possible

49. (II, 89, 9) καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστον ἡγείσθαι

And in action think order and silence all important (Crawley)

50. (II, 95, 3) ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσί τε καὶ στρατιᾷ ὥς πλείστη ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι

For the Athenians were to join him against the Chalcidians with a fleet and as many soldiers as they could get together (Crawley)

51. (II, 96, 2) παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ὄρειων Θρακῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἱ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλείστοι οἰκοῦντες

He also summoned to his standard many of the highland Thracians, who are independent and carry dirks; they are called Dii, and most of them inhabit Mount Rhodopè (Jowett)

52. (II, 97, 2) ταύτῃ γὰρ διὰ πλείστον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἐγίγνετο

For here it reached its maximum inland from the sea

53. (II, 97, 3) φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσων περ ἥρξαν [ὅσων προσῆξαν codd.] ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἄργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἦει

Tribute from all the barbarian territory and from the Greek cities, as many as they ruled in the time of Seuthes (who became king after Sitalkes and levied the maximum), amounted to about 400 talents of silver, which came in in silver and in gold <sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Crawley translates *ὃς πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε* "who raised it to its greatest height," while Jowett renders "under whom the amount was greatest." I have preferred a translation that brings out clearly the construction of the Greek, in which *πλείστον* (*φόρον*) is direct object of *ἐποίησε*, which here means "levied" or "established." The syntax of the passage is *ὃς πλείστον δὴ (φόρον) ἐποίησε*, rather than *ὃς πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε (τὸν φόρον εἶναι)*, throwing *πλείστον* into a predicate position, as is implied in Crawley's rendering. The structure of this sentence is illustrated by the text of Thuc. VII, 28, 4, in which the author describes the establishment of the 5 per cent tax: *καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρου τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποίησαν*. The idiom was *εἰκοστὴν* (*οἱ φόρον*) *ποιῆσαι*.



54. (II, 98, 4) τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλείστον αὐτοὶ Ὀδρύσαι παρέχοντο

The Odrysians themselves furnished the greater part of the cavalry

55. (III, 1, 2) καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν

And they prevented most of the mass of light-armed troops from advancing beyond their lines and harming the districts near the city

56. (III, 17, 1) καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις δὴ νῆες ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ † κάλλει ἐγένοντο

At the time when the fleet was at sea, the Athenians had the largest number of ships which they ever had all together, effective and in good trim (Jowett)

57. (III, 17, 4) τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπάνη-λώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλείσται ἐπληρώθησαν

This, then, is the way the money at first was wastefully spent and these were the numbers of ships that were manned, at their maximum

58. (III, 30, 4) πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο

He would have most success

59. (III, 31, 2) ἀλλὰ τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης ὑστερήκει, ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλιν προσμείξει

But the most of his thought was, since he had been late at Mytilene, to get back to the Peloponnesos as soon as possible

60. (III, 42, 4) καὶ πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν

She would fare best if such citizens were unable to speak

61. (III, 42, 5) χρὴ δὲ — — — τὴν δὲ σόφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλείστοις εὖ βουλευόντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμὴν — —

The wise city should not give too much honor to him who counsels her best — —

62. (III, 45, 5) ἥ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἡ δὲ ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπι-

βουλὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα, πλείστα βλάβηται

Hope also and cupidity, the one leading and the other following, the one conceiving the attempt, the other suggesting the facility of succeeding, cause the widest ruin (Crawley)

63. (III, 83, 1) καὶ τὸ εὐθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη

The simplicity which is so large an element in a noble nature was laughed to scorn and disappeared (Jowett)

64. (III, 84, 1) ἀπαυδενσίᾳ ὀργῆς πλείστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὡμῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως

Carried away to extremes of pitiless cruelty by the wantonness of their passion

65. (III, 104, 6) τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατελύθη ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν

The contests and most of the ceremonies had been abandoned because of hard times

66. (IV, 3, 3) καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πλείστ' ἂν βλάπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὀρμώμενος

And speaking the same dialect as the Lacedaemonians they would do them very great harm using it as a base

67. (IV, 12, 3) ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ περὶ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλείστον προὔχεν

For in those days it was the great glory of the Lacedaemonians to be a land power distinguished for their military prowess, and of the Athenians to be a nation of sailors and the first sea power in Hellas (Jowett)

68. (IV, 14, 3) βουλόμενοι τῇ παρουσίᾳ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπεξελθεῖν ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεξομάχων

Wishing to exploit their present fortune as much as possible they fought on from their ships as if on land

69. (IV, 17, 5) οἷς δὲ πλείσται μεταβολαὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας ἐμβεβήκασι, δίκαιοι εἰσι καὶ ἀπιστότατοι εἶναι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις

While those who have known most vicissi-

tudes of good and bad have also justly least faith in their prosperity (Crawley)

70. (IV, 25, 9) *καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειραν*

For the barbarians fell upon them in the streets and destroyed the greater number of them

71. (IV, 26, 2) *διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα οἱ πλείστοι ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἔπινον οἶον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ*

Scraping aside the shingle by the sea most of them drank such water as could reasonably be found there

72. (IV, 26, 4) *ἀθυμίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρέιχε παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνώμενος*

The unexpectedly long delay in time caused them the greatest discouragement

73. (IV, 31, 2) *μέσον δὲ καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχε*

The greater number of them and Epitadas the commander held the central and most nearly level area where the water was

74. (IV, 32, 3) *ὅπως ὅτι πλείστη ἀπορία ἦ τοῖς πολεμίοις πανταχόθεν κεκυκλωμένοις*

So that the enemy might be baffled as much as possible, surrounded on all sides

75. (IV, 33, 1) *οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ — — — ξυνετάξαντο*

Those under Epitadas, the largest body of troops on the island — — — serried their ranks

76. (IV, 34, 1) *καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τε ὀψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον εἰληφότες πολλαπλάσιοι φαινόμενοι*

And taking now most of their courage from the sight of their own numbers, since they were obviously many times as many

77. (IV, 35, 4) *καὶ χρόνον μὲν πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον τλαιπωρούμενοι ἀμφοτέροι ὑπὸ τε τῆς μάχης καὶ δίψης καὶ ἡλίου ἀντίχον*

For a long time, indeed for most of the day, both sides held out against all the torments of the battle, thirst, and sun (Crawley)

78. (IV, 38, 1) *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρήκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν*

When they heard this most of them laid aside their shields and waved their hands in the air

79. (IV, 41, 2) *ἐλῆζοντό τε τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλείστα ἔβλαπτον ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες*

They ravaged Lakonia and, being of the same dialect, did it very grievous harm

80. (IV, 44, 2) *ἐν δὲ τῇ τροπῇ ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας οἱ πλείστοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον καὶ Λυκόφρων ὁ στρατηγός*

In this rout on the right wing most of them perished, including Lykophron the general

81. (IV, 54, 4) *ἔπλευσαν ἔς τε Ἀσίην καὶ Ἑλος καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν περὶ θάλασσαν*

They sailed against Asine, and Helos, and most of the maritime settlements

82. (IV, 59, 4) *ὃ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πειθομένοις πλείστον ἂν ἄξιον γένοιτο*

Which, if we are but persuaded in our present circumstances, could be for us too of utmost value

83. (IV, 62, 4) *τὸ δὲ ἀστάθμητον τοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον κρατεῖ*

But the incalculable element in the future exercises the widest influence (Crawley)

84. (IV, 63, 1) *χρόνον ὡς πλείστον σπεισάμενοι τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς ἔς αὐθις ἀναβαλώμεθα*

Let us . . . make a treaty for as long a term as possible, and put off our private differences to another day (Crawley)

85. (IV, 74, 4) *καὶ πλείστον δὴ χρόνον αὕτη ὑπ' ἐλαχίστων γενομένη ἐκ στάσεως μετὰστασις ξυνέμεινεν*

And this change of government, though it grew out of a revolt by very few, lasted for a very long time

86. (IV, 81, 1) *πλείστον ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενον*

Who was of utmost use to the Lacedaemonians

87. (IV, 90, 4) *ἔπειτα, ὡς τὰ πλείστα ἀπετετέλεστο, τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον προαπεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δηλίου*



Afterwards, when the greater part had been finished, the army made an initial withdrawal from Delion

88. (IV, 90, 4) καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ οἱ πλείστοι εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν, οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἡσύχαζον

The greater part of the light-armed troops proceeded on their march, but the hoplites piled their arms and rested (Jowett)

89. (IV, 109, 4) αἱ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμείκτοις ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων, καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἔνι βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλείστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λημνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες

Which are inhabited by mixed races of bilingual barbarians, and there is present also a small Chalkidic element; but the greater part are Pelasgians (of those Tyrrhenians who settled once in Lemnos and in Athens), and Bisaltians and Krestonians and Edonians

90. (IV, 115, 3) οἱ δὲ ἄπωθεν, καὶ οἱ μάλιστα διὰ πλείστον, νομίσαντες ταύτην ἐαλωκέναι ἤδη τὸ χωρίον, φυγῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὤρμησαν

But those not so near, and still more those furthest off, thought that the place was already taken at that point, and fled in haste to the sea and the ships (Crawley)

91. (IV, 131, 3) καὶ διαφυγόντες οἱ πλείστοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιῶνι στρατόπεδον ἐσῆλθον ἐς αὐτήν

Most of them eluded the army before Skione and entered into the city

92. (V, 6, 2) ἄξοντας μισθοῦ Θράκας ὡς πλείστους  
Who were to bring as many Thracian mercenaries as they could

93. (V, 9, 4) πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο  
He would have most success

94. (V, 16, 1) Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλείστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις

Nikias the son of Nikeratos, the most blessed by fortune in his generalships of the men of that day

95. (V, 46, 1) σφίσι μὲν γὰρ εὖ ἐστώτων τῶν

πραγμάτων ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν

For with their affairs now going well it was best for them to preserve their prosperity as long as possible

96. (V, 74, 1) Καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων ἐγένετο, πλείστον δὲ χρόνον μεγίστη δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀξιολογωτάτων πόλεων ξυνελθοῦσα

Such, or very nearly such, was the battle, the greatest in a very long time amongst the Hellenes and joined by the most considerable cities

97. (V, 99) οὗτοι γὰρ πλείστ' ἂν τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντες σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς προὔπτον κίνδυνον καταστήσειαν

For these are the most reckless and most apt to bring themselves and us into obvious danger

98. (V, 105, 4) Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπιχώρια νόμιμα πλείστα ἀρετῇ χρώνται

For the Lacedaemonians, with respect to themselves and their national customs, are exceedingly virtuous

99. (V, 111, 3) οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προὔπτοις κινδύνους πλείστα διαφθείρονσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνῃν τρέψετε

For surely you will not take refuge in that sense of honor which causes men most harm in times of shameful and obvious crisis

100. (V, 111, 4) πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖντο  
They would have most success

101. (V, 113) καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλείστον δὲ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλείστον καὶ σφαλῆσεσθε

And as you have staked most on, and trusted most in, the Lacedaemonians, your fortune, and your hopes, so will you be most completely deceived (Crawley)

102. (V, 115, 4) ἐσυνεγκάμενοι σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅσα πλείστα ἐδύναντο χρήσιμα ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσύχαζον

They brought in grain and as many necessities as they could; then they retired and took no further action

103. (VI, 5, 1) καὶ Χαλκιδῆς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι ἦλθον ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν

And Chalkidians for the most part came to the colony

104. (VI, 11, 4) τὰ γὰρ διὰ πλείστον πάντες ἴσμεν θαυμαζόμενα

We all know that men have the greatest respect for that which is farthest off (Jowett)

105. (VI, 11, 6) ὅσῳ καὶ περὶ πλείστον καὶ διὰ πλείστον δόξαν ἀρετῆς μελετῶσιν

The rather because they have laboured so earnestly and so long to win a name for valour (Jowett)

106. (VI, 13, 1) γνόντας ὅτι ἐπιθυμία μὲν ἐλάχιστα κατορθοῦνται, προνοία δὲ πλείστα

Realizing that they have success least because of mere desire and most because of forethought

107. (VI, 14) τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ ὥς πλείστα ἢ ἐκὼν εἶναι μὴ βλάβῃ

The first duty of a good magistrate is to do the very best which he can for his country, or, at least, to do her no harm which he can avoid (Jowett)

108. (VI, 15, 1) Ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοιαῦτα εἶπε, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων παριόντες οἱ μὲν πλείστοι στρατεύειν παρήνουν καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα μὴ λύειν, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ ἀντέλεγον

Nikias spoke thus; most of the Athenians who came forward urged that they make the expedition and not repeal the votes that had been taken, though a few argued on the other side

109. (VI, 22) μάλιστα δὲ χρήματα αὐτόθεν ὥς πλείστα ἔχειν

And particularly to have as much money as possible from home

110. (VI, 27, 1) μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλείστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα

In one night the faces of most of them were mutilated

111. (VI, 30, 1) τῶν μὲν οὖν ξυμμάχων τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ ταῖς σιταγωγαῖς ὀλκάσι καὶ τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ ὅσῃ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ξυνείπετο πρότερον εἶρητο ἐς Κέρκυραν ξυλλέγεσθαι

Orders had been previously given to most of the allies, to the corn-ships, the smaller craft, and generally to the vessels in attendance on the armament, that they should muster at Corcyra (Jowett)

112. (VI, 34, 2) χρυσὸν γὰρ καὶ ἄργυρον πλείστον κέκτηνται, ὅθεν ὅ τε πόλεμος καὶ τὰλλα εὐπορεῖ

For they possess gold and silver in abundance, by which war and everything else flourishes

113. (VI, 34, 4) Σικελιώται γὰρ εἰ ἐθέλοιμεν ξύμπαντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅτι πλείστοι μεθ' ἡμῶν, καθελκύναντες ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ναυτικόν — — —

For if we Sicilians should all be willing—or, if not all, as many as possible with us—to launch our entire available navy — — —

114. (VI, 49, 2) πλείστοι γὰρ ἂν νῦν φανῆναι

For they would seem now to be the greatest number

115. (VI, 54, 5) καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν

And these tyrants cultivated virtue and wisdom to the utmost

116. (VI, 64, 1) ἃ γινώσκοντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγειν πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι πλείστον

The generals of the Athenians, aware of this and wishing to lead them in a body out of the city as far as possible

117. (VI, 72, 4) οἷς τε ὅπλα μὴ ἔστιν ἐκπορίζοντες, ὅπως ὥς πλείστοι ἔσονται

Providing arms to those who had none, so that they might be as numerous as possible

118. (VI, 83, 1) ἀνθ' ὧν ἄξιοί τε ὄντες ἅμα ἄρχομεν, ὅτι τε ναυτικὸν πλείστον τε καὶ προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον παρεσχόμεθα ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ — — —

Wherefore not only do we rule because we are worthy, having furnished to the Hellenes



the greatest navy and the most unhesitating zeal, but also — —

119. (VI, 88, 3) τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἔπρασσον ὅπως αὐτοῖς ὡς πλείστοι προσχωρήσονται

They negotiated with the Sikels so that as many as possible might come over to them

120. (VI, 88, 6) ἐκέλευον ἵππους σφίσιν ὡς πλείστοις πέμπειν

They bade them send to them as many horses as possible

121. (VII, 3, 4) τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγων τὴν μὲν πλείστην τῆς στρατιᾶς παρέταξε πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων

On the following day he took the greater part of his army and deployed it facing the walls of the Athenians

122. (VII, 4, 5) ἐξετείχισε τρία φρούρια· καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τά τε σκεύη τὰ πλείστα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἤδη ἐκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα ὥρμει καὶ αἱ ταχεῖαι νῆες

He built three forts, and in them the greater part of the stores were deposited and the large boats as well as the ships of war were now anchored there

123. (VII, 20, 2) καὶ νησιωτῶν ὅσοις ἐκασταχόθεν οἷόν τ' ἦν πλείστοις χρήσασθαι

And as many others as could possibly be obtained from the different islanders (Jowett)

124. (VII, 21, 1) ὁ Γύλιππος ἦκεν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὧν ἔπεισε στρατιᾶν ὅσῃν ἐκασταχόθεν πλείστην ἐδύνατο

Gylippos came to Syracuse bringing as many troops as he could from each of the cities he had persuaded

125. (VII, 21, 2) καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἔφη χρήναι πληροῦν ναῦς ὡς δύνανται πλείστας

And he called together the Syracusans and said they must man as many ships as they could

126. (VII, 30, 2) καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσβάσει τοὺς πλείστους

And they killed the greater number of them in the attempt to embark

127. (VII, 36, 5) πλείστον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ σχήσειν  
For they would have the greatest advantage in it

128. (VII, 56, 4) ἔθνη γὰρ πλείστα δὴ ἐπὶ μίαν πόλιν ταύτην ξυνηλθε

Indeed, there were never so many peoples assembled before a single city (Crawley)

129. (VII, 57, 4) καὶ τὸ πλείστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πλὴν Καρυστίων

And for the most part all these being Ionians and descendants of the Athenians except the Karystians

130. (VII, 68, 3) καὶ κινδύνων οὗτοι σπανιώτατοι οἱ ἂν ἐλάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι βλάπτοντες πλείστα διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖσαι ὠφελῶσιν

And these are the rarest of hazards which bring the greatest profit when they succeed while causing a minimum of harm if they fail

131. (VII, 69, 3) ἤγε τὸν πεζὸν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ παρέταξεν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐδύνατο

He led the foot-soldiers toward the sea and extended their line as far as he could

132. (VII, 70, 4) πλείσται γὰρ δὴ αὖται ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἐναυμάχησαν· βραχὺ γὰρ ἀπέλιπον ξυναμφοτέραι διακόσσαι γενέσθαι

And never did so many fight in so small a space, for the two fleets together amounted to nearly two hundred (Jowett)

133. (VII, 71, 6) ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείστοι ἤδη περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπῃ σωθήσονται διεσκόπουν

But others, and the greater number, now began to look to themselves and how they should be saved

134. (VII, 75, 5) ἀπηντομολήκεσαν γὰρ πάλοι τε καὶ οἱ πλείστοι παραχρῆμα

For they had long since deserted, and the most of them had done so at once

135. (VII, 76) βουλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγωνίσκων ὠφελεῖν τι

Desiring to effect some benefit with his voice carrying as far as possible

136. (VII, 78, 2) τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον ἐντὸς εἶχον οἱ ὀπλίται

The hoplites had in the center the baggage-carriers and the bulk of the host

137. (VII, 80, 1) πυρὰ καύσαντας ὥς πλείστα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν

To light as many watch-fires as possible and lead the army away

138. (VII, 85, 4) πλείστος γὰρ δὴ φόνος οὗτος καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάσσωσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο

This was the greatest slaughter and less than none of those in this Sicilian war

139. (VII, 86, 1) Ξυναθροισθέντες δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους ἐδύναντο πλείστους καὶ τὰ σκῦλα ἀναλαβόντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν

The Syracusans and their allies assembled their forces, and gathering up as many of the prisoners as they could and their spoil they returned to the city

140. (VIII, 17, 2) ὅτι πλείστας τῶν πόλεων μετὰ τῆς Χίων δυνάμεως καὶ Χαλκιδέως ἀποστήσας

Having caused the revolt of as many of the cities as possible with the help of the Chian power and of Chalkideus

141. (VIII, 17, 3) λαθόντες οὖν τὸ πλείστον τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ φθάσαντες οὐ πολλὸν τὸν τε Στρομβιχίδην καὶ τὸν Θρασυκλέα — — —

Not observed during the greater part of the voyage and a little ahead of Strombichides and Thrasykles — — —

142. (VIII, 22) βουλόμενοι ἅμα ὥς πλείστους σφίσι ξυγκινδυνεύειν

Wishing at the same time for as many as possible to share the danger with them

143. (VIII, 28, 4) τοὺς τ' ἐπικούρους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀμόργην παρὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κομίσαντες καὶ οὐκ ἀδικήσαντες ξυνέταξαν, ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι ἐκ Πελοποννήσου

They took the allies who had been with

Amorges unto themselves and received them into their ranks without doing them any harm, for the greater number of them were from the Peloponnesos

144. (VIII, 40, 2) οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ μᾶ γὰρ πόλει πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι

For the Chians had many slaves, in fact the most for any one city except the Lacedaemonians

145. (VIII, 40, 2) εὐθὺς αὐτομολία τε ἐχώρησαν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ πλείστα κακὰ ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὗτοι ἔδρασαν

Most of them immediately deserted to them and, knowing the country, these were the ones who did most of the damage<sup>38</sup>

146. (VIII, 65, 2) καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὰ πλείστα τοῖς ἐταίροις προειργασμένα

And they found most of the work already done by their associates

147. (VIII, 66, 5) καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν καὶ πλείστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀσφάλειαν ὠφέλησαν

And these created the greatest mistrust among the multitude and helped most toward the security of the few

148. (VIII, 68, 1) ὁ μέντοι ἄπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθείς ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ πλείστον ἐπιμεληθείς Ἀντιφῶν ἦν ἀνὴρ — — —

But the real author and maturer of the whole scheme, who had been longest interested in it, was Antiphon, a man — — — (Jowett)

149. (VIII, 68, 1) τοὺς μέντοι ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ, ὅστις ξυμβουλευσaiτό τι, δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν

But there was no man who could do more for any who consulted him, whether their business lay in the courts of justice or in the assembly (Jowett)

150. (VIII, 90, 1) Ἀρίσταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστον ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ

<sup>38</sup> Crawley's "did the greatest mischief" and Jowett's "did the greatest damage" miss this completely. See No. 18 above for this type of usage: plural number, with noun in agreement and also in the plural.



Aristarchos the bitter and inveterate enemy  
of the commons (Crawley)

151. (VIII, 92, 10) οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ὁμόσε τε ἐχώρουν  
οἱ πλείστοι τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ μετεμέλοντο

Most of the heavy infantry went on with the  
work and did not falter

152. (VIII, 96, 5) διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες  
τὸν τρόπον

Being radically different in temper

153. (VIII, 96, 5) ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ναυτικῇ  
πλείστα ὠφέλουν

They were of the greatest benefit, especially  
in a maritime empire

Had Thucydides wished to say in II, 13, 3 that the maximum was 10,000 talents, he had only to follow his own habit to determine the idiom. The clearest Thucydidean turn of phrase would have been: *πλείστα γὰρ δὴ μύρια ἐγένετο*, with the use of the particle *δὴ* also characteristically Thucydidean,<sup>39</sup> and with no article.

### III

The papyri, on the whole, confirm the texts of Thucydides that we know from the books; it would be extraordinary if anything else were true. It would be of interest, surely, if our present text could be documented one way or the other from the papyri, but I could not myself feel that much would be proved thereby. One papyrus in Geneva comes very close to having the passage in question. It comes from Thucydides, II, 13, and has parts of lines which overlap the text in question. The published edition reads as follows (The Geneva Papyrus, *ca.* A. D. 200) : <sup>40</sup>

[Χ]ρη[μάτων τῆς προσόδου],  
τὰ δὲ [πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου]  
γνώμ[ης καὶ χρημάτων]  
περι[ουσίαι κρατεῖσθαι].  
5 θαρσ[εῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσ]-  
-ίοντ[ων μὲν ἐξακοσί]-  
-ων τ[αλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ]  
τὸ πο[λὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυ]-  
-τὸν ἀ[πὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων]  
10 τ[ῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλ]-  
-λ[ῆς προσόδου, . . . .]

Aux lignes 13 et 14, traces d'initiales.

Cavaignac has made a text which utilizes the traces of letters in lines 13 and 14, as well as in line 12, and has suggested the following version : <sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (1934), p. 207.

<sup>40</sup> Jules Nicole, *Textes grecs inédits de la collection papyrologique de Genève* (Geneva, 1909), p. 17 and plate II.

<sup>41</sup> *Actes du Congrès de Strasbourg* (Ass. Budé, 1939), pp. 90-92.

λ[ης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόν]  
 12 τ[ων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει]  
 ἀ[εῖ ποτε ἀργυρίου ἐπισή]  
 μ[ον ἐξακισχιλίων ---]

The readings, Cavaignac confessed, were subject to doubt. Indeed, it must be held that they are in part incorrect. These lines in the facsimile have been examined by Colin Roberts, who assures me that the initial letter in line 13 is surely lambda (not alpha), and that the initial letter of line 14 was probably epsilon. I have not myself seen the papyrus, but Colin Roberts examined it again in Geneva in 1953 and confirmed the readings which he had made from the published facsimile. We may read, therefore, in the text in question either the book-version or the scholiast's version of Thucydides, and our decision must be that the evidence here for establishing a text is entirely negative. The possible texts are printed here as alternatives A and B:

## A

	λ[ης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόν]	18 letters
12	τ[ων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπό]	16 letters
	λ[εῖ ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου]	18 letters
	ἐ[πισήμου ἐξακισχιλί]	18 letters
	[ων ταλάντων -----]	

## B

	λ[ης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόν]	18 letters
12	τ[ων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπό]	16 letters
	λ[εῖ ἀεὶ ποτε ἀργυρίου]	18 letters
	ἐ[πισήμου ἐξακισχιλί]	18 letters
	[ων ταλάντων -----]	

It would have been easy to exaggerate the importance of a reading in this papyrus, as Croiset and Cavaignac were in danger of doing, even if it could have been demonstrated that ἀεὶ ποτε or ἔτι τότε stood in the text. My belief is that both versions have a long history, either one of which might have appeared in this chance papyrus.

The financial history of Athens in the fifth century has been worked over in some detail by Wade-Gery, McGregor, and me in the third volume of our *Athenian Tribute Lists*. I do not intend to call to mind now more than the fundamentals. Primarily it is the evidence of the tribute lists that has put the seal of impossibility on a total accumulation of 10,000 talents. We can reckon an annual surplus of about 200 talents in tribute-income from the allies. In the years from 476 to 449 (just over 25



years) this accumulation amounted to about 5000 talents, which is, in fact, the sum of which the famed *Anonymus Argentinensis* speaks as being in the public treasury, when Euthydemos was archon in 450/49, collected according to the assessment of Aristides. The true name of the archon in 450/49 was Euthynos, epigraphically attested. But Diodoros (XII, 3, 1), and doubtless later copies of the Atthidographers, knew him as Euthydemos, and as such he appears in the papyrus.<sup>42</sup> Some scholars have argued that, since a known Euthydemos was archon in 431/0, the citation should apply to that year. This would rob the citation of its relevance, for the reference is to the beginning of the great public works on the Acropolis, and to the use made by Perikles of the money of the Delian League in building them. One must read the text of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* in the light of Demosthenes's speech against Androktion, on which it is a commentary. Demosthenes was speaking of the great men of earlier days, and his text runs as follows: <sup>43</sup>

"The men who built the Propylaia and the Parthenon, and decked our other temples with the spoils of Asia, trophies in which we take a natural pride,—you know of course from tradition that, after they abandoned the city and shut themselves up in Salamis, it was because they had the war-galleys that they won the sea-fight and saved the city and all their belongings, and made themselves the authors for the rest of the Greeks of many great benefits, of which not even time can ever obliterate the memory." <sup>44</sup>

The scholiast felt obliged to comment on this, and to correct an obvious historical error. So taking as his cue the words "they built the Propylaia and the Parthenon" he wrote as follows (The *Anonymus Argentinensis*, before 100 A. D.): <sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The fact that the papyrus and Diodoros both mistakenly have the name as Euthydemos shows that they were following the Atthidographic tradition of their day. Gomme's suggestion that this does not inspire confidence in our interpretation of the papyrus is odd (*op. cit.*, p. 10); on the contrary, we know the source for Diodoros, and it is quite normal to discover that the source for the papyrus was the same.

<sup>43</sup> Demosthenes, XXII, 13: οἱ τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὸν παρθενῶν οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκείνοι καὶ τὰλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερὰ κοσμήσαντες, ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμούμεθα πάντες εἰκότως, ἵστε δήπου τοῦτ' ἀκοῇ, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς Σαλαμίνα, ἐκ τοῦ τριήρεις ἔχειν πάντα μὲν τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσαντες ἔσωσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι κατέστησαν αἴτιοι, ὧν οὐδ' ὁ χρόνος τὴν μνήμην ἀφελέσθαι δύναται.

<sup>44</sup> Translation by J. H. Vince in the Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>45</sup> ["Ὅτι ὑποδόμησαν τὰ Προπύλαια]α καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα· μετ' ἔ[τ]η ΔΓ  
[τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ ὕστερον τῶν Μηδικῶν ἤρξαντο οἰκοδο[με]ῖν. ἐποί  
[ήσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἐπ' Εὐ]θυδήμω[υ] Περικλέους γνώμη[ν] εἰς  
[ηγησαμένου Ἀθηναίου]ς κινεῖν] τὰ ἐν δημοσί[ω]ι ἀποκείμενα τάλα·  
[τα τὰ ἐκ τῶν φόρων συνηγμένα] πεντακισχίλια κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστεί  
[δου τάξι].

The text is given here on the basis of the publication in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 61 (D13). Since the

"They began to build their sanctuaries, and they made the statue, thirty-three years after the Persian Wars, Perikles having proposed a decree in the archonship of Euthydemos that the Athenians use the 5000 talents lying in the public treasury and collected from the tribute according to the assessment of Aristeides."

Demosthenes had said that the men of Marathon built the Propylaia and the Parthenon. This was not true. The honor belonged to the generation of their children, to the age of Perikles rather than to the age of Miltiades and Themistokles. The proof lay in the record. It was in 450/49 that Perikles legalized the use of Confederate funds for the beautifying of Athens, and the Parthenon and Propylaia as we know them were not even commenced till long after the Persian Wars. The interpretation of the papyrus does not, I think, depend on our restoration of it, for the essential elements are all preserved. Years later—they began to build—in the archonship of Euthydemos—Perikles a decree—the talents lying in the public treasury—five thousand according to the (blank) of Aristeides.

The Parthenon building accounts begin in 447/6 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 339); the accounts of the Propylaia span the five years from 437/6 to 433/2 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 363-367); the statue of Athena Parthenos was dedicated in 438 (Philochoros, Frag. 121 Jacoby). The money given to the overseers of these works came largely from the treasury of Athena. This is obvious to anyone who will read the epigraphical record. For the great buildings the only direct contribution from the hellenotamiai, the treasurers of the Delian Confederacy, was the amount of the quota due to Athena each year—a matter of six or seven talents. The funds of the Delian League had been incorporated into the treasury of Athena earlier than 448/7. The evidence of the papyrus gives the precise year of Perikles's motion as 450/49 and the precise amount as 5000 talents. This disposition of the League funds was one of the basic differences between Perikles and Thoukydides son of Melesias, which led to the latter's ostracism in 443 B. C., and the use which Perikles is here shown to have made of the money of the League is supported to the limit by our literary tradition, including the very full account in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (XII-XIV).

I must digress for a moment to answer recent criticism of our treatment of this papyrus which has come from Silvio Accame<sup>46</sup> and from Arnold Gomme.<sup>47</sup> Accame writes as follows about the account given in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*:

"Gli autori pongono inoltre nella prima estate del 449 dopo la pace di Callia un decreto di Pericle che autorizzava secondo loro l'impiego di 5.000 tal., raccolti nel tesoro degli alleati con pagamenti dei tributi, per le ricostruzioni di Atene, riferito

argument depends on the preserved portions rather than on the restorations, further comment is at present withheld. Some additional observations are given below, on pp. 213-214.

<sup>46</sup> *Riv. di Fil.*, LXXX, 1952, pp. 229-232.

<sup>47</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, pp. 10-12, 21.



dall' *Anonimo Argentinense*, e poggiano questa teoria su nuovi supplementi apportati al testo dell' *Anonimo*. Ma che tale decreto spetti a dopo la pace di Callia è da escludere perchè esso per gli autori sarebbe datato dall'arconte del 450-49, mentre la pace di Callia cade giusta Diodoro, si è visto, sotto l'arconte Pedieo (449-8) e non può risalire all'arcontato precedente (450-49) — — —."

I have two comments to make here: first, we have tried, I think, with good conscience to draw our conclusions from the preserved portions of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* and not to base them upon supplements either old or new; and, second, I am surprised that Accame thinks the date given by Diodoros for the Peace of Kallias a matter of importance.<sup>48</sup> His dates in the fifth century have very little independent value, are frequently demonstrably wrong, and he has attached dates to events—as Arnold Gomme once remarked—"on so childish a principle and applied even this principle so carelessly, that he is more of a hindrance to truth than a help."<sup>49</sup>

Accame then presents his own interpretation of the *Anonymus Argentinensis*. He allows the commentator to give the precise date for the beginning of construction on the public buildings, and then—I am now quoting Accame—"segundo il suo filo cronologico, può darsi che egli abbia richiamato le deliberazioni di Pericle sotto l'arconte Euthydemos (431-0) quasi per indicare il termine di quelle costruzioni."

This is hard to follow. The deliberations of Perikles in 431/0 had nothing to do with the end of construction, and, anyway, there were at that time no 5000 talents in the treasury of the hellenotamiai. The amount on the Acropolis was 6000 talents (almost), and, if one wants to reduce this to 5000 talents by setting aside 1000 as the "untouchable reserve," one still has the problem of explaining how Aristeides can have been responsible for collecting the money of Athena and of the Other Gods, which was a large proportion even of these 5000 talents. Accame does not face this problem, and, in fact, has no explanation. Instead, he wishes to leave the *Anonymus Argentinensis* out of his calculations altogether. I shall quote from him only a little further: "A me preme l'aver messo in risalto che fino a quando non interverranno altre scoperte, l'*Anonimo Argentinense*, frammentario com'è, non può fornire alcuna base sicura allo studio della finanza ateniese nel V secolo, e conviene per ora prescindere da esso."

Yet we cannot simply think this text away. Even its fragmentary lines are very real. One thinks of Hamlet's dissatisfaction with life; in more telling words he ex-

<sup>48</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 169 with note 39; also p. 178 with note 63 and p. 299. Accame's acceptance of the date 449/8 for the Peace of Kallias seems to depend on Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, II, 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 212. If he believes that this date comes from a chronological source which gives it greater validity than other dates in Diodoros, such a thesis remains to be demonstrated.

<sup>49</sup> *Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 52.

pressed much the same wishful sentiment that he might also hold aloof from too present reality:

O that this too too solid flesh would melt,  
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew.

We ought not to wish this, even of the *Anonymus Argentinensis*, which was written, presumably, earlier than A. D. 100, and which seems to be derived from an Atthis that knew and used Athenian decrees, or some collection of Athenian decrees, as a source. The collection of Krateros comes to mind, while the name of the archon as Euthydemos shows that the later tradition of the Atthidographers, and not the decree itself (which must have had Euthynos), was the immediate source.

Gomme's treatment of the papyrus is no less unsatisfactory than that of Accame. He doubts not only the restorations which have been proposed in *The Athenian Tribute Lists* but also the authority of it as a commentary on Demosthenes (*op. cit.*, p. 21). Yet he accepts the conclusions of *A.T.L.*, III to the extent of positing that Perikles authorized in 450/49 the use of the reserve fund of 5000 talents which had been accumulated down to that time from the surplus of the tribute that was collected according to the assessment of Aristides (*op. cit.*, p. 12). On the other hand, he does not accept this interpretation either, for it finds no place in his report on the state of the Athenian treasury between 454/3 and 432/1 (p. 20). We are left with a sort of argumentative morass,<sup>50</sup> not made any the less treacherous by other suggestions which Gomme has put forward for restoring the text of the papyrus—suggestions in which he himself says that he has little confidence.

His lack of confidence is supremely justified. It is a very grave objection to the whole concept which Gomme advances for these proposed lines (*op. cit.*, p. 11) that they would have nothing to do with the beginning of work on the Parthenon and Propylaia, which is the theme that the commentary sets out to discuss. The text which he proposes gives commentary which allegedly states that on motion of Perikles in 431/0 not to use the money in the public treasury the Athenians voted to move the 5000 talents collected according to the assessment of Aristides to the Acropolis. This argues that when Perikles proposed one resolution (not to use the money in the treasury) the Athenians voted to do something different (to place the 5000 talents of tribute money on the Acropolis). Nor is it reasonable to attribute to Perikles in 431/0 a motion which had already been taken care of by Kallias in 434/3 (D2, lines 12-17, as published in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 47). A further absurdity is the assumption that 5000

<sup>50</sup> Gomme's last sentence on p. 15 (*op. cit.*) has it that the *Anonymus Argentinensis* says only (if we accept the *A.T.L.* restoration) that the 5000 tal. from the tribute was to be used for the building, not that this was the total of all reserves in 450. His first sentence on p. 16 (*op. cit.*) says that at the time of the Samian War all the League's reserve was already with Athena. It is the second position which he maintains later; perhaps we may take it as a sufficient refutation of the view in his own preceding sentence.



talents, collected according to the assessment of Aristeides, were taken up to the Acropolis in 431/0. Gomme thinks that the Greek he has restored does not mean this, but how can [μετακομίζ]ειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν be read in any other way? It is Gomme's idea that the reference may pass as touching on the 5000 talents that were available in 431/0 (II, 24, 1) after the iron reserve had been established, but he concedes "It would not be a very accurate reference; nor very relevant to the text of Demosthenes; but we do not know how far we can rely on this small fragment, and it is not more irrelevant than the information about triremes below."

The relevance of the triremes is a matter of opinion, to which I shall return later. The relevance of Gomme's text to the building of the Parthenon and Propylaia is nil. Nor can the 5000 talents left on the Acropolis in 431/0 after the establishment of the iron reserve be defined as money collected according to the assessment of Aristeides. They include all the coined money of Athena, as well as a sum belonging to the Other Gods well in excess of 750 talents, and with none of this can Aristeides have had any connection whatsoever.

When we bear in mind, as Gomme asks us to do, that what we have in the papyrus is only the epitome of a commentary, we do not have to doubt its adequacy so far as it goes; nor do we have to believe that the epitomator failed to give us the essential facts of his original.<sup>51</sup> As I said above, with reference to Accame, the skeleton of the story is in the preserved part of the papyrus and may be read fairly well with no restoration by anybody.

Gomme says that he does not believe in the second lemma given in the text as published in *A.T.L.*, I, p. 572 (T9): [ὅτι τριήρεις ἔδει ἔχ]ειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. In this he may be right,—as to wording, that is. There can be no doubt, I think, that it is, in fact, a new lemma. Not only does the sequel (μετ' ἐκεῖνο γινο — — —) carry on, in asyndeton, like the opening clause of a new comment,<sup>52</sup> but there is no way in which the triremes can be related to the beginning of the Parthenon, and no way in which μετ' ἐκεῖνο γινο — — — can itself be the lemma. The triremes *are* mentioned in the text of Demosthenes on which this passage is a commentary. Because the Athenians had them they returned safely to their home after the flight to Salamis. They "saved the city and all their belongings." I owe to Wade-Gery the suggestion that the lemma may have read [ὅτι ἐδύναντο κατελθ]εῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The reason for the return was of course the possession of the triremes, and commentary about ships was eminently in order. But this means a second lemma, and I can see nothing but confusion in Gomme's argument that there was none.

<sup>51</sup> Suggestions about the pedigree of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* are given on p. 213, above.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the commencement of the preceding comment about the Parthenon and Propylaia with the words μετ' ἔτη.

## IV

The text of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* is not only intelligible in itself, and consistent with what we know of Periklean policy and of revenue from the tribute lists, but it helps, with its 5000 talents, to make intelligible those references in Isokrates and Diodoros which assert that Perikles placed 8000 talents on the Acropolis. The texts are as follows: <sup>53</sup>

“ He carried up onto the Acropolis 8000 talents besides the sacred moneys ” (Isokrates, VIII, 126).

“ The Athenians, holding to their leadership by sea, transferred to Athens the moneys collected in common at Delos, about 8000 talents, and handed them over to Perikles to protect ” (Diodoros, XII, 38, 2).

These two statements have the same historical basis. That in Isokrates, in my opinion, is literally and factually correct. We have from the *Anonymus Argentinensis* the evidence that Perikles turned over to the treasurers of Athena on the Acropolis in 450/49 a total in profane money of 5000 talents. During the time of his leadership the decrees of Kallias of 434 B. C. prove that additional sums amounting to 3000 had been voted, taken up to the Acropolis, and given to Athena. The text in question from the decrees of Kallias reads as follows: <sup>54</sup>

(Resolved)

“ To pay back to the Gods the moneys owed, since the 3000 talents which had been voted, in our own coinage, have been taken up onto the Acropolis for Athena. And to make repayment out of the moneys which have been voted for repayment to the Gods, namely, what is now in the chest of the hellenotamiai and the other assets which belong to their account, including the proceeds of the dekate when it is farmed out.” <sup>55</sup>

There was, of course, sacred money *per se* on the Acropolis, but Isokrates was quite correct in naming 8000 talents in addition to it. The component parts were 5000

<sup>53</sup> Isokrates, VIII, 126: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν.

Diodoros, XII, 38, 2: Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας ἀντεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ κοινῇ συνηγμένα χρήματα, τάλαντα σχεδὸν ὀκτακισχίλια, μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ παρέδωκαν φυλάττειν Περικλεῖ.

<sup>54</sup> I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 91, lines 2-7:

Καλλίας εἶπε· ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς  
[τ]ὰ χρέματα τὰ ὀφελόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ  
[α] ἀνενέγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἡ δὲ ἐφσέφιστο, νομίσματος ἡμεδαπῶ. ἀποδι  
5 [δ]όναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἔστιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφσεφισμ  
[έ]να, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς ἑλλενοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἔστι τούτων  
[τῶ]ν χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἐπειδὴν πραθεῖ.

The text is also given in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 46 (D1).

<sup>55</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 326-328.



and 3000. Isokrates also has the figure 10,000 which is already implicit in the quotation just cited from him: 8000 talents besides the sacred moneys. There can be no quarrel with this, nor indeed with his more precise over-all estimate in another oration:<sup>56</sup>

“Finally Perikles, being a good leader of the people and an excellent orator, adorned the city with shrines and dedications and all other embellishments so that even now visitors to her believe her worthy of ruling not only the Hellenes but the rest of mankind as well, and in addition to this he brought up onto the Acropolis no less than 10,000 talents.”

To round out the evidence of Isokrates, there is one other reference, less explicit in its pertinence, which names the 10,000 talents:<sup>57</sup>

“How could we with our present helplessness win (an Empire) which with 10,000 talents we could not preserve?”

Gomme (*Historia*, II, 1953, p. 12) says that “there is an undoubted inconsistency (which need neither surprise nor trouble us) between Isokrates’ words in viii 126 and in xv 234 (Perikles ἀνήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν 8,000 tal. in the one passage, 10,000 in the other).” There is no inconsistency: Gomme merely has not told the whole story. The 8000 talents *plus the sacred money* are the equivalent of the 10,000 as a total sum. Gomme misleads the reader also when he says (*ibid.*) that “both Diodoros, xii 38.2, and Isokrates, viii 126, have 8000 tal. as the sum which the Athenians transferred from Delos to Athens and ‘entrusted to Perikles’.” This is not true. Isokrates nowhere has any reference to a transfer of money from Delos. The matter is of some importance, for Isokrates is a reliable source and Diodoros, as will appear, is not. In any event, the evidence which they give for the financial history of Athens must be presented with care and precision.

When we turn to the account of the 8000 talents in Diodoros, XII, 38, 2, we must recognize first of all that he is quoting Ephoros. He depends on Ephoros generally for the fifth and early fourth centuries, but we are doubly sure here, because he states explicitly that his account of the beginnings of the Peloponnesian War depends in fact on Ephoros.<sup>58</sup> We therefore speak of this quotation from Diodoros as what Ephoros said. Here we see the thin entering wedge of falsehood,—and of careless

<sup>56</sup> Isokrates, XV, 234: τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Περικλῆς καὶ δημαγωγὸς ὢν ἀγαθὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥστ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων ταλάντων ἀνήνεγκεν.

<sup>57</sup> Isokrates, VIII, 69: ἦν γὰρ μετὰ μυρίων ταλάντων οὐχ οἰοί τ’ ἦμεν διαφυλάξαι, πῶς ἂν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας κτήσασθαι δυνηθῶμεν;

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *A.T.L.*, III (1950), p. 122 note 12. Gomme agrees with us here, as against Jacoby; cf. *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 13 note 1.

writing. The 8000 talents are there, but Ephoros has them all collected on Delos and transferred in a lump sum to Athens. Since the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens took place in 454 B. C., this careless writing on the part of Ephoros leaves him with nothing to say about the 3000 talents that were brought up to the Acropolis to Athena over a period of time preceding 434 B. C., and it dates back to 454 a sum total—a maximum single balance, that is—as coming from Delos greater by almost 4000 talents than did in fact exist on Delos at that time.

The testimony of Isokrates agrees with the papyrus and with the inscriptions. That he knew how to deal with figures of finance and public expenditure is shown by the use elsewhere in his speeches of information from the documents of Athens: he knew the cost of the Samian War of 441/39, of Poteidaia, and of the subjugation of Melos.<sup>59</sup> We do not know how much of Athena's own reserve Isokrates thought that Perikles put onto the Acropolis, but it has been reckoned that her balance in 449 was about 750 talents, and that her income from 449 to 431 was about 900 talents.<sup>60</sup> Add these figures to the 750 odd talents which we know—epigraphically—to have been collected on the Acropolis in 434/3 for the Other Gods,<sup>61</sup> and all these sacred moneys, which Isokrates excluded from his 8000 talents, are the reasonable complement which makes up his inclusive figure of "not less than 10,000 talents." This was the achievement of Perikles, but there is no suggestion in Isokrates that the money all came from Delos, or that it was all on the Acropolis at any one time. It was left to Ephoros to make these egregious blunders.

## V

Whether Isokrates influenced Ephoros, or Ephoros Isokrates (which I doubt), is a question that has been much discussed. I too have taken some part in the debate. But it seems to me that here the priority makes very little difference. Ephoros and Isokrates both had the same historical background. The decrees were there on the Acropolis for both to see. The facts must have been common knowledge. The difference between them is that Isokrates reported correctly, Ephoros did not; that Isokrates understood, that Ephoros did not. This becomes abundantly clear in that passage from Ephoros in which he names the 10,000 talents:<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> XV, 111 and 113.

<sup>60</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 337.

<sup>61</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 343 with note 90.

<sup>62</sup> Diodoros, XII, 40 1-2: *περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου πεφροντισμένως ἀπολογισάμενος ἐξηριθμήσατο μὲν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μετακεκομισμένων ἐκ Δήλου χρημάτων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἃ συνέβαιναν ἐκ τῶν φόρων ταῖς πόλεσι κοινῇ συνηθροῖσθαι· κοινῶν δ' ὄντων τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων ἀπανήλωτο πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν προπυλαίων καὶ τὴν Ποτιδαίας πολιορκίαν τετρακισχίλια τάλαντα· καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ φόρου τῶν συμμάχων ἀνεφέρετο τάλαντα τετρακόσια ἐξήκοντα.*



"Having made a careful survey about the war, he recounted the vast number of allies for the city and the superiority of her naval power, and in addition to this the abundance of the moneys transferred from Delos to Athens, which had come to be collected in common for the cities from their tributes. From the 10,000 talents which were common property there had been spent for the building of the Propylaia and for the siege of Poteidaia 4000 talents. And every year from the tribute of the allies there were being brought up 460 talents."

Some of this, and much of what follows, is a paraphrase of Thucydides. Since the book-texts of Thucydides have the flat statement that there had once been 10,000 talents (less 300 to be sure, but this is of small moment), it has been thought that Ephoros learned his 10,000 talents from Thucydides, whom he obviously used, and this being so it has been held as axiomatic that the figure 10,000 must have been in the text of Thucydides at the time when Ephoros wrote.

This argument seems very persuasive, but there is in reality nothing but its speciousness in its favor. And there is a better solution.

It was suggested in *The Athenian Tribute Lists*<sup>63</sup> that Ephoros somehow derived his figure of 10,000 from the other figures in Thucydides; that perhaps he knew the cost of the Propylaia as 2000 talents from the same source that Heliodoros used in the second century B. C. for his description of the Acropolis<sup>64</sup> and the cost of Poteidaia as 2000 talents from a later passage in Thucydides (II, 70, 2); that he added these expenses together with the 6000 of Thucydides and so obtained a total of 10,000 talents. I believe that this interpretation is improbable, partly because it is complex, and partly because I doubt the capacity of Ephoros to do the necessary research to find (and understand) the elements of his equation that 2000 plus 2000 plus 6000 equals 10,000. We earlier suggested that *μύρια* was a marginal gloss, perhaps, in the text of Thucydides—taken from Ephoros—and that it got into the text as a correction to *περιεγένετο*. Thus *περιεγένετο* became in the book-texts as we know them *μύρια ἐγένετο*. After this the change from *αἰεί ποτε* to *ἔτι τότε* was deliberate and consequential. I feel happier about the text when we dispense with this twilight zone of marginal glosses, as I now propose to do, and posit that the change from *περιεγένετο* to *μύρια ἐγένετο* was also deliberate. I believe that the change was made by some scholar, perhaps between 200 B. C. and A. D. 100, who knew Greek history from Ephoros rather than from Thucydides. If trained in rhetoric he may also have known of the 10,000 talents of Isokrates and his followers, which he also failed to understand.

<sup>63</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 125, especially note 18. It is there claimed that "The 10,000 *must* originate, one way or other, with Thucydides, II, 13, 3 and therefore is *not* a rhetorical rounding-out of the 8000." Still holding that the 10,000 is not a mere rhetorical rounding-out of the 8000, I claim that it is derived (as appears more clearly in Isokrates) by including the sacred moneys with the profane. Hence it does not originate, in any way, with Thucydides.

<sup>64</sup> See F. Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, 373 F 1 (from Harpokration): *τάλαντα δ' ἀνηλώθη δισχίλια ιβ'.*

His erudition led to the "correction" which came down into the archetype of our extant manuscripts. A change of this kind is hard to detect, and without the evidence of the papyri and the inscriptions, which has come to our help principally during the last fifty years, it would be very hard to correct. When the scholiast on the *Plutus* writes *τά* instead of *τριακοσίων*, he shows that he has been copying, conscientiously, something which he did not understand. But such a case is covered by the normal rules of palaeography, and the correction is easy. There are no rules that cover the mind of a scholar, certainly not of one who may have chosen to correct a text of Thucydides by what he found in Ephoros and the Orators. Clearly Thucydides did not write both versions of our text. I suggest that there is a logical way of explaining how the scholiast's text (the original) may have been changed into the book-text—a change induced by the Ephorean version. It would be very difficult to advance a logical reason for the change from an original book-text to the scholiast's version. Advocates of the book-text indeed have no explanation,—only corruption. Corruption in texts may take many forms, but corruption does not produce the accuracy of historical record and the almost arcane perfection of Thucydidean style that one finds in the scholion on the *Plutus*. Deterioration in musical composition does not produce a symphony.

If Ephoros had before him the scholiast's text of Thucydides, as I believe he had, he could have written the same nonsense that he is supposed to have derived from the book-texts. Indeed the only thing that Ephoros could have taken from the one which he cannot have got straight from the other is the figure 10,000. He has no real conception of the facts, which Thucydides has set forth. The 6000 talents on the Acropolis included all the minted money that Athens possessed, sacred and profane. Probably little more than half of it came from the allies. Yet Ephoros says that the whole original 10,000 had been the common property of the treasury of the Delian League. If we are to believe Ephoros in his description of the funds with which Athens entered the war, Athens had no money of her own and no sacred treasure. This can be proved false, though proof is hardly necessary. What, for example, about the money of the Other Gods? Shall we accept the figure 10,000 which even champions of the traditional text have to explain away, when we know that all that Ephoros said about it is wrong?<sup>65</sup>

The rest of the literary tradition which names the 10,000 talents—represented by Demosthenes, Timaios, and others—depends on Isokrates (misunderstood) or on Ephoros, and does not, I think, concern the present argument.

My objections to the book-text of Thucydides, therefore, are two: it makes his

<sup>65</sup> The 10,000 talents which Ephoros has added to his paraphrase of Thucydides are symptomatic, rather, of a tendency on which Busolt has already commented, as follows (*Gr. Gesch.*, III, 1, pp. 20-21): Für diesen Geschichtsschreiber ist ferner die Vorliebe für bestimmte Zahlenangaben charakteristisch, mit denen der aus Thukydides entlehnte Stoff vielfach bereichert ist.



torical nonsense, and it violates his style. It is, so to speak, both physically and spiritually unacceptable. We do not have to emend this text. We have at our disposal an indirect tradition, of equal antiquity with our book-texts, a direct quotation by an ancient scholar from Thucydides which agrees with the known historical facts and is itself in conformity with his style. By these two powerful criteria it has the better claim to his authorship.

## VI

Something must be said about Gomme's attempt to show that there may at some one time have been 9,700 talents collected on the Acropolis. He suggests that the date for this maximum was *ca.* 446 B. C. (*op. cit.*, p. 15) and so shows the amount in his synoptic table of Athenian resources (*op. cit.*, p. 20). He arrives at this high figure with the assumption that Athens had in her public treasury (the *δημόσιον* as distinct from the sacred treasury or the treasury of the *hellenotamiai*) a balance of 3000 talents or more from at least as early as 454/3 down to 434/3, when the 3000 talents of the Kallias decree (D1) were taken up to the Acropolis. He believes that these 3000 talents came not from the *hellenotamiai*, but from the reserves in the *δημόσιον*. The *δημόσιον* itself, in his opinion, was built up from the collection of the direct tax (or *εἰσφορά*), from the surplus revenue from Laureion, from war booty, from certain other taxes, and possibly even from contributions (yearly, or in peaceful years) from the surplus of the tribute. Certainly, says Gomme, there may have been a sum of over 3000 talents in 434, from which 3000 was transferred to Athena, and the rest used to repay loans from the Other Gods (*op. cit.*, pp. 17-18). His suggestion is that the *εἰσφορά* was collected for seven years—from 454/3 to 447/6—, then perhaps suspended from 445 to 428, to be reimposed again in 428 (*op. cit.*, pp. 17, 20).

All this may look specious enough, but by and large the whole financial picture thus conjured up is without foundation in the ancient evidence, and where there is ancient evidence it is sometimes ignored, and frequently misconstrued.

I begin by calling to mind the text of D1, which has been cited above to show how Isokrates arrived at his figure of 8000 talents, combining the 5000 of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* with the 3000 of the Kallias decrees, to give credit to Perikles for the profane money he brought up to the Acropolis. The implications of these decrees (D1 and D2) are that these 3000 talents had come from the funds of the *hellenotamiai*, at the rate of 200 talents a year (their normal surplus) from 448 to 434 B. C. The purpose of the Kallias decree known as D1 was to pay back moneys owed to the Other Gods. It starts with the injunction, ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς [τ]ὰ χρέματα τὰ ὀφελόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Ἀθηναίαι τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντ|α| ἀνερένεγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἡὰ ἐφσέφιστο, νομίσματος ἡεμεδαπῶ. The fact that the grand obligation to Athena was now satisfied left no obstacle in the way of paying back the Other Gods. The language of Athenian fifth-century decrees is dry, precise, and to the point. It does not indulge in fine phrases that

have no relevance to the business in hand. If the settlement of Athena's obligation cleared the way for a repayment to the Other Gods, then the source that had been preoccupied earlier in Athena's favor was now released and available for the Other Gods. Since the text states explicitly that the source used for the repayment to the Other Gods was the money that belonged to the hellenotamiai, it follows that Athena too had received her 3000 talents from the funds of the hellenotamiai and not, as Gomme would have us believe, from a separate *δημόσιον*. I know that Gomme has claimed that the simplest and most natural explanation of the above sentence in the Kallias decree is to suppose that a fund hitherto *ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ* had been transferred to Athena's treasury. I disagree with him, and claim that this is not at all simple and direct. The simple interpretation of this sentence is that Athena had been paid by the hellenotamiai and that the way was now clear for the Other Gods. It is otiose, wordy, and irrelevant to assume that repayment to the Other Gods was conditioned on a transaction that involved a different source of supply and different paymasters.

Gomme evades this issue by claiming that the hellenotamiai were not the source of the money that repaid the Other Gods, and that most of the money to be used in the repayment did not belong to them. They acted, says Gomme, only as transfer agents for it. Both these theses depend on mistranslation of the Greek text of the Kallias decrees:

(a) The repayment in D1 is authorized in these words (lines 4-7): ἀποδι[δ]όναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἔστιν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφσεφισμ[έ]να, τά τε παρὰ τοῖς ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ἔστι τούτου [τῷ]ν χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἐπειδὰν πραθῇ. Gomme does not believe that the money from the *δεκάτη* was within the control of the hellenotamiai,<sup>66</sup> nor even that the second item belonged to them, and he makes the extraordinary claim that *τούτου τῶν χρημάτων* refers back to *τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν*, κ.τ.λ.

The Greek text cannot be construed in this way. To achieve Gomme's meaning, one needs something like *τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἑλληνοταμίαις*. In the text as cut on the stone the contrast is between what the hellenotamiai have on hand now and what else there is that belongs to them. With a *τὲ-καί* doublet of connectives these two categories of the funds of the hellenotamiai are closely linked together. One has the same kind of close contrast between what is now on hand and what is not in two other passages of these very texts:

- (1) D1 (lines 25-26): καὶ λόγον διδόντων τῶν τε ὄντων χρημάτων καὶ τῶν προσιόντων τοῖς θεοῖς
- (2) D2 (lines 12-13): [τοῖς δ]ὲ ἄλλοις χρέμα[σιν τοῖς] τῆς Ἀθηναίας το[ῖς τε νῦν ὄσιν ἐμ πόλει κ]αὶ *ἡάττ' ἂν* τ[ὸ] λο[ιπὸν ἂν] ἀφέρεται μὲ χρεῖσ[θ]α[ι].

<sup>66</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 18 note 1.



In D1, line 6, the hellenotamiai are represented as having some funds on hand. They have other funds that are not on hand. These can, in part, be identified as the moneys given to generals in the field from which some unexpended balance may be expected.<sup>67</sup> This explains why *τὰλλα ἃ ἔστι τούτου [τὸ]ν χρημάτων* is in the indicative, rather than the subjunctive, mood. The “other moneys which belong to their fund” are not future income (or at least not exclusively so), but income already realized which will after a time become again available, given back by the generals to the hellenotamiai and by the hellenotamiai to be put at the disposal of the Other Gods.

This leaves the *δεκάτη*. I have translated the phrase *καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἐπειδὴν πραθῇ* (above, p. 215) “including the proceeds of the dekate when it is farmed out.”<sup>68</sup> This is entirely legitimate, and it is hard to see why Gomme “cannot agree”; the more so, since in fact the payments made for the benefit of the Other Gods were all, without exception, to come from the hellenotamiai. If the proceeds of the *δεκάτη* were stewarded by a different body, there is no indication of it in the decrees of Kallias. The charge upon the hellenotamiai to provide the moneys for the Other Gods is in D2, lines 19-21: *[θεοῖς δὲ πᾶσ]ιν κατατιθέναι κ[ατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν τὰ ἑκά[στοι] ὀφελόμενα παρὰ τ[ο]ῖς ταμίαισι τῶν [τῆς Ἀθ]ηναίας τὸς ἔλλενο[ταμίας]*: “The hellenotamiai shall deposit for all the gods during the course of the year the amounts owed to each one with the treasurers of the moneys of Athena.” This stop-gap provision was necessary because the first board of treasurers of the Other Gods would not be elected until spring of 433. The treasurers of Athena were to hold the moneys repaid safe in their side of the Opisthodomos until deposits could be turned over to the treasurers of the Other Gods who would eventually move into the other side of the Opisthodomos. The actual handing over of the money was finally the duty of the prytaneis and the Council (D1, lines 9-10).

(b) Gomme has misread the text of D2 when he says that in it (line 21) the hellenotamiai are to be the officers who will deposit the money with each of the Other Gods. The hellenotamiai are to deposit the money rather with the treasurers of Athena, and it would begin to look like the childhood game of “Thimble, thimble, who has the thimble?” if we are to assume that the hellenotamiai in turn acted only as receiving agents and themselves had the money given to them by some other board—unspecified, and for which there is no evidence.

Nor has there ever been any evidence for a large accumulation of treasure in the *δημόσιον*. The *δημόσιον* was supported, of course, from confiscations, taxes, and miscellaneous revenues: it was stewarded by the kolakretai. We know that the

<sup>67</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 331-332. See also below, p. 227.

<sup>68</sup> This meaning of *καὶ* is well known, and was adopted in *A.T.L.*, III, p. 326. See also the phrase *οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων* in the quotation (No. 73) from Thuc. IV, 31, 2, on p. 203 above, and the phrase *οἱ πλείστοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον καὶ Λυκόφρων ὁ στρατηγός* in the quotation (No. 80) from Thuc. IV, 44, 2, on p. 203 above.

Athena Promachos was built with its resources. But by and large the spoils of war and the Persian booty went into dedications and non-monetary objects of intrinsic value. Thucydides (II, 13, 4) lists these assets of unminted gold and silver all together with the words *χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκευή περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοντότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος [ἦν] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων*. They did not figure in the totals of coined silver and they are not part of any negotiable chest of treasure, either of Athena or the Other Gods, or of the *δημόσιον*, or of the *hellenotamiai*. Gomme's idea that surplus from the tribute was added, "yearly, or in peaceful years," to the *δημόσιον* is outright fiction. It caused trouble enough when the league funds were given to Athena—and for this there is evidence.

There remains the *εἰσφορά*. I find it incredible that the Athenians should be assumed to endure this direct tax (as Gomme posits) when they had already a surplus in the public treasury of 3000 talents (*op. cit.*, p. 20). The *εἰσφορά* was a resort for times of direst need. The Athenians in 428/7 imposed the *εἰσφορά* for the first time during the Archidamian War because they were faced with the siege of Lesbos and because they needed extra money. What they had available in the sacred treasury, in the annual revenue from the allies, or wherever, was not enough—or at least the Athenians in 428 B. C. thought it was not enough—to meet the new crisis. Thucydides says (III, 19, 1): *προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσπενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον εἰσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς δώδεκα καὶ Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν*. They could either tax themselves or they could get the money from their allies. In 428 B. C. they did both. In 425 B. C. there was a drastic revision of the whole assessment of tribute on the Empire, amounting to a total of more than 1460 talents. Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I have suggested that the high figure of this assessment was planned (in part) so as to avoid the necessity of further *εἰσφορά*. Gomme says that we do this without evidence;<sup>69</sup> he is equally without evidence that *εἰσφορά* continued to be imposed after 425/4. We need not here concern ourselves with what Athens did near the end of the century, when Euboea had revolted and when disaster was finally only a matter of time. Doubtless there were other *εἰσφοραί*, but it is equally certain that when there were then the money in the public treasury had been exhausted. Before the final collapse, the dole at Athens was being paid in measures of grain and not in cash. The levying of the *εἰσφορά* meant that at the time of its levy the Athenians had need of more money than their resources could afford. It is our judgment, as against Gomme, that the high assessment of 425 B. C. removed the need of *εἰσφορά*, and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that those who made the high assessment knew that this would be true and approved. Gomme finds it hard to believe that the Athenians would

<sup>69</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 17.



thus wish to put an undue share of the burden of carrying on the war upon the allies. "As though Kleon," he writes, "who is given the main responsibility for the tribute increase, was especially anxious to spare the well-to-do of Athens from whose pockets the *εἰσφορά* chiefly came."<sup>70</sup> Kleon, no doubt, had no special anxiety for the rich, but he was enough of a demagogue to know that the direct tax was unpopular, no matter whom it touched. It could be voted only with special consent even to the making of the motion—a provision which proves that the demos as a whole, whose favor Kleon curried, was opposed to it. On the other hand, Kleon had no soft feelings about dealing with the allies. In haranguing the Athenian assembly on the fate of the Mytilenaeans he made, in the course of his oration (according to Thucydides), this remark (III, 39, 8: Crawley's translation) to show what the results of too lenient dealing would be in their control of other revolts: "We meanwhile shall have to risk our money and our lives against one state after another; and if successful, shall receive a ruined town from which we can no longer draw the revenue upon which our strength depends." Even Kleon disliked the prospect of Athens risking her own money in running the Empire, and he knew that her strength lay in the money she received from the tribute. This reliance on the allies was well known throughout Greece, and Archidamos, at Sparta, warned the Lacedaemonians that they had no chance of a victory over the Athenians unless they could deprive Athens of the revenue that maintained her fleet (Thuc. I, 81, 4): *τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἡ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλείω*. The Corinthians, at Sparta later, came back to the strategy of waging war against the Athenians, and high in priority was their recommendation to bring the allies to revolt, the best way of depriving the Athenians of their revenues, in which their strength lay (Thuc. I, 122, 1): *ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὖσα τῶν προσόδων αἷς ἰσχύουσι*.

<sup>70</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 17. Gomme says that the authors of *A.T.L.*, III, "deny that any of the 'other revenue' mentioned in Thuc. ii 13.3 can have been used for the war." He has interpreted us perhaps too literally (cf. *A.T.L.*, III, p. 333 and *Historia*, II, 1953, pp. 4, 17). When pressed to desperation, Athens of course used every resource she possessed, public and private, but it is our belief that in 431 B.C. in spite of an impending war the normal life of the city (financed from the *ἄλλη πρόσοδος*) was expected to go on. This is indicated clearly in the Funeral Oration (esp. Thuc. II, 38). At the commencement of the war Athens planned (and hoped) to have funds to carry it on from her reserves and from her annual income from the allies. Gomme's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 3) that there may have been an assessment in 432 that raised the total annual tribute from its figure of approximately 390 talents in 433/2 closer to the 600 talents named by Thucydides in 432/1 is unnecessary and without evidence. The quota-list of 432/1 proves that no new assessment governed the collection of tribute at the Dionysia of 431. Gomme is aware of this; so he makes the presumed assessment of 432 effective only in 430 (without explaining the delay) and attributes to Perikles in 431 a figure for the annual income which, by the premises of his hypothesis, is in fact false. This is too muddled to be credible, and unless some good argument can be put forward the idea of an assessment in 432 had best be abandoned.

The direct tax, or *εἰσφορά*, was not unknown in Athens even before the Archidamian War, and before what Thucydides has described as the initial imposition of it then in 428 B. C. In 434 B. C. the Athenians laid severe restrictions on the expenditure of funds from Athena's treasure. Having made provision for continuing work on the marble sculpture of the Parthenon, on the Golden Nikai, and on the Propylaia, Kallias then wrote into one of his decrees a provision for a limit of 10 talents a year for any other necessary work on the Acropolis.<sup>71</sup> Next came the restriction on other uses of Athena's money:

- [ . . . . τοῖς δ]ὲ ἄλλοις χρέμα[σιν τοῖ]ς τῆς Ἀθηναίας το[ῖς τε νῦν ὄσι]  
 [ν ἐμ πόλει κ]αὶ ἡάττ' ἂν τ[ὸ] λο[ιπὸν ἀν]αφέρεται μὲ χρῆσ[θ]α[ι μεδὲ ἀπα]  
 [ναλίσκεν ἀ]π' αὐτῶν ἐ[ς] ἄλλο μ[εδὲν ἐ] ἐς ταῦτα ἢ π[ερ] μν[ρ]ί[ας δραχμὰ]  
 15 [ς ἐ ἐς ἐπισκ]ευὲν εἰάν τι δέε[ι ἐς ἄλλ]ο δὲ μεδὲν χρῆσ[θ]α[ι τοῖς χρέμα]  
 [σιν εἰ μὲ τ]ὲν ἄδειαν φσεφ[ίσεται] ὁ δῆμος καθάπερ ἐ[ὰμ φσεφίσεται]  
 [αι περὶ ἐσφ]ορᾶς· εἰάν δέ τις [εἴπει ἐ] ἐπιφσεφί[σ]ει μὲ ἐ[φσεφισμένε]  
 [ς πο τῆς ἀδεί]ας χρῆσθαι το[ῖς χρέμ]ασιν τοῖ[ς] τῆς Ἀθε[ναίας ἐνεχέ]  
 [σθο τοῖς α]ὐτοῖς ἢ ἵσπερ εἰάν τι ἐσ[φ]έρειν εἴπει ἐ[πιφ]σεφίσει . . ]

The conclusions to be drawn from this decree of 434 B. C. are (1) that *εἰσφορά* was a form of tax already experienced by the Athenian people, and (2) that the Athenians resorted to it only in times of emergency. This passage confirms the conclusion already valid from Thuc. III, 19, 1, that the *εἰσφορά* was used only when there was no other money available. Gomme's thesis that the Athenians contributed *εἰσφορά* to a separate public fund (the *δημόσιον*) during the years before the Archidamian War, specifically from 454/3 to 446/5, when (according to Gomme) the surplus in this separate *δημόσιον* already exceeded 3000 talents, is preposterous. Yet at some time before the Archidamian War the text of D2 shows that recourse had been had to the *εἰσφορά*. The logical conclusion is, of course, that the *δημόσιον* at that time (when ever it was) had no surplus. The date must be earlier than 454 B. C.,<sup>72</sup> and the most appropriate time for this early *εἰσφορά* is that of the Spartan invasion in the north in 458 B. C., which culminated in the two great battles of Tanagra and Oinophyta and in the subsequent Athenian subjugation of Central Greece.<sup>73</sup>

There are other minor objections to Gomme's thesis of a large and early separate *δημόσιον*, one of them being that, in defending the total *μύρια* in the book-texts of Thucydides, he must at the same time accuse Thucydides of giving the mistaken im-

<sup>71</sup> The text of this Kallias decree is given as D2 in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> For the history of the *δημόσιον* see *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 337, 359-366.

<sup>73</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 177, for the chronology. I agree with Gomme (*Historia*, II, 1953, p. 16) that the Athenians from their own funds probably financed most of the operations of the "First Peloponnesian War." This is when their need for *εἰσφορά* showed that they had no surplus.



pression that the maximum had been on the Acropolis. Having made of the 3000 talents of the Kallias decree (D1, lines 3-4) an accumulated hypothetical surplus in the separate δημόσιον, Gomme finds that the words ἀνετένεγκται ἐς πόλιν in D1 mean, in 434 B. C., that the 3000 talents had not until that time been on the Acropolis. So the supposed Thucydidean maximum of 9700 talents on the Acropolis was—in reality—in 446/5 (the alleged year of the maximum) made up of 6200 talents on the Acropolis and of 3500 talents which were somewhere else.<sup>74</sup> The figures are so given by Gomme in his table (*op. cit.*, p. 20). Moreover, if Isokrates and Ephoros had their totals of 10,000 talents from Thucydides (which I do not believe, and which is not necessary with the scholiast's version of II, 13, 3), they too (on Gomme's theory) were misled by the Thucydidean implications. Nor does it seem reasonable to me, at least, that Perikles should have so much credit for amassing 10,000 talents if 3500 of them, or even 3000 of them, had been in the Athenian δημόσιον anyway from surpluses of pre-Periklean days. All this is part of the wilderness into which, in my opinion, Gomme's speculations have led him, and which follow partly from his attempt to justify an unjustifiable μύρια in the book-texts of Thucydides.

## VII

The reading of Thucydides as given in the scholion on the *Plutus* has ἐπανηλώθη instead of ἀπανηλώθη for the money that had been spent on the Propylaia, the other buildings, and on Poteidaia. Beginning with ἀφ' ὧν, the text is ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτείδαιαν ἐπανηλώθη.<sup>75</sup> The translation, as given in *A.T.L.*, III, p. 131, runs as follows: "There had been extra disbursements from it for the Propylaia and other buildings and for Poteidaia." The point of the passage, of course, is to explain what use had been made of the fund of 6000 talents during the time since its establishment in 450/49. I doubt very much if the mention of the "extra disbursements" was in any way an attempt to explain why in 431 B. C. the fund stood only at 5700 talents rather than at its canonical 6000. The "extra" expenses for the Propylaia and the other buildings and for Poteidaia were far more than the temporary deficit of a mere 300 talents. Surely in this Gomme is

<sup>74</sup> *Historia*, II, 1953, p. 15: "The wording of the sentence in the Kallias decree suggests that the state treasury, τὸ δημόσιον, was not kept on the Akropolis, though I would not be positive about this;" Why not? — "in that case the only semblance of inaccuracy in Thucydides' statement would be the implication that all the 9,700 tal. had been stored there."

<sup>75</sup> The Ravennas omits τε and uses εἰς instead of ἐς. The Venetus also uses εἰς for ἐς and abbreviates Ποτίδαιαν (which is the spelling in both mediaeval manuscripts). Both abbreviate ἀκροπόλεως and employ the characteristic symbol for καὶ. But the text is clearly that of the manuscript tradition of Thucydides except for the final word ἐπανηλώθη. Readings from the other MSS. are interesting only as curiosities: the Codex Laurentianus (©), for example, omits the first εἰς, reading ἀφ' ὧν τὲ; the Aldine *editio princeps* also omits this first εἰς, but has καὶ ἐς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἰκοδομήματα.

right (*op. cit.*, p. 6), but it does not follow that he is also right in claiming that “καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα shows that all the relevant building costs of 17 years are included; and for that we need ἀπανηλώθη.”

Whether we need ἀπανηλώθη is, in fact, very doubtful. The modern scholar has become so much accustomed to thinking of this clause as an attempt by Thucydides to explain how a maximum of 9700 talents had been reduced to a residue of 6000, that he is inclined to look upon the 3700 talents of difference as money “spent off” from the total. This point of view must be corrected; one must realize that there never was any total of 9700 talents; the verb desired is not one to show how funds had been drained off from a hypothetical Elysian maximum, but one to show to what good use a fairly constant sum of about 6000 talents had been put between 449 and 431. The suggestion has already been made above that this note by Thucydides is the author’s attempt to show how useful the 6000 talents had already been, at a time when Perikles was laying emphasis on how useful they were sure to be in the prosecution of the war. So the question is rather one of what valuable contributions the fund had already made, rather than of what damaging deficits it had suffered. For this the verb is ἐπανηλώθη, not ἀπανηλώθη. The whole tone of the passage, indeed of this whole chapter in Thucydides, is one of pride and optimism, not of regret and discouragement. I should like to translate “from which contributory expenses had been made for the Propylaia of the Acropolis and the other buildings and for Poteidaia.” I prefer “contributory” to “extra” because, in my judgment, it gives more range to the possible magnitude of the expenses: the word “extra” somehow seems to indicate that the expenses were small, and for the Propylaia and Parthenon at least we know that this was not true.

Perhaps “contributory” is better also for other reasons. The great buildings were financed from many sources. Besides the money of Athena (from the fund after 449 B. C.) there were contributions toward the Parthenon from the xenodikai, from the mines at Laureion, from private individuals, from the baths, from the hieropoioi, from the teichopoioi.<sup>76</sup> The Propylaia received funds from rentals of property, from private individuals, from the mines at Laureion, and from the surplus moneys of generals in the field when their routine missions were over.<sup>77</sup> Yet there were some public buildings, like the springhouse of the mid ’thirties, that had no grants from the fund.<sup>78</sup> This building was paid for directly from the tribute of the allies, and not from the reserve of 6000 talents. Not only does the decree concerning the springhouse<sup>79</sup> confirm the annual grants of money from the hellenotamiai to the treasurers of Athena;<sup>80</sup> it shows also that ἐπανηλώθη is the better verb to be associated with καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα. The fund had contributed to the building program; but

<sup>76</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 340-341.

<sup>77</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 341.

<sup>78</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 328, 341.

<sup>79</sup> D19 in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 74.

<sup>80</sup> See *A.T.L.*, III, p. 328.



it had supplied no money for some of the buildings, and it had not supplied all the money for any of the buildings, so far as our evidence shows, except for the statue of Athena Parthenos (*S.E.G.*, X, 257-263) if one counts that as part of the building program. For the accomplishments of the fund, therefore, the verb *ἐπανηλώθη* is fitting and proper, and preferable to *ἀπανηλώθη*.

The same applies to the expenses of Poteidaia. Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I reckoned the amount borrowed from the reserve fund for use against Makedonia and Poteidaia as 400 talents down to the time of Perikles's speech in spring of 431.<sup>81</sup> Gomme<sup>82</sup> would put the initial expenses higher. He confuses initial expense with initial borrowing. Undoubtedly much of the current income from the tribute was also used against Makedonia and Poteidaia. If Gomme's figures for early expense of 800 or 1000 talents are even approximately correct, they mean that contributions from the reserve fund amounted to half (or less) of the expense involved. For Poteidaia, therefore, the legitimate verb is again *ἐπανηλώθη*.<sup>83</sup> Since the verb is closely associated with *ἐς Ποτειδαίαν* by its position in the sentence, this apt usage in connection with Poteidaia could easily account for *ἐπανηλώθη* for the Propylaia and the other buildings also, even if it had not been in its own right (as we have seen that it was) equally appropriate with them. Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I suggested at first that perhaps in this passage *ἐπανηλώθη* might enjoy the distinction (as against *ἀπανηλώθη*) of being the *lectio difficilior*.<sup>84</sup> In view of the rarity of the verb, this judgment may still be true, but in any case, once the shadow of the hypothetical 9700 talents is removed, *ἐπανηλώθη* can be more easily understood, and it agrees better with the facts and with the spirit of the context in which it is used.

### VIII

The student of Periklean Athens cannot hope to understand the history of Athenian finance unless he realizes how shockingly bad is the account that has been left to us by Ephoros. The statements in Diodoros (XII, 38, 2 and XII, 40, 1-2) that (1) the Athenians had brought 8000 talents from Delos to Athens and (2) that the

<sup>81</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 340, 342 note 73.

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>83</sup> The record of borrowings from the reserve fund in 432/1 is preserved in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 296, the text of which is published in Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents* (1932), pp. 80-83. The moneys used in the north were used against Makedonia as well as against Poteidaia: indeed Makedonia was the first objective (Thuc. I, 59, 2), but Makedonia is not mentioned in the text of Thucydides, II, 13, 3. Presumably the reason for this is that Poteidaia was prominent in the mind of Thucydides when the passage was written, while Makedonia seemed to him at that time less significant. So too are explained the absence of Korkyra (cf. Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 5) and Samos. Whether Samos had repayed her damages before 431 has no bearing on the value of the service rendered by the reserve fund in combatting her revolt, had Thucydides chosen to mention it.

<sup>84</sup> *A.T.L.*, III, p. 130.

common funds from the tribute had been brought from Delos to Athens and that from the common 10,000 talents 4000 talents had been spent on the Propylaia and on Poteidaia are absurd. In the face of misstatements so gross it is of little moment that even in error Ephoros was unable to be consistent. We have shown above that these same figures of 8000 and of 10,000 talents were handled correctly by Isokrates, and that what he says about them is true. The crowning guilt of Ephoros is that he foisted his travesty of financial history upon a framework of narrative taken from Thucydides. The passage in Diodoros which runs from XII, 40, 1 to XII, 40, 4 is a paraphrase (with omissions and additions) of Thucydides, II, 13, 3-8. Where it has figures, some of them are the same, but most are not. Diodoros has 460 talents a year from the tribute; Thucydides gives 600. Diodoros has 50 talents of gold on the statue; Thucydides gives 40. Diodoros has 12,000 first-line hoplites and 17,000 second-line hoplites; Thucydides gives 13,000 and 16,000. Diodoros agrees with Thucydides in estimating the value of the spoils as 500 talents, and in numbering the triremes at 300. For the money from the other temples the *πλῆθος* of Diodoros is equivalent to the *οὐκ ὀλίγα* of Thucydides. But the text of Diodoros (i. e., Ephoros) has no mention of the 6000 talents which Thucydides names as the reserve fund on the Acropolis, and Diodoros (i. e., Ephoros) "corrects" Thucydides's figure for annual income from 600 to 460, apparently relying on some superficial antiquarian research of his own that yielded the Aristeidean total of the first assessment (cf. Thuc. I, 96, 2). In spite of all these evidences of tampering with the original and of changing it to suit his own pleasure, modern scholars have seen in Ephoros the "proof" that 10,000 as a maximum must have stood in Thucydides, II, 13, 3. Until we knew better, it was an understandable conceit. We have shown above how Isokrates, at least, arrived at his figure of 10,000 talents quite independently of Thucydides, and how his references to it entail a meaning and an implication quite different from that which a reading *τὰ γὰρ πλείστα μύρια ἐγένετο* would have had to have in Thucydides. It is clear now that Isokrates gives no support whatsoever to the book-text of Thucydides in this context. Since Ephoros has to all appearances only a muddled version of what has been more accurately said by Isokrates, his text too is no support for the traditional *τὰ γὰρ πλείστα μύρια ἐγένετο* of Thucydides. The "literary tradition," which has been held by many to give unanimous support to the numeral *μύρια* in Thucydides,<sup>85</sup> has, in fact, no dependence on Thucydides and cannot be used to justify the appearance of *μύρια* in II, 13, 3. The figure 6000 which Ephoros might have reported from Thucydides he does not mention. But apparently he had it in mind, and my belief is (as I have indicated above) that he subtracted it from his own 10,000 to

<sup>85</sup> *E.g.*, by A. E. Raubitschek in *Cl. Weekly*, XLV, 1951-2, pp. 230-231. It is not true that Isokrates and Demosthenes mention 10,000 talents "as the sum once on the Akropolis," as Gomme claims (*op. cit.*, p. 8). Demosthenes depends on Isokrates and neither affirms that all the money was there at any one time.



reach the sum (which he does give) of 4000 talents for the expense of the Propylaia and of Poteidaia. This is an embellishment of the simple Thucydidean account, and historically the supposed knowledge that we gain about the expense of the Propylaia and of Poteidaia is just as worthless as the sum of 10,000 talents from which it seems to have been derived.

The acceptance of the scholion on the *Plutus* as the true text of Thucydides allows the scholar to fit together all the various bits of evidence as parts of one consistent whole. I know of no evidence, historical, literary, epigraphical, or papyrological, that is not consistent with it. Gomme has used the simile of a gigantic jig-saw puzzle. When he holds to the reading *μύρια* in Thucydides, it is of course impossible for him (or for anyone else) to reconstruct an intelligible picture of Athenian finance. Fate has placed this joker in the miscellany of fragments that have to be pieced together, but we now have the evidence that it is foreign to the problem and ought to be discarded. Gomme is diffident about what success we can achieve with the other pieces. I would suggest that we have, at long last, a fairly tight frame for our picture and that when pieces obviously fit, like the 8000 talents of Isokrates and the 5000 talents of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* and the 3000 talents of the Kallias decrees, we ought to put them together.

Fate has also been kind, in that we have the text of Thucydides, II, 13, 3 preserved in a scholion on Aristophanes. This too fits into the picture, and fills a place which the book-text could never fill. It is not surprising that there should have been in antiquity more than one current version of Thucydides. There were in antiquity many variant texts of well known authors. The Homeric variants and the spoken lines in dramatic poetry are hardly good examples to quote as illustrations for our present dual tradition in Thucydides, but some of the doublets cited by Alexander of Aphrodisias (second century after Christ) for the text of Aristotle are pertinent. The following examples are taken as a selection from Alexander's commentary on the first four books of the *Metaphysics*:<sup>86</sup>

- (1) *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 36, 12-13 (Hayduck) on *Metaphysics* 985 B 12-13 (. . . τῶν παθημάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι. . .):—φέρεται δὲ ἔν τισι γραφῇ τοιαύτη “καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν μαθηματικῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι.”
- (2) *Ibid.*, p. 91, 5-6 on *Metaphysics* 990 B 30-31 (ἀλλὰ δεῖ ταύτην ἐκάστον μετέχειν, ἥ μὴ καθ' ὑποκειμένου λέγεται):—γράφεται ἔν τισιν “ἀλλὰ δεῖ ταύτην ἐκάστον μετέχειν, ἥ καθ' ὑποκειμένου λέγεται.”
- (3) *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 34 - 274, 1 on *Metaphysics* 1006 A 18-21 (ἀρχὴ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ

<sup>86</sup> I owe these citations to the kindness of my colleague, Harold F. Cherniss. The fact is well known that there existed in antiquity texts of Thucydides divided differently from our canonical eight books (cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence, 1934 [republished in 1952], pp. 319-320). The latest statement is by David M. Lewis, *Towards a Historian's Text of Thucydides* (Diss. Princeton, 1952). We do not know whether different book-divisions implied different recensions (Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

- τὸ ἀξιούν ἢ εἶναι τι λέγειν ἢ μὴ εἶναι—τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τάχ' ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτεῖν—, ἀλλὰ . . . ) :—καταλληλότερον δὲ ἢ λέξις ἔχει ἂν, εἰ ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τάχα ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτεῖν εἴη γεγραμμένον τὸ τοῦτο μὲν τάχα ἂν τις, ὡς καὶ φέρεται ἔν τισιν. φέρεται τις καὶ τοιαύτη γραφὴ ἀρχὴ δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ τὸ ἀξιούν λέγειν τι εἶναι ἢ μὴ εἶναι.
- (4) *Ibid.*, p. 75, 26-27 on *Metaphysics* 990 A 24 ( . . . ἀδικία καὶ κρίσις . . . ) :—γράφεται δὲ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδικίαν “ ἀνικίαν.”
- (5) *Ibid.*, p. 104, 20-21 on *Metaphysics* 991 A 27 (ἔσται τε πλείω κτλ.) :—αὕτη ἡ λέξις ἕως τοῦ ἔτι δόξειεν ἂν ἀδύνατον εἶναι (i. e., 991 B 1) ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις οὐ φέρεται. διὸ οὐδὲ ὑπεμνηματίσαντο αὐτήν. That is, the commentators before Alexander had used manuscripts in none of which this argument was preserved.
- (6) *Ibid.*, p. 356, 34-35 on *Metaphysics* 1014 B 2-3 (οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῶν τριῶν δι' ἐνὸς μέσον—so the modern editions. Alexander followed manuscripts which read: οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τριῶν δι' ἐνὸς μέσον [cf. *ibid.*, p. 356, 28-29] but he records another variant) :—φέρεται δὲ ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις καὶ τοιαύτη γραφή, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τριῶν μέσων.
- (7) *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 31 - 59, 8 on *Metaphysics* 988 A 10-11 (τὰ γὰρ εἶδη τοῦ τί ἐστιν αἷτια τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῖς δ' εἶδεσι τὸ ἔν) :—φέρεται ἔν τισι γραφῇ τοιαύτη “ τὰ γὰρ εἶδη τοῦ τί ἐστιν αἷτια τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῖς δὲ εἰδόσι τὸ ἔν καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ.” . . . ἱστορεῖ δὲ Ἀσπασίος ὡς ἐκείνης μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας οὐσης τῆς γραφῆς (scil. τοῖς δὲ εἶδεσι) μεταγραφείσης δὲ ταύτης ὕστερον ὑπὸ Εὐδώρου καὶ Εὐαρμόστου.

This last example is especially significant because it shows a deliberate change from the original text introduced by a scholar who wanted the text to say something different. Eudoros wanted to make Aristotle say that for “ the initiates ” (τοῖς εἰδόσι) Plato had only one ἀρχή, namely τὸ ἔν, which was αἷτιον also for matter.<sup>87</sup>

We believe that the text of Thucydides, II, 13, 3 was also changed deliberately from περιεγένετο to μύρια ἐγένετο by some scholar who wished to make it say something different—something he thought he knew from Ephoros, and perhaps from the orators, to be superior to what his original manuscript had given him. If our explanation of the corruption is correct, it offers some satisfaction to feel that the history of the text is perhaps easier to understand. But the validity of the scholiast's text does not depend on our explanation of how the false text came into being from it. We believe that the corruption was intentional, and that it was induced by the historical nonsense that Ephoros had written in his paraphrase of the original. But even if our explanation is wrong, it still remains true that what Ephoros wrote is nonsense and that the scholiast's version is the better text of Thucydides.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Heinrich Dörrie, *Hermes*, LXXIX, 1944, pp. 34-36 and 38-39.







a. Rear Quarters of the Lioness



b. Fragment No. 5 showing traces of the Palmette, also the Engraved Lines of the Soffit of the Coffin





a. Marble Statuette of Mother of the Gods,  
from the Athenian Agora



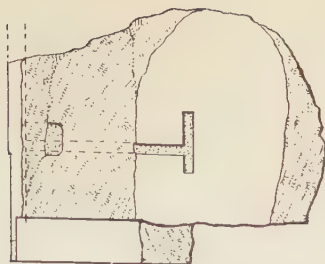
b. Marble Relief of Mother of the Gods Seated  
in a Naikos, from the Athenian Agora



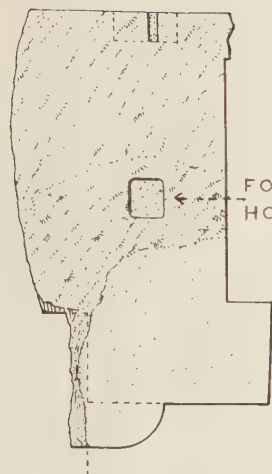
c. Marble Statue of Mother of the Gods,  
from Livadhia



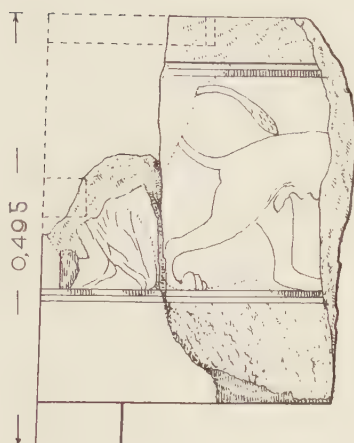
d. Relief of Mother of the Gods, from Peiraeus



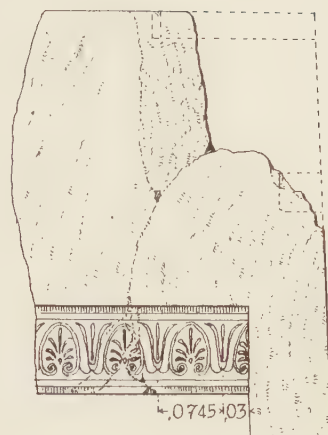
TOP



FOR  
HOISTING



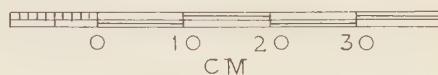
0.495



0.0745+0.03



IN



CM



A

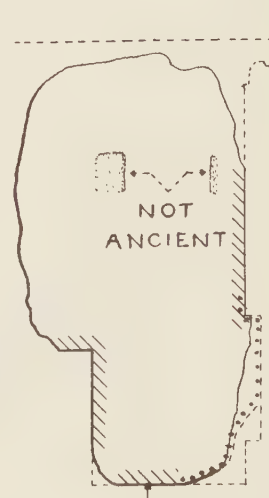
BOTTOM

a. Largest Fragment of the Lintel  
with the Painted Lioness



0.04

0.052

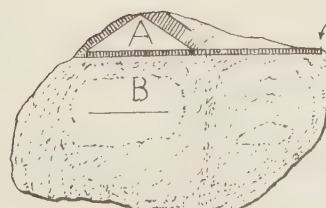


NOT  
ANCIENT

B'



CM



CORNER

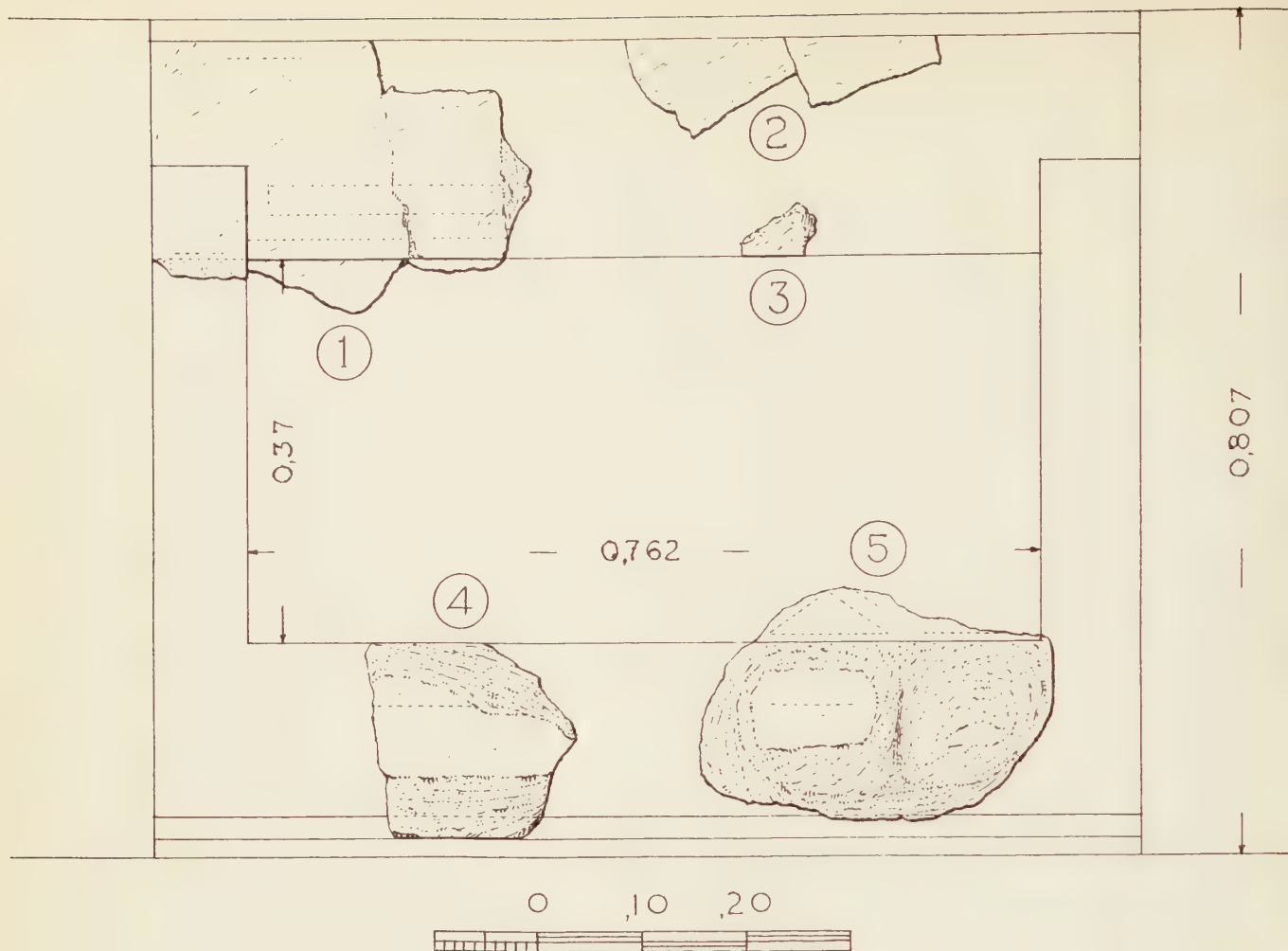
BOTTOM



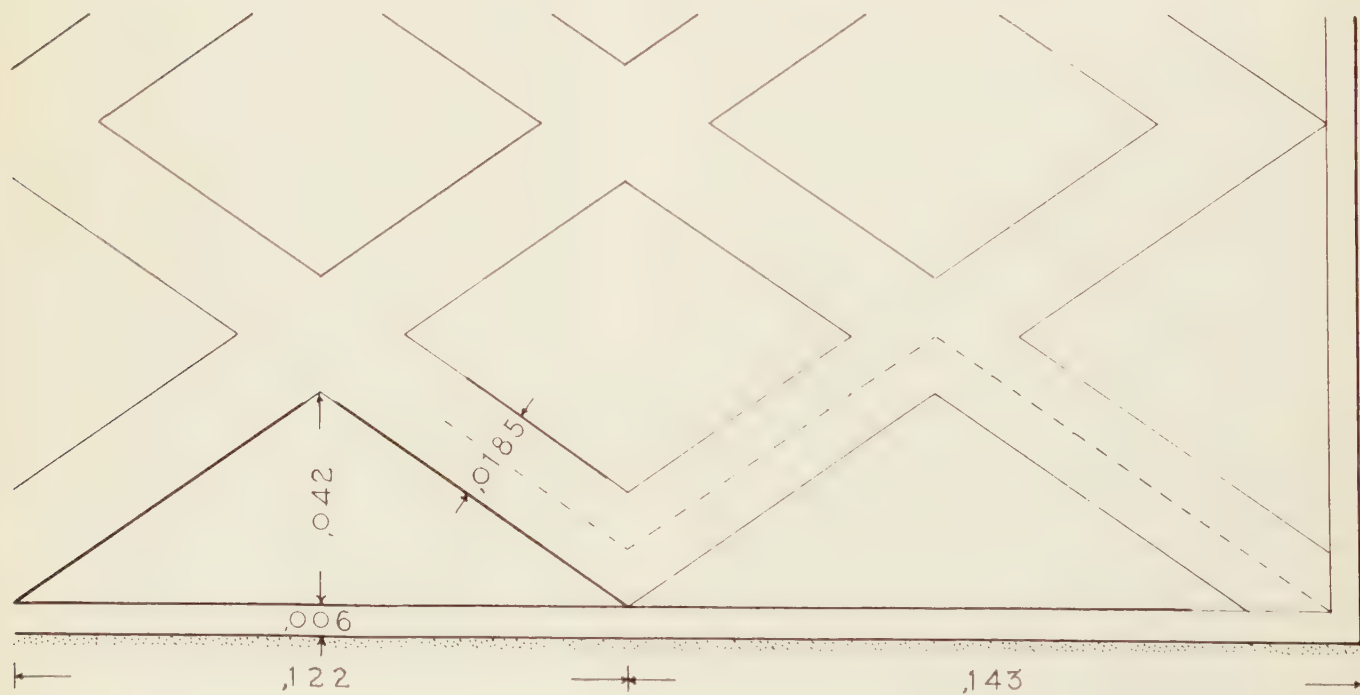
IN

b. Fragment 5 of Plate 42, a

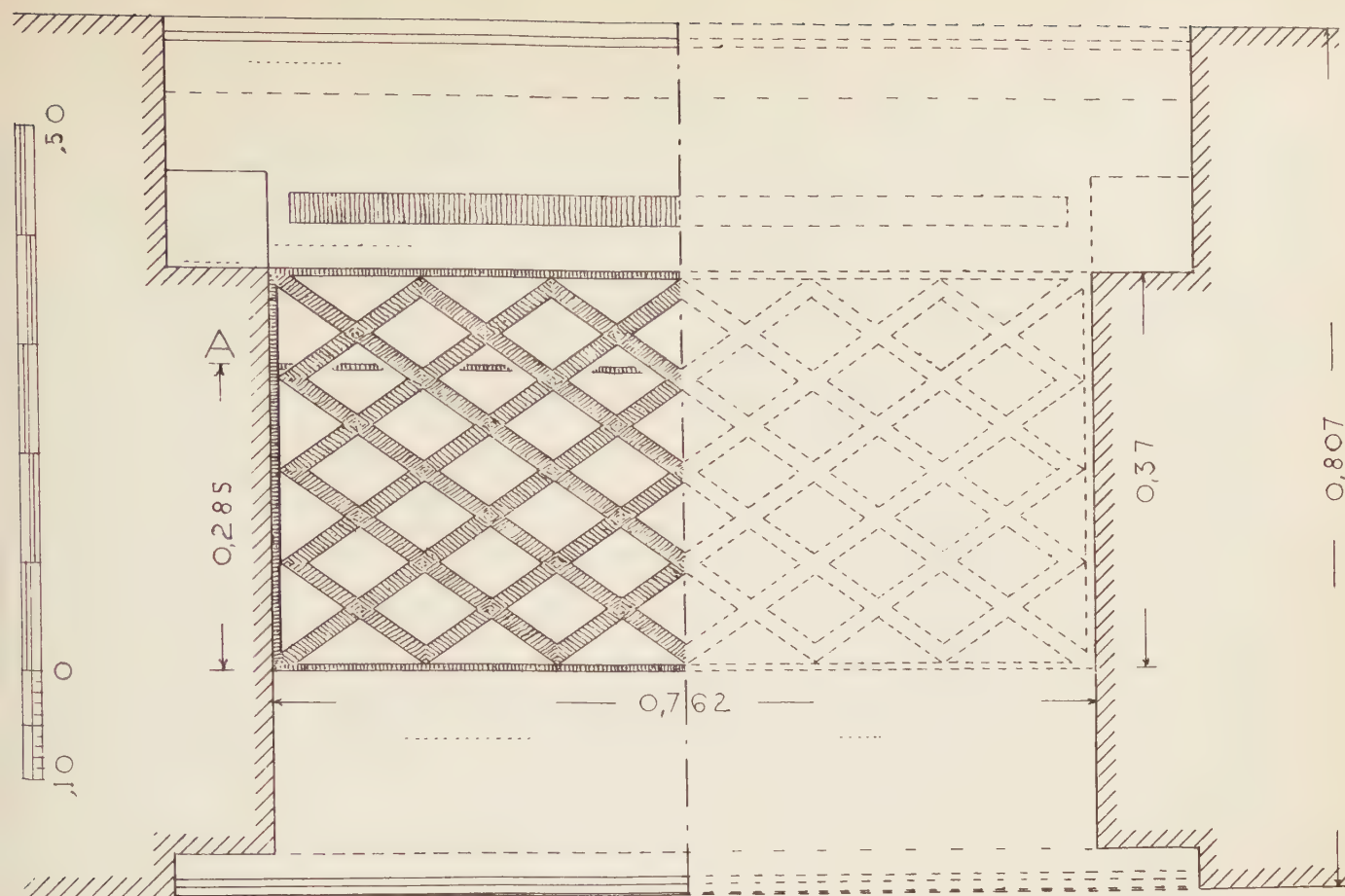




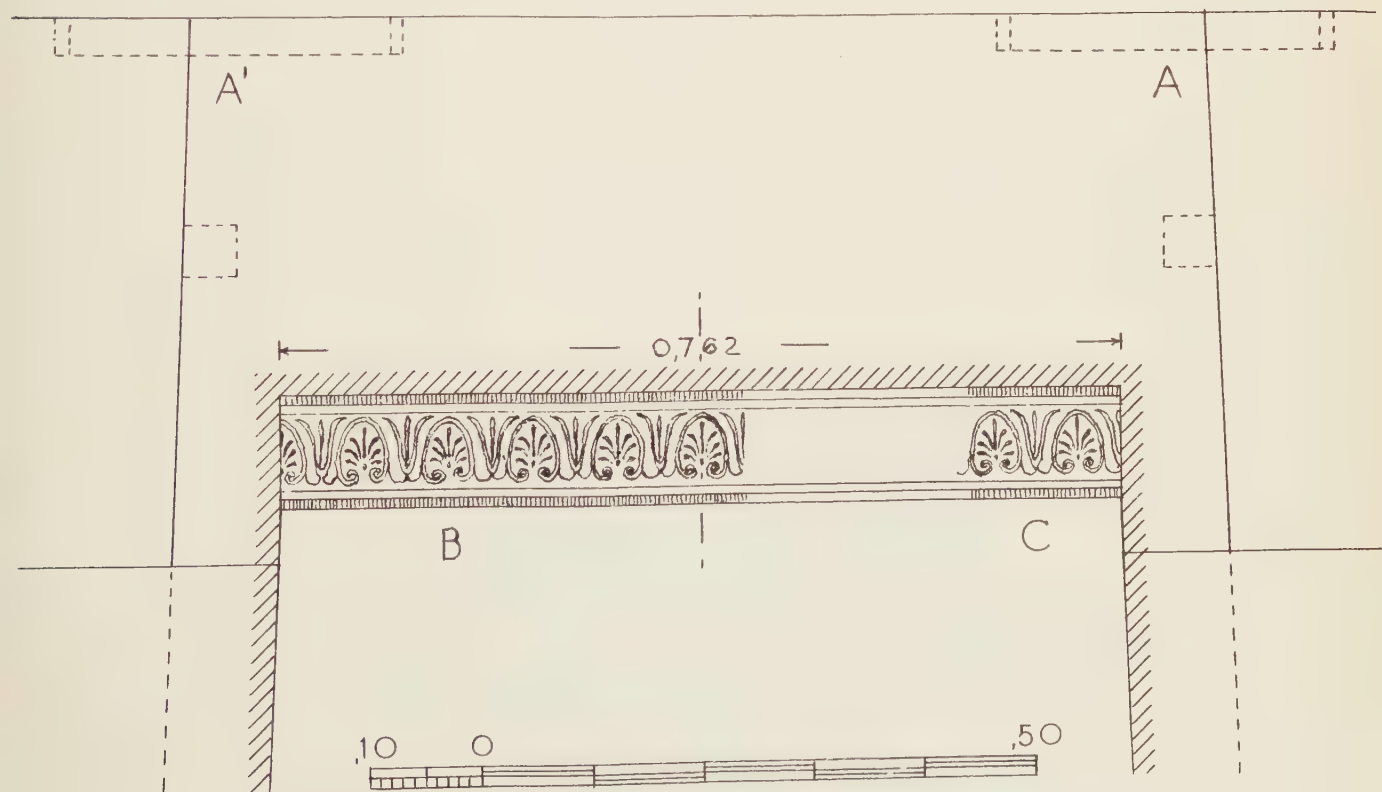
a. Proposed Arrangement of the Five Lintel Fragments about a Coffe



b. Detail of Engraved Lines for Lozenges of the Soffit of the Coffe

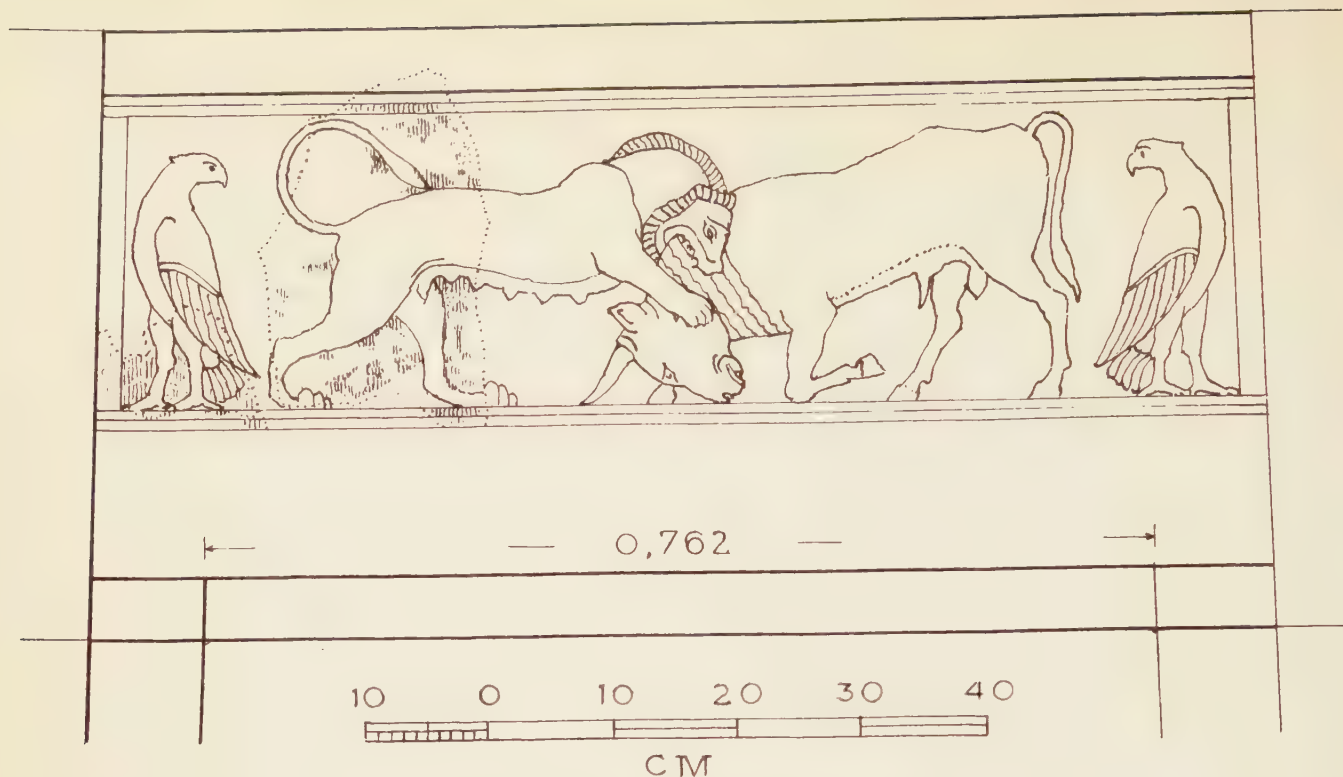


a. Painted Decoration of the Ceiling of the Coffin; a Restoration

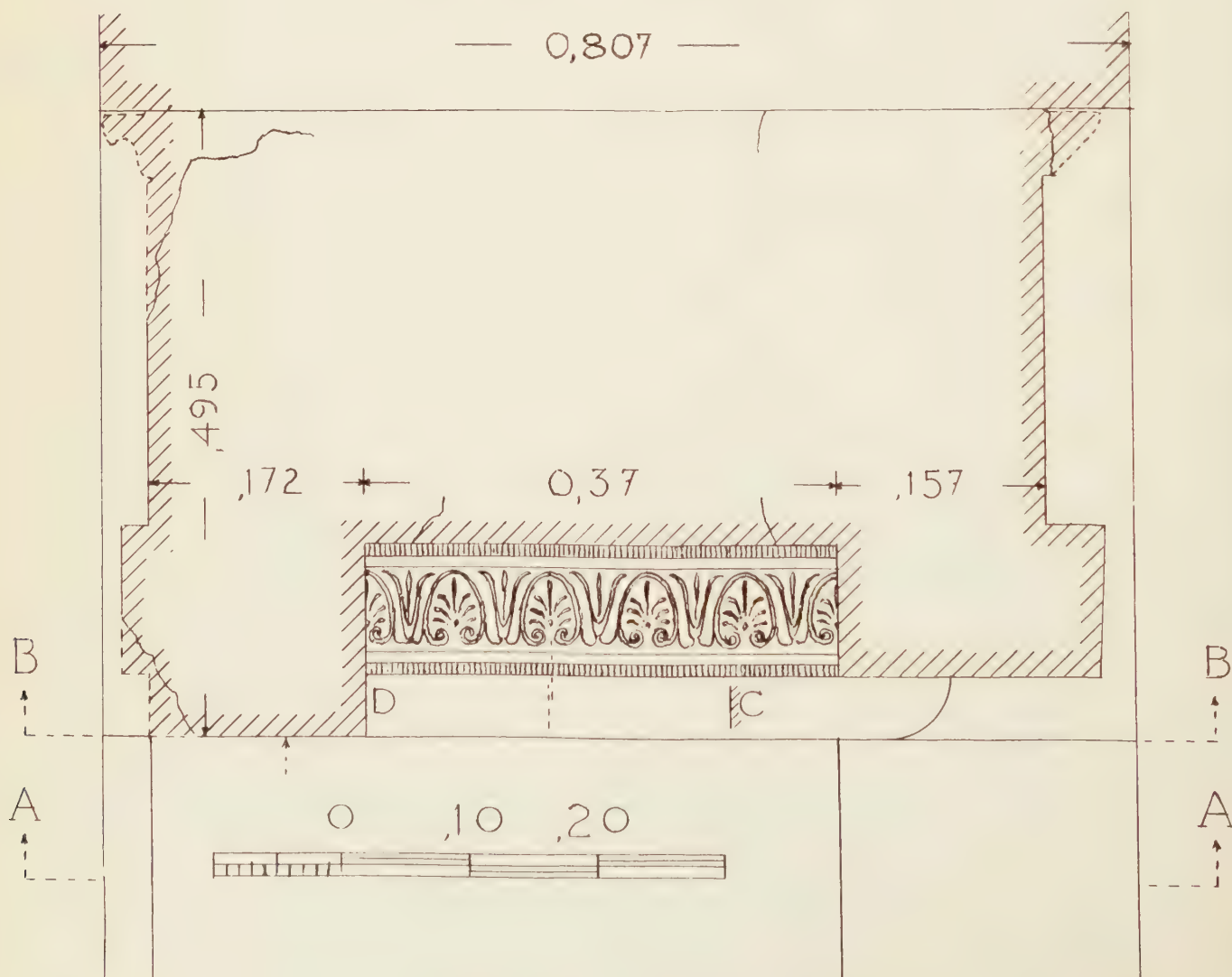


b. Longitudinal Section through the Lintel; a Restoration

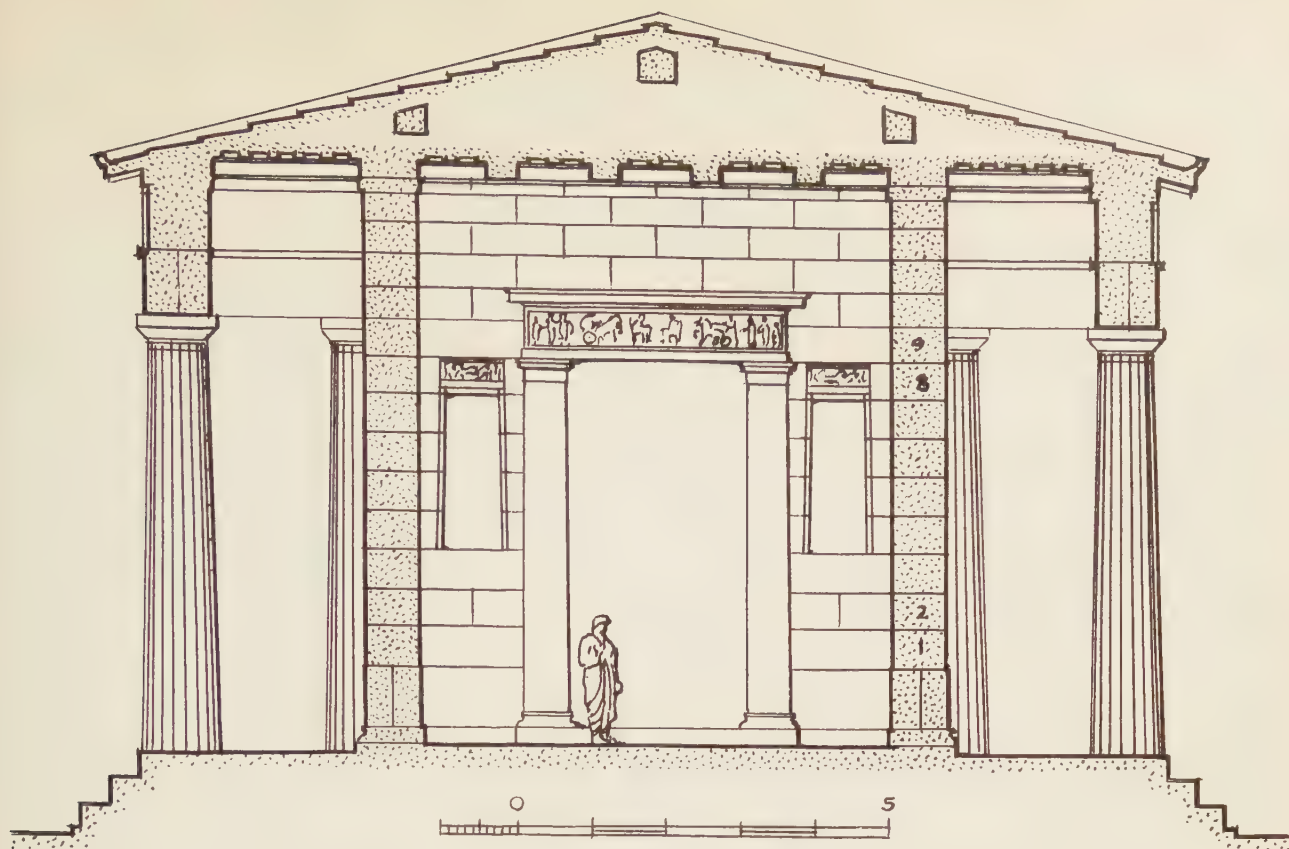




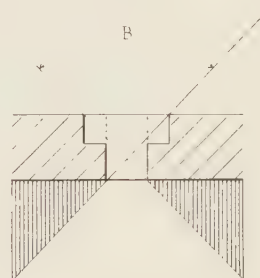
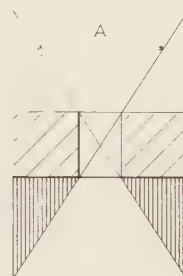
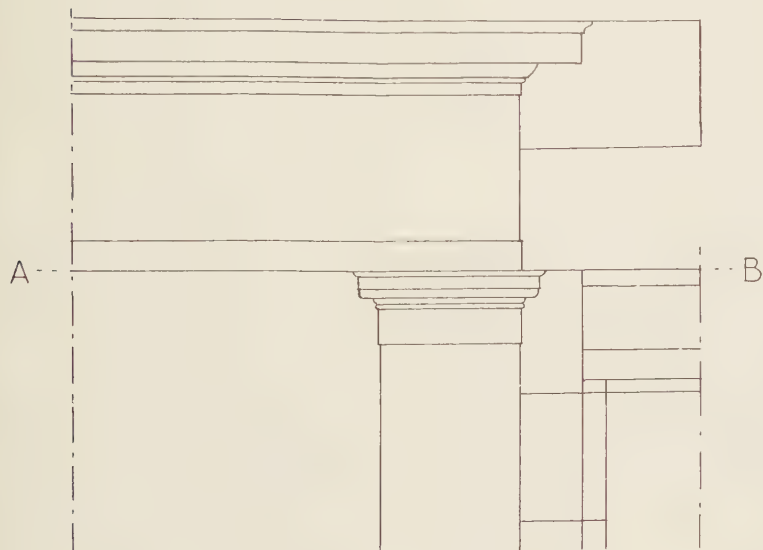
a. Tentative Restoration of the Frieze of the Lioness



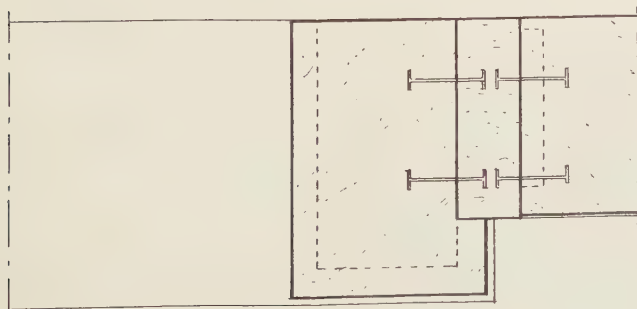
b. Cross Section through the Lintel; a Restoration



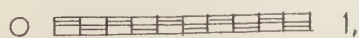
a. Tentative Restoration of East Cross Wall of Hephaisteion



c. Splayed Window Jambs Allow more Light to Pass through Window

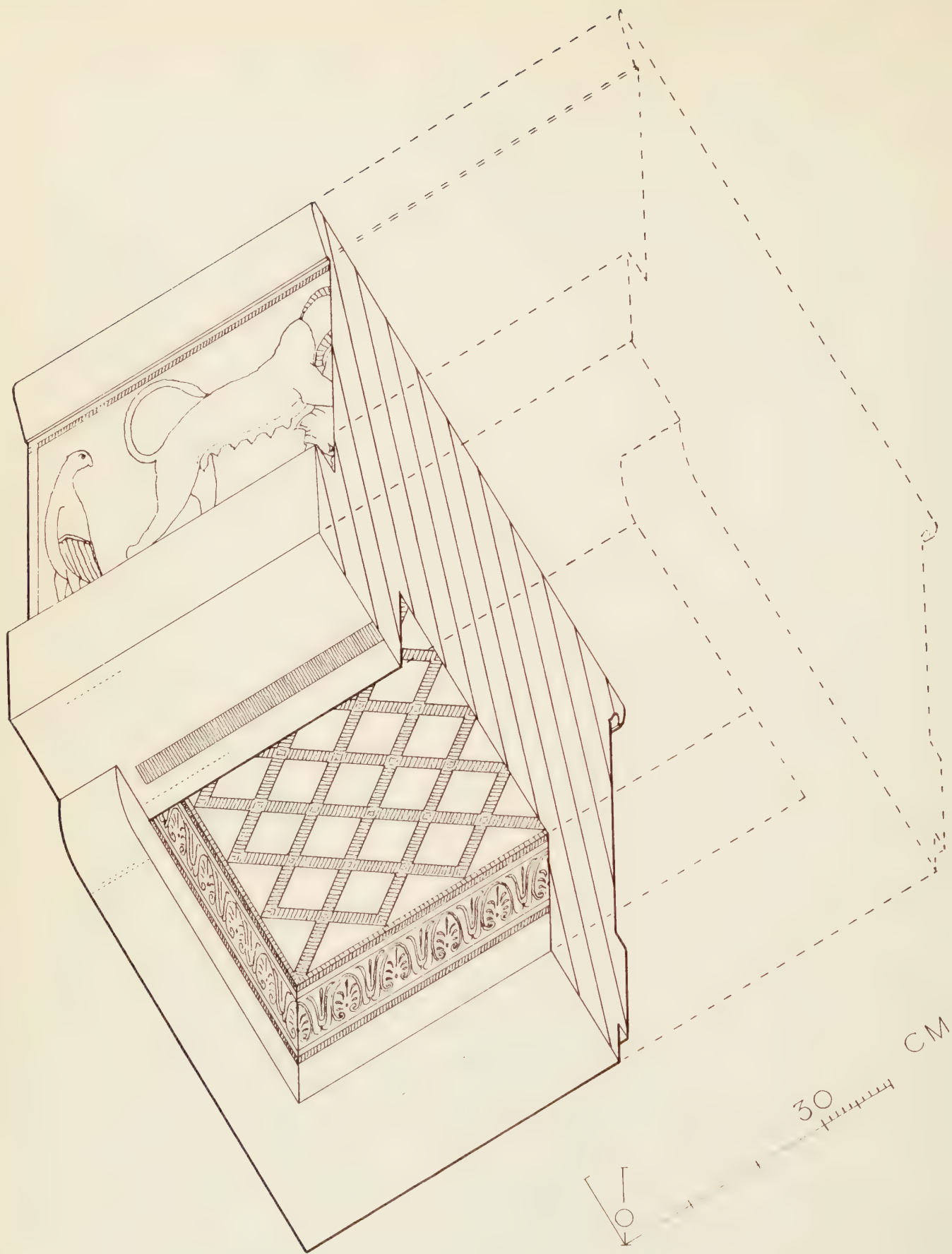


PLAN A-B

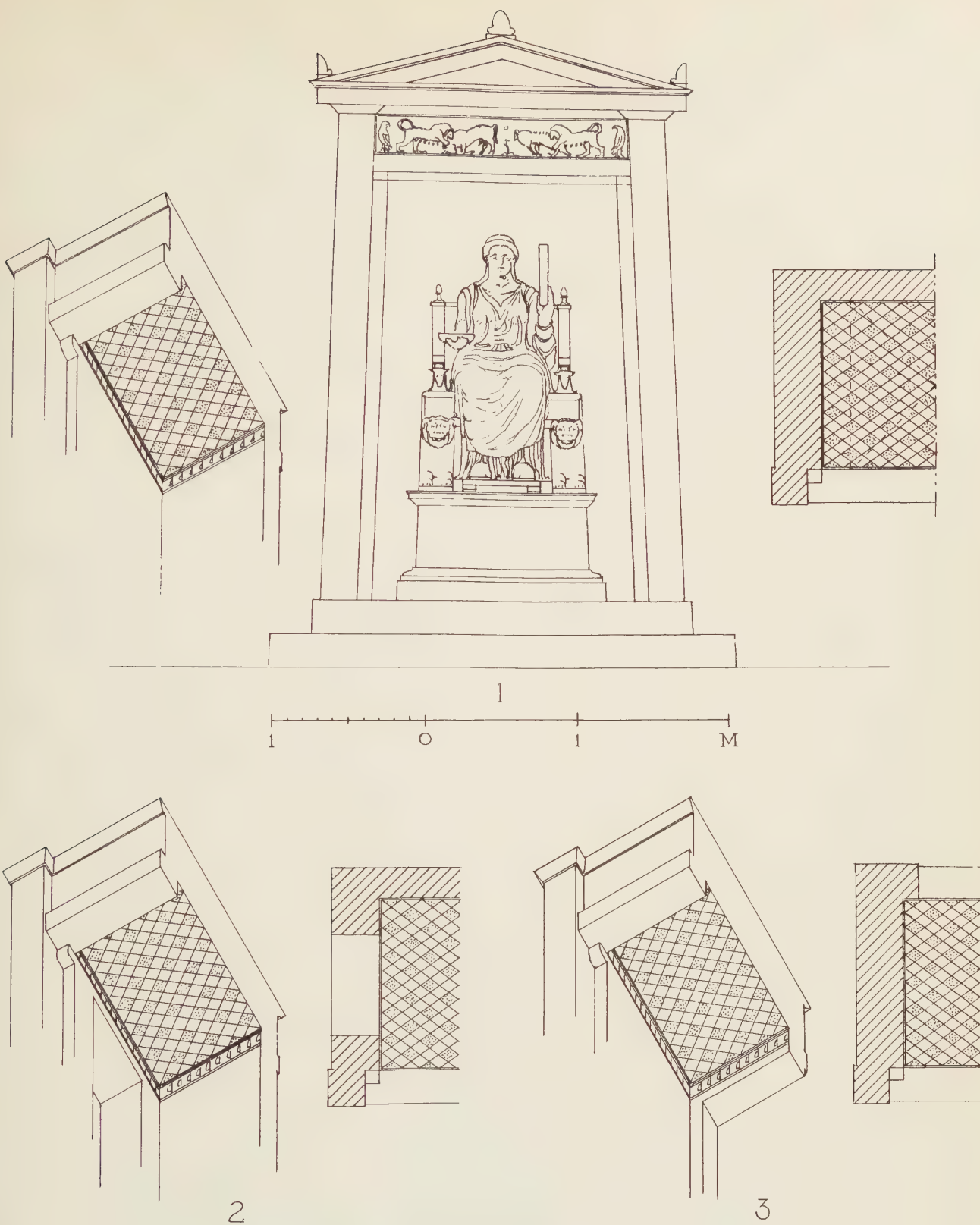


b. Probable Clamps for Small Block between Lioness Lintel and Door Jamb shown in "a" above





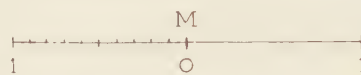
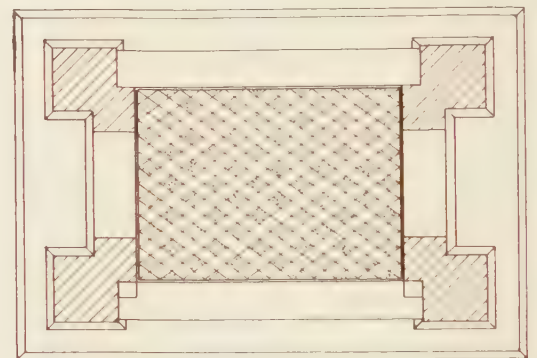
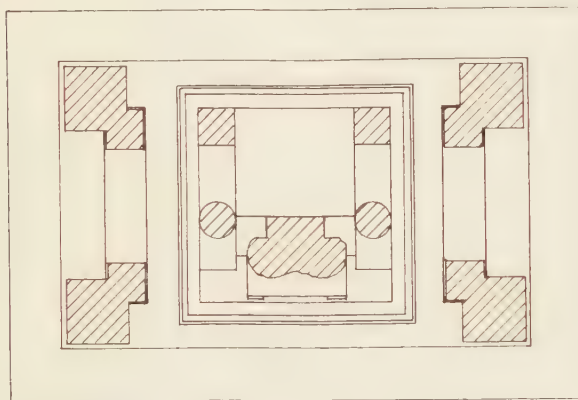
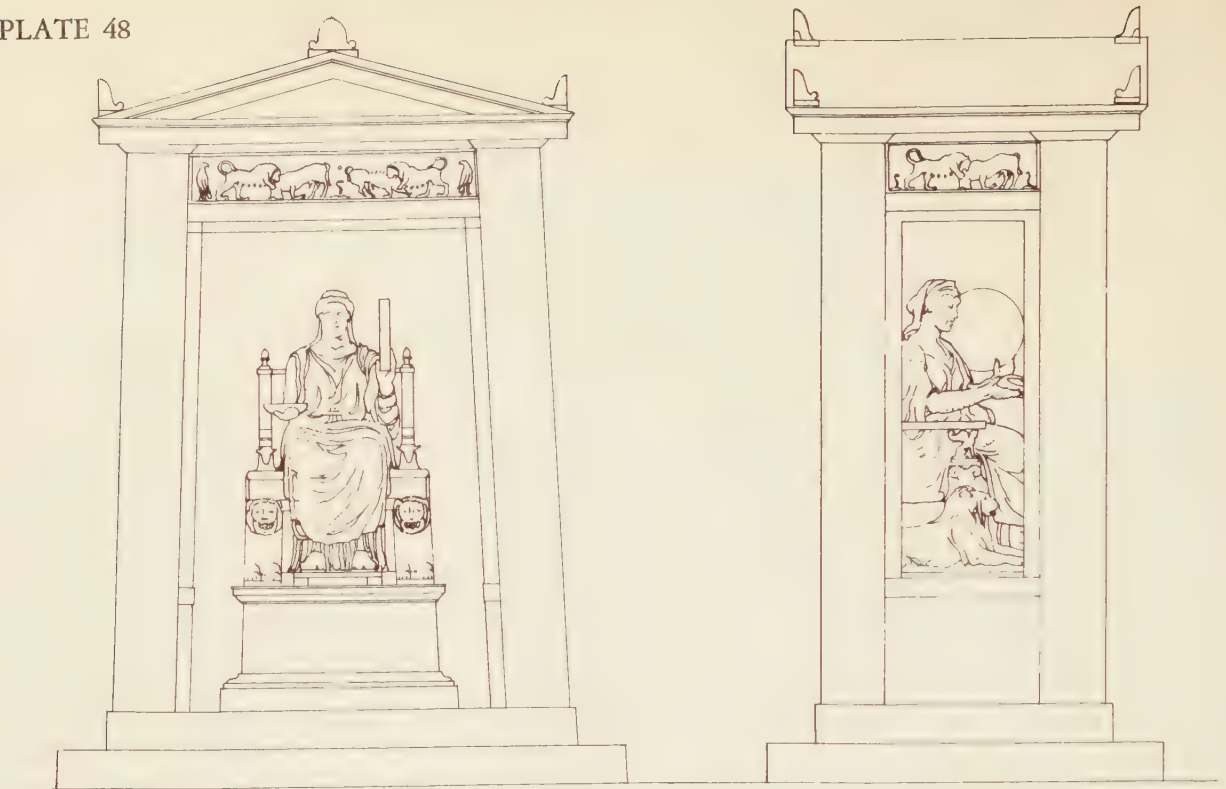
Isometric of the Lioness Lintel as used for a Window



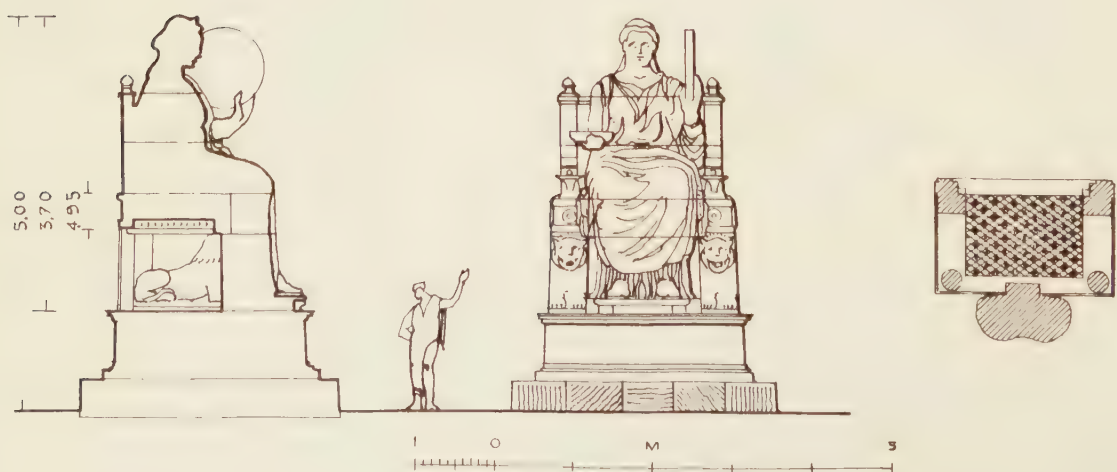
Tentative Restoration of a Naikos to shelter the Mother of the Gods

GORHAM P. STEVENS: LINTEL WITH THE PAINTED LIONESS





a. Tentative Restoration of a Baldacchino to shelter the Mother of the Gods



b. Tentative Restoration of the Lioness Lintel as used in a Throne (A-A in Plate 40, d)

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 49-62)

THIS report includes some recent discoveries from the Athenian Agora, but it is mainly concerned with the systematic exploration of the epigraphical inventory and with the preliminary publication of texts that have not been announced heretofore. It continues and complements the report which appeared in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 1-53, so that this routine study of the inventory has now progressed as far as no. 4500.<sup>1</sup> But there are still a number of inscriptions among the early discoveries which have been assigned to others for special study and which will appear later when these studies have been completed.

## DECREES

**1** (Plate 49). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found near the surface on the north slope of the Acropolis (Section OA) on March 12, 1937.

Height, 0.278 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.111 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 4606.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

ἡ βουλή  
Φιλιστίδην

The text is a citation from an honorary decree, cut within a wreath through which runs vertically a crude representation of a lance.

**2** (Plate 49). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and possibly the back preserved, found on March 28, 1936, in Section HH.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.118 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3855.

ca. a. 275 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. (almost), *ca.* 57

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \tau \eta_S \left[ \dots\dots\dots^{12}\dots\dots \right]$$

<sup>1</sup> The last inventory number on record as of November 12, 1953, was 6641.



- [— — — — — τῆς πρυτανε]ίας· ἐκκλη[σία κυρία· <sup>v</sup>]  
 [τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν . . . . . <sup>ca. 18</sup> Φα]ληρεὺς καὶ [σ]υ[μπρό <sup>v</sup>]  
 5 [ἐδρου· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ· . . . . . <sup>ca. 19</sup> Θυ]μαιτάδης [εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ]  
 [ᾧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς . . . . . <sup>ca. 1</sup>ἰδ]ος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ[ῶν ᾧν]  
 [ἔθνον τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Προστατηρίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶ]ν ᾧν ἔθυσαν ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς <sup>v</sup>]  
 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· τύχει ἀγαθεῖ δεδόχθαι τῶι] δήμῳ· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθ[ὰ δέ]  
 [χεσθαι τὰ γεγενητά ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὕγιε]ῖαι καὶ σωτηρία[ι <sup>vv</sup>]  
 10 [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων] ὅσοι εὖνους εἰ[σι <sup>v</sup>]  
 [τῶι δήμῳ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς . . . . . <sup>ca. 1</sup>ἰδος ἔθυσαν τάς] τε θυσί[ας <sup>vv</sup>]  
 [τὰς καθηκούσας — — — — —]

A close parallel for the formulae of this prytany-decree is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 674. The documents are alike also in approximate length of line and in disposition of the text, but the restoration of line 7 (more so than of the other lines) remains doubtful.

**3** (Plate 49). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found in Section H' on February 25, 1936. The stone is badly battered except on the inscribed face; the left edge seems not to be original, but crudely cut back in some re-use of the stone. The inscription is stoichedon, and the units of this pattern measure 0.0072 m. horizontally by 0.014 m. vertically.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3605.

*ca. med. saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 45

- [...<sup>8</sup>...]ι[ — — — — —]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...τ]οῖς ν[όμοις <sup>v</sup> ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβη]  
 [ν Ἐρμόδωρ]ον Ἐορ[τίου Ἀχαρνέα <sup>v</sup> καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Λυσι]  
 [κλῆν Ἀντι]πάτρου Σ[υπαλήττιον <sup>v</sup> καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον . . . .]  
 5 [...<sup>5</sup>... Νικ]άνδρον Ἀ[γκυλῆθεν — — — — —]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...κα]λῶς καὶ [φιλοτίμως — — — — —]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]υπο[ — — — — —]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]ρῶν[ — — — — —]

This fragment belongs to a decree honoring the epheboi and their instructors, similar to that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 700, which is now republished with a new fragment in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 110-114. Indeed the names of the three ephebic instructors preserved in both inscriptions are the same.<sup>2</sup> The formulae of this text differ from

<sup>2</sup> In *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 112, the reading of line 34 should be: Ἀντιπάτρου Συπαλήττι[ον <sup>vvv</sup> καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχον . . . . . <sup>9</sup>... Νι], with punctuation similar to that in the line above. The new inscription here published shows that there were nine letters (not eleven) in the name of Nikandros's son.

those of the other preserved inscriptions and a complete restoration cannot be made on the analogy of them.

4 (Plate 49). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section KK on April 21, 1936.

Height, 0.057 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4038.

*ca. med. saec. III a.*

*lacuna*

Ἀμφιτ[ροπήθεν]  
Ἑγ[ή]μων Ἑγησίο[υ]  
Πυθάνεγλος Π[— — — —]  
[Ἀρκ]εσίλας Εὐβ[— — — —]

*lacuna*

The fragment belongs to the roster of names accompanying the decrees in honor of the prytaneis of the phyle Antiochis and the officers of the Council.

5 (Plate 49). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side preserved, found on March 1, 1936, in Section H'.

Height, 0.113 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3658.

*saec. III a.*

Col. I

Col. II

[Οἰνηίδος]

[-----]ιος

[-----]Ἀχαρ]νεύς

[-----]εύς

5 [-----]Ἀχα]ρνεύς

[Κεκροπίδος] *vac.*

[-----]ε]ύς

[-----] *vac.*

[Ἱπποθωντίδος] *vac.*

10 [-----]Ἀμαξ]αντεύς

[-----] *vac.*

(missing)



This document has all the characteristics of a list of epheboi of the third century, in which the names were arranged in two columns below the text of an honorary decree.<sup>3</sup> The names in lines 1-8 probably belonged to Oineis and Kekropis (in that order). It is certain that the name in line 10 belonged to Hippothontis.

**6** (Plate 49). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section N on April 7, 1936.

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3984.

*init. saec. III a.*

— — — — — ὑπηρέ[της]  
*vac.* 0.056 m.  
 ἡ βο[υλή]  
 οἱ φυλ[έται]  
 ἡγέσ[τρατον]  
 Ἀμε[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]

The document seems to be from a so-called prytany-decree. The preserved portion has the title of the servant, the last item (at times) in the roster of names (cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 361, no. 7, lines 123-124), and one of the citations.

**7** (Plate 50). The upper part of a prytany-decree of Hymettian marble, found in Section P on May 29, 1953, in a context of Byzantine date in the west side of the Odeion drain between the temple and the altar of Ares. The sides and back are preserved and a little of the moulding is preserved above the text.

Height, 0.41 m.; width (at top), 0.426 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6625.

*a.* 214/3 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 48

[Ἐπὶ Εὐφίλ]ήτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Ἄν[τιγονίδος] ] δευτέρας πρυ[  
 [τανεί]ας ἣν Ἀρίστων Θεοδώρου Παμν[ούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν]  
 [ψη]φίσματα δήμον· Μεταγεινιῶνος ἕκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα δευτέ]  
 ραι ἐνβολίμωι, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτα[νείας· ἐκκλησία]  
 5 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Παρμ[— — <sup>ca. 10</sup> — —]

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 681; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 110-114, no. 20.

- μηρίου Λαμπρεὺς καὶ συνπρόεδροι· Σωστρατῖν[ος — <sup>ca. 6</sup> — ]  
 νου Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυ[τάνεις]  
 [ [τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος] ] ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τ[ῶν ἐκκλη] 10  
 σιῶν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τε[ῖ]  
 10 Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δ[ε]  
 δόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱε<sup>ν</sup>  
 ροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου,  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθῆ  
 15 κον ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπιμεμέληνται δὲ καὶ<sup>ν</sup>  
 15 τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων  
 ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου,  
 ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις [ [τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος] ] καὶ στεφανῶσαι<sup>ν</sup>  
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς<sup>νν</sup>  
 τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον  
 20 τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψηφίσμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸ[ν]  
 κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτα  
 νικῶ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν μερί  
 σαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα *vacat*  
 ἡ βουλή  
 25 Ξερόφιλον  
*vacat*  
 Παιανιέα  
 ἡ βουλή  
 30 ὁ δῆμος  
 τοὺς πρυ  
 [τά]νεις  
 ἡ βουλή  
 τὸν γραμματέα  
 Ἀγνόθε[ον]  
 35 [-----]

Line 1: The name of the phyle intentionally erased was Ἀντιγονίδος. The choice lies between Antigonis and Demetrias, the two so-called Macedonian phylai, and since the first citation (lines 24-27) shows that the treasurer of the prytaneis honored (Ξερόφιλος Παιανιεύς) belonged to Antigonis, it is clear that τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος must be restored in the erasures of lines 8 and 17, and at the same time it is made extremely probable that the decree itself was passed during the prytany of Antigonis (line 1).<sup>4</sup>

The importance of this inscription lies principally in the calendar equation of lines 1-4. Within limits, the number of letters in the lost portion of the text at the ends of lines 1-8 can be accurately estimated, enough so to show that δευτέρας is a better numeral than τρίτης for the prytany in line 1 and that ἕκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα] is a better date for the restoration in line 3 than ἕκ[τει μετ' εἰκάδας]. Nothing but a chaotic calendar could result from the alternative restoration ἕκ[τει ἱσταμένου], and this is not so satisfactory anyway, for the space available, as ἕκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα]. A measure of control over the number of missing letters is given by the certain restoration of the secretary's name in line 2: Ἀρίστων Θεοδώρου Ῥαμν[ούσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν]. Thus

<sup>4</sup> For the dates of such decrees within the prytany, see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 7.

it appears that the year of the archon Euphiletos (214/3) was an ordinary year in which the second intercalated 16th of Metageitnion was equated with the 21st day of the second prytany: Μεταγειτνιώνος ἔκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα δευτέ]ραι ἐμβολίμωι, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς (δευτέρας) πρυτα[νείας].

If the first prytany had 27 days, this was the 48th day of the year. The equation could then be achieved by assuming that Hekatombaion had 30 days, and that the second intercalated 16th day of Metageitnion was in reality the 18th day of that month. But there is no assurance that at least one other irregularly intercalated day did not precede these two known intercalated days in Metageitnion: that is, the day may have been the 49th day of the year, with the first prytany containing 28 days instead of 27. The irregularities are more serious if it is assumed that the year was intercalary, and this solution is probably to be rejected.<sup>5</sup>

This inscription belongs with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 458 and 838, as evidence that δευτέραι ἐμβολίμωι means a second intercalated day and has no bearing on the calendar character of the year (whether O or I) or on intercalated months.<sup>6</sup>

Line 2: The name of the secretary Ἀρίστων Θεοδώρου Ῥαμν[ούσιος] is otherwise unknown. During the period of the thirteen phylai Rhamnous belonged to Aiantis (XII) and so falls into place in the secretary-cycle in 214/3. Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxv.

Line 3: For the restoration ἔκ[τει ἐπὶ δέκα] see the commentary on line 1.

Line 5: The name of the proedros was Παρμ[— — —<sup>ca. 10</sup> — —]μηνίου Λαμπτρέως. Of the letters here marked as doubtful, the *rho* with hasta preserved seems probable because of the spacing, the first *mu* is preferable to *alpha* because of the finial on the preserved left stroke, and the second *mu* seems probable even though one of the diagonals is less clear than the other. The patronymic was probably [Νοῦ]μηνίου, but it must be recorded that all three doubtful letters are really doubtful.<sup>7</sup>

Lines 6-7: The orator Σωστρατῖν[ος . . .<sup>ca. 8</sup> . . .]νου Μελιτεῦς is otherwise unknown. One Θουμόριος Σωστρατῖνου Εὐωνυμεύς was named on a grave monument (columella) in the late third century B. C. (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6175); he was named also as Θουμόριος Εὐων in a list of contributors of the year 247/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 791 d I 13 = *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 291, no. 56 I 55).

Line 8: For the erasure of τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος see commentary on line 1, above.

Line 17: For the erasure of τῆς Ἀντιγονίδος see commentary on line 1, above.

Lines 25-27: The citation in this position on the stone belongs to the treasurer of

<sup>5</sup> On the best interpretation of the evidence the preceding year 215/4 was intercalary. See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxv; Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> See Pritchett and Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 33, 74.

<sup>7</sup> One [...σ]τρ[α]τ[ο]ς Νομηνίου Λαμπτρέως was ephebos in the archonship of Apollodoros in 80/79 or 79/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, line 78). For the date see S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 124.



the prytaneis. Xenophilos of Paiania is otherwise unknown, and his patronymic was not inscribed.

Line 34: The secretary of the prytaneis Hagnotheos cannot be identified.

8 (Plate 50). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in Section Σ on April 8, 1936.

Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.089 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4003.

a. 184/3 a.

a. 185/4 a. [-----] ἰδης [-----]  
 [----- εἰ] πὶ Εὐπο[λέμου ἄρχοντος --]  
 [-----] ν᾽ Ἀζη[νιε-----]  
 [----- ᾽Α] χαρν[ε-----]  
 5 [-----]

Presumably the honorary decree, giving praise to some college of officials or to some administrative officer (or officers) of the archonship of Eupolemos, was passed in the year of his successor.

9 (Plate 50). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section II on May 28, 1935.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2943.

ca. a. 178/7 a.

[᾽Αμαξαντεῖς]  
*lacuna?*  
 Ξένων  
 ᾽Ηράκλειος  
 5 Σίμυλος  
 [Δ]ιόγειτος  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...] δωρος  
 -----

The names ᾽Ηράκλειος and Σίμυλος both appear in a list of prytaneis of Hippothontis in 178/7 B. C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 121, no. 64) under the demotic ᾽Αμαξαντεῖς. This inscription also is to be interpreted as a list of prytaneis of Hippo-



The names in lines 2-5 probably belong to the instructors of the epheboi in some year of the second century B. C. (cf. *e. g.*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, lines 20-24). The setting up of the stele in the Agora, as restored in line 6, was normal practice; the formula for the specific designation of locality, in lines 6-7, is attested, *e. g.*, by *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 25-26, no. 12<sup>22</sup>, 63: οὗ ἂν εὐκαιρον ᾗ. It militates against the interpretation of the present text as a prytany-decree that the praise of the officers is followed by citations rather than by a catalogue of prytaneis, as would have been expected if this were in fact concerned with praise of the officers of the Council.

**12** (Plate 50). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section N on April 8, 1953.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.093 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3989.

*saec.* II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

	[--- ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυ]			
	[τανείαν] ἐν στ[ῆλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῶν εἰς δὲ τὴν]			
	[ἀναγρα]φὴν καὶ [τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στῆλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν]			
	[τῶν στ]ρατιω[τιω]τ[ικῶν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα <i>vacat</i> ]			
5	[---]σιοι	Π[-----]		
	[-----]τος	Ἰε[-----]	Col. III	Col. IV
	[-----]ς	Φ[-----]	lost	lost

For the restorations, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 920. The names of the prytaneis were arranged in four columns beneath the so-called "second" decree (cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 4). In line 5 appears the demotic for the deme to which the Treasurer of the Prytaneis belonged (Dow, *loc. cit.*).

**13** (Plate 51). Fragment of a stele of white marble, broken on all sides, found near the surface in Section P on March 17, 1936.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3804a.

*p. med. saec.* II *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 45

*lacuna*

[ἐπαινέσαι ----- ου]ς Ἀλεξανδ[ρέα καὶ στε]  
[φανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐνοί]ας ἔνεκα καὶ [φιλοτιμίας]



[τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον] ν τὸν Ἀθηναίω[ν· δεδóσθαι]  
 [δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ πολιτείαν δοκιμασθ]έντι ἐν τῶι δικα[στηρίωι]  
 5 [κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνημα] ὑπάρχει τ[ῆς ---]  
 [-----]

*lacuna*

The restoration follows well-known formulae. Traces of letters appear also in the sixth line. For the supplements in lines 1-2 cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 984<sup>13-14</sup>; in lines 2-3 cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 926<sup>9-10</sup>; in lines 3-5 cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 980<sup>13-15</sup>, 988<sup>8-9</sup>; in line 5 cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 891<sup>17</sup>.

**14** (Plate 50). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side preserved, found on March 7, 1936, in Section Θ.

Height, 0.118 m.; width, 0.078 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3668.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 42

ΛΙ ≡ [-----]  
 ματι ἐν[----- ἀνα]  
 γράψαι [δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτὰ]  
 νείαν ἐ[ν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσai ἐν ἀκροπόλει· τὸ]  
 5 δὲ γε[νόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρα]  
 τιωτ[ικῶν                      *vacat*                      ]  
*vacat*

**15** (Plate 51). Stele of Pentelic marble, with the left edge preserved, found on February 18, 1935, in a modern wall in Section Ξ.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2455.

*a.* 264/3 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

[-----]  
 ΓΩΝΕ [-----]  
 λους [-----]  
 κασιν ε[----- εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς]  
 5 στήλης μερ[ίσαι τὸν δήμαρχον · ΔΔ · δραχμὰς καὶ λογίσασθαι τ]  
 οἷς δημόταις

*In corona*  
οἱ δημ[όται]  
ἐπὶ Διογ<ν>ήτ[ου]

[*In corona*]

The restoration of lines 5-6 is patterned on the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1206, lines 18-19. The decree belongs to a deme, the identity of which remains obscure. In the crown the archon's name has been misspelled: we read ἐπὶ Διογ<ν>ήτ[ου] for ἐπὶ Διογήτ[ου]. Within the crown there is hardly room for more than two letters after the *tau*, and names in Διογητ- — are unknown. A misspelling here for Διογείτ[ωνος] seems unlikely because of the length of the restoration.

There was room for another crown at the lower right of the stele, symmetrically placed (one may suppose) with that which has been in large part preserved.

### CATALOGUES

**16** (Plate 51). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the back and left side preserved, found in Section HH on April 22, 1936.

Height, 0.187 m.; width, 0.183 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4031.

*fin. saec. V a.*

[— — — — —]  
[h]εβδομ[ίας]  
[Φι]λίνος  
[Α]ἰσχύλος  
5 [Δ]εινίας  
[Μ]οιρίας  
Χαροπίδες  
[Δ]εμοκλῆς  
[.]ο[— — —]  
10 [— — — — —]

Traces of letters appear in the first line. This list of names comes from a catalogue of the late fifth century B. C. which in script and spacing is the same as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 952. The thickness of that stone is given as 0.10 m., close enough, we believe, to allow the claim that this present text is part of the original monument to which *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 952 belonged. It was Hiller's opinion (cf. commentary on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 952) that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 951 possibly belonged also with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 952.

17 (Plate 51). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section HH on April 27, 1936.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4076.

This fragment joins the top of Fragment D of the great archon list (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706) published by Dow in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418-446, with plates XII-XIV (text on plate XIV),<sup>8</sup> and enables one to restore the text of lines 79-90 as follows:

	[ — — — — <sup>ca. 14</sup> — — — — ] λ ε	
80	[ — — — — <sup>ca. 13</sup> — — — — ] ο ς	
221/0	[ ἄρχ Θρασυφῶν Εὐ ] ω ν ν	Erechtheis III
	[ βασ . . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . . ] Σ η μα	Antiochis XIII
	[ πολ . . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . . Π ] αι αν	Pandionis V
	[ θεσμοθέται ] ν α c .	
85	[ . . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . . Λ α μ ] π τ ρ ε	Antigonis I
	[ . . . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . . . ] ν ἐ κ Κο	Demetrias II
	[ Καλ ] λ ι κ [ ρ ] ά τ η ς Ἐ λ α ι ε	Aigeis IV
	[ Ἡρ ] α κ λ ε ῖ δ η ς Π τ ε λ ε ά	Oineis IX
	Αἰ ν έ α ς Ἐ μ α ξ α ν τ ε ύ	Hippothontis XI
90	Εὐ μ η λ ο ς Οἰ ν α ῖ ο ς	Aiantis XII
	etc.	

Parts of demotics are now given for the last two thesmothetai of 222/1, and all demotics are known for the archons of 221/0. They conform to Beloch's law (cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 21) for the distribution of the phylai within the college of archons for the year, and are also in conformity with the tribal cycles for archon, basileus, and polemarch, in the period from 223 to 213 B. C.<sup>9</sup> It is important to have found that the archon Thrasyphon belonged to the deme Euonymon. Dow had rightly dissociated him from Alopeke (as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706) and only tentatively suggested that he might have belonged to Xypete.

<sup>8</sup> Very few changes have been made in this text since Dow's publication. In line 36 the name should be corrected to [Λ]αμπρίας Θοραειός; the polemarch of line 93 was Κλεομέδων Ἀζην(ιεύς) (cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 20-21); the polemarch of line 143 was Αἰσχρίων Φυλάσ(ιος) (cf. W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 192); and the final line of the inscription (line 170) should be read "Ἀνδρων Ἀμ[αξαντεύ].

<sup>9</sup> See W. S. Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 50-54, with readjustments of the dates according to Dow (*loc. cit.*) and corrections in readings as recorded in note 8.



**18** (Plate 52). Part of the upper portion of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides and at the bottom, found on February 20, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.107 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m. and 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 2466.

*saec.* II *p.*

[ἀγαθ]ῆ [τύχη]  
[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ]ος Πο. Α[ιλίου - - - -]  
[- - - - -]έως [- - - - -]  
[- - - - -]

The inscription cannot be dated exactly, for the remains of the name in lines 2-3 are too scant to permit sure identification with any known archon of the Roman period.

**19** (Plate 52). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in Section B on May 3, 1935.

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.069 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2960.

*med. saec.* II *p.*

[- - - - -]  
[οἱ πρυτ]άνει[ς τῆς - - - - φυλῆς]  
[- - - -]ης πρ[υτανείας τιμήσαντες]  
[ἐαυτοὺς] καὶ τ[οὺς αἰσιτίους ἀνέγραψαν]

This text belongs to the preamble of a prytany-catalogue, and in its terminology and arrangement was probably similar to the preamble of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771.

**20** (Plate 52). Fragment from a columnar monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on April 25, 1935, in a filling of late Roman date in Section B.

Height, 0.138 m.; width, 0.118 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2957.

*fin. saec.* II *p.*

[- - - - -]ια[- - - - -]  
[- - - - - ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἑρμε]ίας > Ἀζη[νιεύς]  
[- - - - - ὑπο]γρ Μύρων

Hermias and Myron are both known from the prytany-catalogues of the late second century after Christ, and possibly the name of the *ιεραύλης*, [*Ἐπαφρόδειτος ὁ καὶ Ἰ* *Ἀφροδείσιος*], should also be supplied in line 1. See especially *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 49, no. 11, where the reading in line 61 should be *ιεραύλης Ἐπαφρόδειτος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος*, and where these same names appear among the *αἰεῖσιτοι*. The date given by Notopoulos to this already published inscription is 182/3 (*A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 53 and *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 55).

**21** (Plate 52). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern fill in Section ΠΘ on Feb. 14, 1936.

Height, 0.067 m.; width, 0.134 m.; thickness, 0.032 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3393.

*saec.* II *p.*

[— — — — —] > [— — — — — — — — —]  
 [— — — — —] μένους ἐξ Οἴ Ο[— — — — —]  
 [— — — — —]ος > Σφήττιος  
                     Κλ Ἐρεννιανός [— — — — —]

**22** (Plate 52). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the left edge preserved, found in Section Σ on March 26, 1936.

Height, 0.221 m.; width, 0.293 m.; thickness, 0.153 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.-0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3886.

*saec.* II *p.*

Π[ό] (πλιος) Σπέδι[ος — — — — — — — — —]  
 Φλυεύς· Κλ[ (αύδιος) — — — — — — — — —]  
 Ὀρέων T[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]

For the name Σπέδιος in Athens cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5656 and 5684; the name Ὀρέων is known, in a much earlier text, from Eretria (*I.G.*, XII, 9, no. 191 A<sub>41</sub>), but there is no reasonable doubt about the reading of the present document. Since the width of the stone is not known, it cannot be determined whether Spedios was from Phlya (implying a continuous text and a very short line) or whether Klaudios belongs also to the same name with Oreon.

**23** (Plate 52). Fragment from the top of a block of Pentelic marble, found in Section Σ on March 23, 1936.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.308 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3881.

*saec.* II *p.*

[K]ολλυτ<ε>ῖς  
[Ἐρ]έ Ἀγήσανδ[ρος]  
Γαργήττιοι  
[Ἐρ]έ Σακέρδως  
5 [— — —] [Ἀ]ριανός  
[— —] [— — — — —]

A letter was omitted by the stonecutter from the demotic in line 1, and in line 5 it is probable that only one letter should be restored in the principal name, thus yielding [Ἀ]ριανός rather than [Ἀρ]ριανός as might have been expected. The demesmen belong to the phyle Aigeis.

**24** (Plate 52). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the original thickness preserved, found in Section H' on February 27, 1936.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.178 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3606.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

<p>— — — μου — — — — )</p>	<p>— — — — — — — — — Ἀντίγον[ος — — —] Δούκιος Σ[— — — —] ᾽Οναςος [— — — —] 5 Διονύσι[ος — — —] — — — — — — — — —</p>
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This inscription probably belongs to a list of epheboi or of prytaneis.

**25** (Plate 52). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in Section H' on February 20, 1936.

Height, 0.093 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3603.

*init. saec.* III *p.*

[— — — —]φ[— — — — — — — —]



[---] Κόρυμβο[s-----]  
 [--- Σ]ώνικος Δι[-----]  
 [--- Π]άμφιλος [---]  
 5 [--- Δ]ιονύσιος Π[-----]  
 [Κόμ]μοδος Ὀνη[-----]

It is probable that this fragment belongs to a list of epheboi.

**26** (Plate 52). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on November 30, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3080.

*init. saec. III p.*

[Πα]νβωτάδ[αι]  
 [Δωσ]ίθεος Ἡρακλ[ίδου]  
 [Ἡρα]κλίδης Δωσ[ιθέου]  
 [Εὐτ]υχιανός)  
 5 Τρικορύ[σιοι]  
 [---] Προκ[-----]  
 [-----]

The names are part of a list of prytaneis of Hadrianis. Here the younger Herakleides (line 3) was already of age to be a councillor, and the older Herakleides (line 2) must have been his grandfather. Dositheos (lines 2 & 3) had a son Αὐρ'. Δωσίθεος ὁ καὶ Θαλῆς Δωσιθέου Παμβωτάδης who was kosmetes of the epheboi in A. D. 212/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2208, lines 6-7; and 3763) and who, with another son [Ἡρ]ακλείδης Δωσιθέου [Παμβωτάδης], was named in a catalogue of the tribe of Kerykes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, lines 8 & 13-14) at approximately the same date. The young Thales was prytanis *ca.* A. D. 225 (Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1832, line 9) or in A. D. 231/2 (Notopoulos in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 33, 40). Our present text must be dated earlier than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, for Dositheos is named as prytanis (presumably in his later years) in line 2, whereas his absence from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2340, argues that he had died before the list of Kerykes was inscribed.

The young Dositheos, also called Thales son of Dositheos, was ephebos in the archonship of Skribonios Kapiton. Mitsos has republished recently the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2247, which has been joined with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2250 and 2484, so that the full name of the young ephebos is given in lines 5-6: ὁ συνστρεμ[ματάρχης Αὐρ' Δωσίθεος ὁ καὶ

Θαλ]ῆς Δωσιθέου Παμβωτ[άδης] (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1950-1951, p. 49). G. A. Stamires, in studying the same text, calls to my attention the fact that the first of the sophronistai must have been an elder relative of the synstremmatarches, and that a suitable restoration in line 11 of the text as given by Mitsos is: [Θαλῆς Δωσιθ]έου Παμβωτάδης. Presumably he was a cousin of Dositheos son of Herakleides.

## DEDICATIONS

**27** (Plate 52). Part of a choregic dedication, broken on all sides, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.28 m.; width 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.137 m.

Height of letters, 0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 3477.

*saec.* IV *a.*

*vacat*

[— — — —] ΟΣΗ [— — — —]  
[— — ἐνί]κα<sup>v</sup> [— — — —]

Two fasciae, and possibly part of a third, are preserved, the upper one (above which is the spring of a moulding) being uninscribed. I have not as yet found that this is part of any dedication already known.

**28** (Plate 54). Base of Pentelic marble, mended from three fragments, found in Section P and in the neighborhood of the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.243 m.; width, 0.72 m.; thickness, 0.335 m.

Height of letters, 0.038 m.

Inv. No. I 3398.

*fin. saec.* V *a.*

[Ἀντι]οχὺς<sup>v</sup> ἄ[— — — — — — — —]  
[ἐνί]κ<sup>v</sup> α<sup>v</sup> ἐ[— — — — — — — —]  
[. . .]στρα[τ]ος [.]αργ[— — — —]

In the top is a narrow rectangular cutting, 0.115 m. × 0.02 m., which looks like the cutting for a clamp. It is broken away at the rear, but still contains a certain amount of lead. The letters of the text are large, and beautifully inscribed.

A. E. Raubitschek has suggested to me the tempting possibility (which must be considered as yet only a hypothesis) that this text may be complementary to that seen by Cyriacus of Ancona and now published in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3027, as follows:

Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγε  
Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε.

If this is true, the supposition must be, of course, that Cyriacus saw the text with a disposition of lines comparable to that in the present inscription:

[Ἀ]ριστείδης	Ἀρχέστρατος
[ἐ]χορήγε	ἐδίδασκε

and that the initial letters of the two words Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγε which appear in Agora Inv. No. I 3398, were restored (and not seen) by Cyriacus. Perhaps the third line carried the name of the flute-player, with ethnic; I have no restoration to suggest, except that the second letter in the ethnic was either *alpha* or *lambda* and that the two following letters are represented now only by vertical strokes rather to the left of center in their respective letter-spaces. If the association is allowed, the composite text would read:

[Ἀντι]οχὺς	Ἀριστείδης	Ἀρχέστρατος
[ἐνίκ]α	ἐχορήγε	ἐδίδασκε
[. . .]στρα[τ]ος	[.]αργ[— — — ηῦλε]	

The first three elements of this inscription are now identical with the monument discussed by Plutarch in his *Life of Aristeides* (I, 3-6). Demetrios of Phaleron had quoted it to show that the famous Aristeides was a wealthy man, but Panaitios was able to show on purely epigraphical and prosopographical grounds that the text belonged to a date after the end of the Peloponnesian War (Plutarch, *Aristides*, *loc. cit.*).

**29** (Plate 54). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken away behind and at the left, found on February 1, 1935, in modern fill under a house in Section O. The top surface is smooth and has a corner of a rough-picked angular cutting. The right side and bottom are dressed with a toothed chisel.

Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.27 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 2346.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[— — — <sup>ca. 10</sup> — — — πρυτάν]εῖς [ῡ ῡ]  
[ἀνέθεσαν στεφανωθ]έντες  
[ἐπ' — <sup>ca. 7</sup> — ὑπὸ τῆς] βουλῆς

The cutting of the stone indicates that the inscription was complete in three lines.



Evidently it was a dedication of prytaneis who had received the award of a crown from the Council. A similar text, naming the archon of the year, is on record in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 39, no. 25. In the present instance the name of the prytanizing phyle should be restored in line 1 and possibly the name of the archon in line 3.<sup>10</sup> The cutting on the top of the stone was made to receive the dedication.

**30** (Plate 53). Fragment from a dedicatory monument of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in Section OA on February 10, 1937.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.053 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4509.

*post med. saec. IV a.*

*ca. 25*

[-----]  
 στεφανω[θέντες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς]  
 καὶ τοῦ δή[μου χρυσῶι στεφάνωι]  
 [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνε[κα -----]

The vertical spacing of the lines is 0.025 m. For the restoration in line 3, cf., *e. g.*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2827.

**31** (Plate 53). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.322 m.; thickness, 0.208 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 3547.

*saec. IV/III a.*

[-----]ης ἐπόησεν

**32** (Plate 54). Part of the top of a small dedicatory monument of Pentelic marble with a receding moulding below the inscribed fascia, broken at the sides, back, and bottom, found in Section P on March 5, 1936.

Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 3696.

*a. 236/5 a.*

[ἐ]πὶ Ἐκφάντ[ου ἄρχοντος -----]

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also, *e. g.*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2833.

**33** (Plate 53). The capping block of a base which supported a bronze figure with the left foot advanced, made up of many fragments of Pentelic marble which join with each other and with some uninscribed pieces to give the full height and width of the block. There are several non-joining pieces from the rear part, but none of the rear surface is preserved. On the lower part of the front and left sides are receding mouldings; the right side has no mouldings but was treated as a joint surface as if to be placed next to a wall or another monument. The fragments were assembled from the area of the Stoa of Attalos largely in February of 1936 and in later years down to 1949. The fragment with the name Attalos in line 1 (Inv. No. I 3601) was published by Koumanoudes, *Philistor*, III, 1862, p. 384, from the excavations of 1862 and reference is made to it in the notes under *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3171. The central fragment from the bottom of the capping block (Inv. No. I 3527) has been known for many years, and probably comes from the excavations that were carried out about 1900. A text of the whole monument, which is repeated here with minor changes, was published in *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 336, note 55, from a reconstruction made by G. R. Edwards. The upper left corner was damaged in antiquity. To repair it, a near rectangular cutting was made and another piece of marble inserted. This piece, now missing, carried the first three letters of the inscription.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 1.09 m.; thickness (not complete), 0.63 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. Nos. I 3527 + 3601 with additions.

ca. a. 150 a.

[Βασ]ιλεὺς Ἀττάλος Βα[σιλέως Ἀττάλου]  
καὶ βασι[λ]ίσσ[η]ς Ἀ[πολλωνίδος]  
[Θ]εόφιλον Θε[οφίλου Ἀλ]αίε[α]  
[τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ σύντροφον ἀρετῆς ἔνε{ν}<κα>  
5 [τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ [τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων

At the end of line 4 the stonecutter started to inscribe the word *ἐνεκα*. Actually he cut the letters ENE, but as he was cutting the second E he labored somehow under the misapprehension that he was really beginning the word, not operating on the middle syllable of it. Hence, he started to cut the fourth letter as N. He cut the two uprights and then realized his mistake; so this letter was never finished. Nor indeed did the stonecutter inscribe any letters after this. His intention evidently was to come back to the end of this line and make necessary corrections, but, so far as the evidence shows, his intention was never carried out.

The date lies surely between 159 and 138 B. C., when Attalos II was king. The man whom he honored as *σύντροφος* was probably brother of that Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεοφίλου Ἀλαϊεύς who is known from two inscriptions of Delos and Pergamon to

have been similarly honored.<sup>11</sup> The restoration of the demotic in line 3 is not perhaps beyond question. If (with slightly closer lettering) the restoration [Βησ]αιέ[α] should be favored, then this Theophilos should be taken as a member of another family prominent in the second century (cf. Kirchner, *P.A.*, 7134, 7135). But the spacing of the letters seems to me to favor [Ἀλ]αιέ[α]. The fact that Halai belonged to the phyle Kekropis is further suggestive evidence that Attalos II (who was of Sypalettos) also belonged to Kekropis, and throws light on the still moot question of a possible division of the deme Sypalettos between the phylai of Attalis and Kekropis.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted here that the text given in the commentary on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3171, from Koumanoudes's publication in *Philistor*, III, 1862, p. 365 (actually pp. 365-366), is nothing more than a preliminary publication of part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3171 itself. It has no title to a separate and duplicate publication.<sup>13</sup>

**34** (Plate 54). An inscribed base of Hymettian marble, found in Section N' on February 15, 1936. The block has been re-used and now shows two dowel holes in the inscribed surface, which is much worn.

Height, 0.885 m.; width, 0.655 m.; thickness, 0.56 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3391.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

----- ος τοῦ Θ -----  
*vacat* 0.057 m.  
 Φιλόξενος -----

**35** (Plate 54). Large cylindrical monument of Hymettian marble, made up of a number of fragments found in Section T in the demolition of houses during the winter of 1935-1936.

Height, 0.535 m.; width, 0.55 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.075 m.

Inv. No. I 3158.

*a.* 72 *a.*

ὁ δῆμος

<sup>11</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1554; Max Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, no. 179. G. A. Stamires calls my attention also to his restoration [Ἀπολλωνίδην Θ]εοφί[λ]ου Πε[ργαμηνόν] of line 1 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 947, which dates from a time when Apollonides had not yet become an Athenian citizen. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Cl. Phil.*, II, 1907, pp. 405 ff.; P. Roussel, *Délos*, p. 351, note 3.

<sup>12</sup> See *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 28-29.

<sup>13</sup> This identification was noted by Eugene Vanderpool, to whom I also owe many valuable observations on the dedication here published.



Μάρκον  
 [Τ]ερέντιον  
 [Μ]ά[ρκ]ου υ[ι]ὸν  
 Οὐ[ά]ρω[να]  
 Δε[υ]κόλλο[ν]

The dedication by the Demos was probably made in 72-71 B. C., when this Lucullus (adopted son of the scholar M. Terentius Varro) was governor of Macedonia.<sup>14</sup> The restoration was made by Eugene Vanderpool, by whom the various fragments were identified and joined together in Athens.

As Consul in 73 B. C. this Lucullus (with his colleague Longinus) had communicated to the city of Oropos favorable resolutions of the Roman Senate regulating the dispute between the people of Oropos and the Roman tax gatherers (*I.G.*, VII, 413).<sup>15</sup> What connection, if any, the dedication at Athens had with the interest of Lucullus in the privileges of the Amphiareion remains obscure.

**36** (Plate 53). Four drums of a large unfluted column of Hymettian marble, found on March 30, 1936, in front of the northern end of the Stoa of Attalos more or less as they had fallen in the late third century after Christ. No base or capital has yet been found to go with them, nor has the foundation on which they stood been identified.

The total height of the column was 7.19 m. (reading from top to bottom: 1.775 + 1.875 + 1.955 + 1.585), and there was a simple moulding around the top of the top drum and around the bottom of the bottom drum. That the drums belong together is clear not only from the position in which they were found but also from the mason's marks at their joints: Α to Α at the upper joint, Β to [Β] at the middle joint, and Γ to [Γ] at the bottom joint.

The monument was a free-standing column, probably with a statue on top, which stood in front of the Stoa. The inscription is on the lowest drum, which has a diameter of 0.795 m. The height of letters is 0.032 m. Inv. No. I 3948.

*saec. I a.*

ὁ δῆμος  
 Κόιντον Αντάτιον  
 Κοιντ    *vacat*

It is not clear why the inscription was left incomplete, nor do we know whether the third line was intentional or an error of repetition. In any case the finished inscrip-

<sup>14</sup> T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, II, 1952, p. 646, gives an account of the base as reported to him in 1952.

<sup>15</sup> See the note by J. A. O. Larsen in Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, Baltimore, 1938, p. 365.

tion must have been placed elsewhere, perhaps on the base. Quintus Lutatius is to be identified as that Q. Lutatius Catulus, who was a contemporary of Sulla, and who took refuge with Sulla in Greece at the time of the Civil War (cf. P. W., *R.E.*, s.v. Lutatius [8], Vol. XIII, pp. 2082-2094).

**37** (Plate 54). Inscribed fragment of Pentelic (?) marble, found on April 24, 1935, in a modern fill in Section Γ. The top and bottom surfaces are preserved, each with anathyrosis along the front edge.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.302 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.-0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 2809.

This fragment joins the honorary base found built into an early Christian tower on Museum Hill and published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 3-4, no. 4. The combined text now reads as follows:

*saec. I a.*

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
Ζήνωνα Ζήνωνος Μαραθῶ  
νιο[ν] πρεσβύτερον ἄρε  
τῇ[ς ἔ]νεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας

**38.** Fragment from an inscribed base of Hymettian marble, found in Section Ν' on June 25, 1935. The original bottom of the base is preserved along the front edge, its rear portion being rough-picked.

Height, 0.088 m.; width, 0.202 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3056.

*saec. I p.*

[-----]ν Φιλάδελφ[ον-----]  
[-----Δ]αμπτρέω[ς-----]

A photograph was published by Shear in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 14, with the suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 13) that the inscription be referred to Ptolemy Philadelphos. The document seems to us of much later date, and we prefer to assign it to a time when the name Philadelphos was in general common use. A date *ca.* A. D. 50 was suggested in the *Index of Hesperia I-X*, p. 148.

**39** (Plate 53). A small altar of Pentelic marble, much battered and damaged by fire,

found on March 18, 1936, in Section T. There were mouldings at top and bottom and the top shows a small circular cutting.

Height, 0.18 m.; diameter, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 3835.

*saec.* I *p.*

πάντας νικήσας τῇ λαμπάδι[ι]  
 τοὺς συνεφ[ήβους]  
 [θῆκ]α ποδωκείη[ς μνημα θεῶ]  
 Φιλέρως

The restoration of this elegiac couplet was made by Werner Peek, to whom acknowledgment is here due. Presumably the dedication was made to Apollo. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3005-3007.

**40** (Plate 54). Small cylindrical altar of Pentelic marble, with top and bottom preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. The beginnings of three lines are preserved.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3551.

*saec.* I *p.*

Ὑψίστ[φ]  
 Κεδα[. .]  
 εὐχῆ[ν]

Dedications of this character to Zeus Hypsistos are well known. Here the name of the dedicant must be restored in line 2 (probably a woman), but I know of no name beginning with the letters Κεδα — — —. A different interpretation might allow some such restoration as [ἀνέθῃ]κε Δα[— — —].

**41** (Plate 54). Fragment of a dedicatory plaque of white marble, found on the north slope of the Acropolis on March 9, 1937. The rough-picked back and upper right side are preserved. On the face is a wreath in high relief, enclosing the inscription.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m. ( $\phi = 0.028$  m.)

Inv. No. I 4601.



*aet. Rom.*

[θεσ]μοθέτης  
[— —] 'Ρουφείνος

Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2901 etc., for similar inscriptions.

**42** (Plate 54). Statue base of Pentelic marble, found in Section P on March 14, 1936. The base is complete except for breaks in the mouldings at top and bottom and for cuttings made in the front and rear surfaces for some re-use. A circular cutting (diam., 0.20 m.; depth, 0.12 m.), for the statue, remains in the top of the base.

Height, 0.89 m.; width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 3754.

*saec.* I/II *p.*

Κλαυδία Τατάριον  
Μενάνδρον Γαργητ  
τίου θυγάτηρ

Another dedicatory base, with the same name, is known from Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4868). There are several men of Gargettos named Menandros from the first and second centuries after Christ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2017, 2086, 5940).

**43** (Plate 54). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with only the inscribed face and back preserved, found in Section ΘΘ on January 18, 1937.

Height, 0.221 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 4406.

*ca. a.* 132 *p.*

[— — — — —]  
[Ἄδρι]αν[ῶι]  
[Σε]βαστῶ[ι]  
[Ὁ]<λν>νπίω[ι]

In the last line the first preserved letter (whatever it was) is not a normally shaped *lambda*, and the stone is uninscribed where the *upsilon* should have been. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3324-3384, for example, for similar dedications.

**44** (Plate 54). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the smooth-picked

left side and the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on January 17, 1937.

Height, 0.291 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.226 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 4392.

*ca. a. 132 p.*

σωτήρι κ[αὶ κτίστη]  
αὐτοκράτ[ορι Ἀδρια]  
[ν]ῶι *vacat* [*vacat*]  
<sup>v</sup> Ὀλυνπίω[ι]

Cf. no. 43, above.

45 (Plate 54). The upper left corner of a stele of Pentelic marble, with smooth top, side, and back preserved, found in Section T on March 14, 1936.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.121 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 3770.

*ca. a. 132 p.*

Σωτή[ρι καὶ κτίσ]  
τη α[ὐτοκράτο]  
ρι Ἀ[δριανῶ Ὀλυνμ]  
[πίω]

Cf. no. 43, above.

46 (Plate 54). Fragment of Hymettian marble, found in a well in Section Ξ on April 4, 1935. The inscribed face is slightly concave. Part of the left edge and part of the original back (at right angles to the left edge) are preserved. The stone is broken at the top, bottom, and right.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters (except φ), *ca.* 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 2711.

*a. 163/4 aut 194/5 p.*

*vacat*

[ῆ]ρχε Φιλισ[τείδης - - - - -]  
[ - - - ]νο[ - - - - - - - - - ]  
[ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ]

The inscription is metrical, and names the archon Philisteides. Whether this is the archon of A. D. 163/4 or of 194/5 is uncertain. For the former see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086 line 3, 2087 lines 4-5, and 2887; for the latter see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2088 line 17, 2109 line 3 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 30-31), 2127 lines 2-3.

## BOUNDARY MARKERS

47 (Plate 54). Boundary stone of poros, with the bottom and left side preserved, found in Section N on February 29, 1936.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.065 m.

Inv. No. I 3624.

*ante med. saec.* V *a.*

Προπ[ύλο]

δεμο[σίο]

λόρο[ς]

This is now the fifth known inscription with this text, the others being *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 891 and three additional pieces published by Dorothy K. Hill in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 254-259. As Miss Hill explains, these markers belong to the public propylon in the Peiraeus.

48 (Plate 54). Grave marker of Hymettian marble, roughly dressed but entirely preserved, found in Section Σ on Feb. 25, 1936.

Height, 0.251 m.; width, 0.232 m.; thickness, 0.058 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 3637.

*ante med. saec.* IV *a.*

ὄρος

μνήματος

Ἐπιγόνου

The lower half of the stone was fashioned to be set in the ground. For the type of monument see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2554-2559.

49 (Plate 54). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a

modern house in Section Σ on November 17, 1935.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3079.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος

[μν]ήμ[α]

[τ]ος

For similar inscriptions, see (for example) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2527-2550.

50 (Plate 54). Fragment of Hymettian marble, with chips broken from the top, found in a modern wall in Section Ξ on April 5, 1935.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness (original), 0.06 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2712.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος μν[ή]

ματος

Cf. no. 49, above.

51 (Plate 55). Boundary marker of dark gray marble, found in Section N on April 8, 1936. The stone is roughly broken on all sides but probably complete.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3990.



*saec.* IV *a.*

ὄρος μν-  
ήματος

Cf. no. 49, above.

**52** (Plate 54). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ in January of 1937. An original right side, with chisel marks, is preserved; the surface is very rough.

Height, 0.232 m.; width, 0.121 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4449.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρος]  
[μν]ήμ[α]  
[τ]ος

Cf. no. 49, above.

**53** (Plate 54). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, rough-picked, found in a wall of Turkish date in Section Σ on March 9, 1937.

Height, 0.469 m.; width, 0.239 m.; thickness, 0.131 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4614.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[h]όρος

## GRAVESTONES

**54** (Plate 55). Upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.378 m.; width, 0.247 m.; thickness, 0.136 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 3536.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Ἀσκλη[πι - - - -]  
ἐξ Ἀξ[ημίων]

**55** (Plate 55). Upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.304 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3479.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Φαῦστα Ἀσ[- - - - Ἀ]  
ξην[ιέως γυνή]

For the form of the monument, see no. 86, below.

**56** (Plate 55). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section P on April 22, 1936.

Height, 0.191 m.; width, 0.198 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m. (omikron)—0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 4049.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Ἀν]δροκ[λῆς]  
[- - -]ι[- -]  
[Α]ιγίλι[εύς]

**57** (Plate 55). Columnar grave monument of white marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section P on September 21, 1935.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3212.

*saec.* III *a.*

- - - - -  
[Θρ]ασωνίδ[ου]  
[Α]ιθαλί[δου]  
[γ]υν[ή]

The name Xa[ρ]ίνος Θρασωνίδου appears as ephebos among the Aithalidai in the archonship of Menekles in the early third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665 I 43), and the Thrasonides there mentioned (*P.A.*, 7397) was probably identical with the Thrasonides of this inscription. It was once thought that his name was to be restored as secretary in the preambles of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 669, 670B, and 671, but these restorations are no longer considered valid (cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xvii and xviii, under the years 291/0 and 279/8). Another Thrasonides (*P.A.*, 7396), probably the grandfather, is known from the mid fourth century.

**58** (Plate 55). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section T on May 1, 1936.

**59** (Plate 53). A large base of Pentelic marble, of which seven fragments have been preserved, found at various times between March 26 and May 15, 1936, in Section Σ. There is no join between the two fragments which preserve the left side of the monument and the other five fragments. The bottom surface of the monument is preserved, as are also parts of the top and back. The inscription is on the two lower fasciae of the architrave member, above which the surface of the stone has been chiseled away.

Height, 0.325 m.; width, 1.855 m. (at least); thickness, 0.38 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.-0.037 m.

Inv. Nos. I 3887 & 4101.

*med. saec.* II *p.*

Διονύσιος  
Δηναίου Ἀλαιοῦς

[---] αἰς Ἡλιοδώρου ἐγ Γαργηττίων  
[Λ]ηναίου Ἀλεῶς γυνή

Ἀσκληπι[άδης]  
Διονυσίου [υ] Ἀλαιοῦς

The monument carries the names of Dionysios and of his mother and son. The son is known from a catalogue of prytaneis of Kekropis dating not long before A. D. 180 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1782, line 35) and the mother's sister Melite is known from a grave stele (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5939). The ephebos Φιλήμων Διονυσίου Ἀλαιοῦς of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2086, line 155 (A. D. 163/4), is probably of the same family. Since our monument is broken at the right it is not known whether his name should be restored after that of Asklepiades.

**60** (Plate 55). Part of a funerary stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, but with the rough-picked back preserved, found in Section HH on February 12, 1936.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3375.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 4111.

*saec.* II *p.*

[-----]  
Δημ[----]  
Αἰξ[ωνέως]  
Θυγ[άτηρ]  
5 Μεν[<sup>ca.</sup>4-]  
[-----]  
[γυνή]

There is a strong probability that the name to be restored in line 2 is Δημ[ητρίου].

*aet. Rom.*

-----  
[Ἐπαφ]ροδί[του]  
[Ἀνα]καί[ως]  
γυν[ή]

Considerations of symmetry make the suggested restoration in line 2 preferable to the most acceptable alternative [Ἀφ]ροδί[σίου].

**61** (Plate 55). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern well in Section II on April 15, 1935.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.277 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2797.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Παμ]φίλη  
[Πτολ]εμαίου  
[Αὔρ]ίδου  
[γυνή]

If one assumes that Pamphila's husband was an Athenian, the available demotics for line 3 are Αὔριδου and Ἰωνίδου, of which the former is perhaps the more probable restoration. The extent of the restorations is determined by questions of symmetry and considerations of space.

**62** (Plate 54). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken at the sides and at the back, with the inscription cut on two fasciae below a projecting moulding, found in Section ΘΘ on December 18, 1936.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.198 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4353.

*saec.* II *p.*

[Ζωίλο]ς Θρασυβούλου  
[Ἀφί]δναῖος

For Zoilos, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2018, line 41.

**63** (Plate 55). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument, broken at the sides and bottom, found on February 6, 1935, in Section Ξ.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2383.

*aet. Rom.*

Πῶλ[λα]  
Πίστη· Ἰξ[μηνίου]  
Διραδι[ώτου]  
[γυνή]

The spelling of the names shows divergencies from the normal. In line 2 Ἰξμηνίου is for Ἰσμηνίου, and in line 3 Διραδι[ώτου] is for Δειραδι[ώτου]. The use of *zeta* instead of *sigma* before *mu* is a well attested phonetic phenomenon;<sup>16</sup> *iota* for *epsilon* *iota* is a case of simple iotacism. In line 2 the initial *iota* of Ἰξ[μηνίου] seems to have been cut first as *καρρα*, from which the superfluous strokes were partially erased.

**64** (Plate 55). Part of the top of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, broken on both sides, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.234 m.; width, 0.192 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3538.

*ante med. saec.* IV *a.*

[— — — — — Κα]λλίο : Εὐωνυ[μεύς]

**65** (Plate 55). Upper part of a tall grave stele of Pentelic marble, with moulding across the top and broken away only at the bottom, found in Section P on March 28, 1936. Below the two inscribed lines are two rosettes in relief. The stone was later used as a door sill, as shown by the socket in the lower part of the left rosette.

Height, 0.61 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3877.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, Berlin, 1900, p. 88.



*ca. med. saec. IV a.*

Φαινίππη Φαλ{λ}άνθο  
ἐκ Κεραμέων

Line 1: The stone has ΦΑΛΛΑΝΘΟ.

**66** (Plate 55). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern cellar in Section I on June 12, 1935.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.307 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3015.

*aet. Rom.*

Ξενν[ις]  
Τέχνων[ος]  
θυγάτ[ηρ]  
Διονυ[σίου]  
5 Κεφαλ[ῆθεν]  
[γυνή]

An ephebos Ἀσκληπιάδης Δ[ιο]νυσίου Κεφα-  
(λήθεν) is known from the year A. D. 145/6  
(*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2052, line 65).

**67** (Plate 55). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.264 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 3539.

*saec. IV a.*

Σωσι[-<sup>ca. 6</sup>-]  
Σωστ[ράτου]  
[Κ]εφα[λήθεν]

The family is known from Sostratos of Kephale of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787, line 11, and his descendants.

**68** (Plate 55). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the

wall of a modern house in Section Σ on November 17, 1935.

Height, 0.345 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3078.

*saec. I p.*

[-----]  
[-----]  
[-----θ]εν  
[θυ]γάτηρ  
5 [Τι]μοθέου  
[Κ]ριώως  
γυνή

**69** (Plate 55). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in Section N on February 3, 1936.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.37 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 3327.

*aet. Rom.*

[Μ]ενεκλή[ς]  
[Τει]σαμεν[οῦ]  
[Κυδ]αθηναίε[ύς]

The *sigma* in line 2 is reversed.

**70** (Plate 55). Part of the coping block of a funeral monument of Pentelic marble, found in Section Σ on April 4, 1936.

Height, 0.157 m.; width, 0.158 m.; thickness, 0.116 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3959.

*aet. Rom.*

[-----]ος Μο[-----]  
[Λα]μπτρού[ς]

**71** (Plate 55). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left face and rough-picked back preserved, found in Section P on April 17, 1936.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 4019b.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Νίκ[ανδρος]

Εὐν[ίκου]

Λαμπ[τρεὺς]

The deceased is to be identified with that Nikandros who was one of the Treasurers of the Goddess in 343/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1443, line 6), and the name should be restored in the treasurers' record as Νικάνδρω[ι Εὐν]ίκου Λαμ[πτρεῖ]. This suggestion had already been made (though not published) by G. A. Stamires, relying on the root Νικ — in the name of the son. Nikandros also appears in a catalogue of uncertain nature dating from the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2398, line 5).

**72** (Plate 56). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken off at the bottom and with fragments lost on both sides at the top, found on May 7, 1935, in a modern cellar wall in Section Γ. The monument may have been part of a Roman column before its use as a gravestone.

Height, 0.615 m.; diameter, 0.304 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2847.

*aet.* Rom.

Ἀλέξανδρος

Ἀλεξάνδρου

Μαραθώνιος

This inscription was edited by Boeckh from Fourmount's notes (*C.I.G.*, 679) and was later seen by Pittakys ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1781). The most recent publication has been by Kirchner as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6759. The letters underlined in the text above are now no longer on the stone.

**73** (Plate 55). Fragment of a large cylindrical monument of Pentelic marble, found in the wall

of a modern house in Section Σ on January 17, 1936.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.122 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3257.

*aet.* Rom.

[— — Κ]άλλιπ

[πος Μ]αραθώνι

[ος· ε]β(ίωσε) ἡ(μέρας) μξ

For the abbreviations εβ = εβ(ίωσε) and ἡ = ἡ(μέρας) see M. Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, 1940, pp. 61, 67. For reasons of symmetry, it appears that the child whose epitaph this is had a conventionally abbreviated praenomen no trace of which is now preserved.

**74** (Plate 55). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 2, 1936, in Section HH.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, *ca.* 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3659.

*aet.* Rom.

[— — <sup>ca.</sup> — — Π]ρωτογέ[νου]

[Μαραθ]ώνιος

**75** (Plate 55). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in Section Ν' on February 8, 1936.

Height, 0.10 m.; maximum preserved width, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 3334.

*aet.* Rom.

[Εὐ]κλίδης

[Με]λιτεύ[ς]

**76** (Plate 56). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the

wall of a modern house in Section P on December 20, 1935.

Height, *ca.* 0.30 m.; maximum preserved diameter, 0.242 m.

Height of letters, 0.038 m.

Inv. No. I 3216.

*saec.* II *a.*

-----  
[Μ]ητροδ[ώρου]  
[Πα]ιανιέ[ως]  
[θ]υγάτ[ηρ]

The Metrodoros (or Metrodotos ?) here named is probably the same as the father of the ephebos of 128/7 (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 210, no. 41, line 164): Δημήτριος Μητρο[δώρου Π]αιανιεύς.

**77** (Plate 56). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, with part of the top preserved but elsewhere broken, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on November 4, 1935.

Height, 0.218 m.; width, 0.305 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3069.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Ἀπ]ολλόδωρος  
[Θε]οδότου (or [Δι]οδότου, [Ἡρ]οδότου)  
[Παλ]ληνε[ύς]

The name Ἀπολλόδωρος Τιμαίου Παλληνεύς occurs on a columnar grave monument (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7109) of approximately the same date.

**78** (Plate 56). Part of a block of Pentelic marble, with top (worn smooth) and bottom (rough-picked) surfaces preserved, found on February 8, 1935, in the cellar-wall of a modern house in Section Π.

Height, 0.195 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.433 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. 2412.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἀριστ[ - - - ]  
Ἀρισ[ - - - - ]  
Πε[ιραιεύς]

Considerations of spacing argue against a long demotic like Περγασήδεν or Περιθοίδης. A short ethnic, of course, is possible.

**79** (Plate 56). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, made up of two fragments, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on November 15, 1935.

Height, 0.42 m.; diameter, 0.327 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 3074.

*saec.* I *p.*

Θεόδωρος  
Γλανκίου  
Πειραιεύς

This inscription was earlier seen by Kirchner, and published by him from his transcript as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7165.

**80** (Plate 56). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom and with parts of the surface badly worn, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on October 10, 1935.

Height, 0.38 m.; diameter, 0.275 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.017 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3108.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Ἀπολλόδωρος  
Φιλοκλέους  
Περγασήθην

The date seems earlier than that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7212; but the Apollodoros here named may have been a not too distant ancestor of the Nikostratos who appears in the text already published. Apollodoros, however, is a common name.



81 (Plate 53). Sculptured pedimental funeral stele of Hymettian marble, with the left side and top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 24, 1935. In a sunken panel below the letters part of a head, facing right, is preserved.

Height, 0.278 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.081 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3167.

saec. IV a.

Σωσθένη[ς]  
Πυθίππου Πρασι[εύς]  
Ὁρθαγόρα  
Μενεκλέους Παι[ανιεύς]

For the name Menekles in Paiania cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9653, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 188, no. 116, line 43.

82 (Plate 56). Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 16, 1936.

Height, 0.221 m.; diameter, 0.194 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 3253.

saec. III a.

Ἀπολλόδωρο[ς]  
Διονυσίο[υ]  
[Προ]βαλίσιο[ς]

From the name Apollodoros in Probalinthos cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7291.

83 (Plate 62). Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section Σ on February 20, 1936.

Height, 0.193 m.; width, 0.144 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3443.

saec. II a.

[Σώ]σος

[Δημη]τρίον  
[Ψαμνο]ύσιο[ς]

One Σώσος Δημητρί(ον) (Ψαμνούσιος) was a member of the Council about 190 B. C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 103, no. 48, line 60; for the date cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 116, and Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 17). The name Σώσος, from Rhamnous, appears also amongst the councillors of Aiantis in 166/5 B. C. (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 23, no. 19, line 35) and it was Dow's opinion that he might have been a nephew of the earlier Sosos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 136). One of these is perhaps to be identified with the Sosos of the present text, or, if they were one person, all three inscriptions may refer to the same man.

84 (Plate 56). Fragment of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall in Section I on June 5, 1935.

Height, 0.388 m.; width, 0.296 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 2988.

aet. Rom.

-----  
-----  
[Ψα]μνον[σίον]  
[θ]υγάτ[ηρ]  
5 [Ἀσ]κληπ[ίδον]  
[Βερ]ενικίδ[ον]  
[γ]υνή

The spacing of letters on the stone shows that the name in line 5 should be relatively short. The restoration which we have made is perhaps a trifle long. An alternative restoration [Ἀσ]κληπ[ίδον] involves a less common name.

85 (Plate 56). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a mixed fill in Section Ξ on May 2, 1935.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.106 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2822.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

-----  
[Διον]υσί[ον]  
[Ξον]υιεύ[ς]

**86** (Plate 56). Part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side and rough-picked back preserved, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3474.

*saec.* I *a.*

[- - -]εν[? ? - - -]  
[Φι]λοτέιμον [Ξτει]  
ριέως γυ[νή]

The curved mouldings in the panel below the inscription indicate the probable width of the stele and give some preference to the longer restoration of the demotic in lines 2-3: [Ξτει]-ριέως rather than [Ἰκα]ριέως.

For the form of the monument, see no. **55**, above.

**87** (Plate 56). Fragment from the top of a sculptured stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. Traces of akroterion-like decorations remain along the top, below which is a plain beveled moulding. The inscription is below this, and below the inscription is a recessed panel (*ca.* 0.033 m.) with traces of a relief.

Height, 0.248 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.-0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3466.

*saec.* III *p.*

[- - - - -]ς	Ξυντύχη [Προ]
[- - - - -]ον	σδοκίμου ἐ[κ Ξυ]
[- - - - -]ος	βριδών

**88** (Plate 56). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall in Section Ξ on September 30, 1935.

Height, 0.268 m.; diameter, 0.287 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3062.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Τρύ[φη]  
Φιλοθ[έου]  
Φαληρέ[ως]  
[γ]υ[νή]

**89** (Plate 56). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in Section N on March 3, 1936.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, *ca.* 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3678.

*aet. Rom.*

-----  
[Κηφι]σοδώρ[ον]  
[Φαλ]ηρέως  
[θυγά]τηρ  
*vacat*

The spacing indicates that about four letters should be restored at the beginning of the father's name.

**90** (Plate 56). Part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble with part of the rough-picked top preserved, but otherwise broken, found in Section HH on January 17, 1936. Above the taenia which carries the inscription is a moulding with antefixes in relief. The bottom of the preserved fragment seems to be the top of a niche.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.563 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.034 m.

Inv. No. I 3303.

*act. Rom.*

Ἡρακλείδης [Ἀφρο]

δαισίου Φλυε[ύς]

**91** (Plate 59). Upper right corner of a plaque of Pentelic marble, found in Section N on March 31, 1936. The inscription probably dates from a re-use of the block, as evidenced by a clamp-cutting at the right side of the top surface.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness (original), 0.116 m.

Height of letters, 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 3931.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

[Φ]λαβία Μυρτάλη

[Δρ]ομοκλέους

[Φ]λυέ<ω>ς θυ(γάτηρ)

[-----]

In line 3 the stone has ΛΥΕΟC followed by a monogram combining Θ and Υ. The precise form of the monogram is not shown in Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, but the abbreviation itself is well attested.

**92** (Plate 61). Two blocks of Pentelic marble, which belong together but do not quite join. Fragment *a* (I 6146) has the top and the left side preserved. There is a moulded border above the inscribed face, and this returns along the left side. This fragment was found during the cleaning east of the Stoa of Attalos on March 29, 1949. Fragment *b* (I 3541) was brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. It has the top and part of the right side

preserved, and exhibits the same moulding as fragment *a*, which here returns across the right lateral face.

*a.* Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.803 m.; thickness, 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 6146.

*b.* Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.805 m.; thickness, 0.366 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3541.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Θεαρίς Ἀσφάλους Ἀ[σφ]ύλους Φρεαρρίου γυνή

-----

The Asphales here named (as husband) is probably the same as Ἀσφάλης Δημοκράτου Φρεάρριος of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7722. A vertical stroke under the *alpha* of Θεαρίς is the only trace that now remains of the second line of the inscription. The juxtaposition of the blocks and the reading of the text have been reported from Athens by Eugene Vanderpool.

**93** (Plate 56). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 16, 1936.

Height, 0.40 m.; diameter, 0.294 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3252.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Ε]ῦβιος

[Π]ανσίου

[Φυ]λάσιος

Eubios is perhaps to be identified as the father of Herakon of 186/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 896, line 45): Ἡράκωντα Εὐβίου Φυλάσιον. Cf. *P.A.*, 5307.

**94** (Plate 59). Fragment of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with legs and lower part of the body of a lion preserved (in relief) and part of the left sloping cornice, but otherwise broken, found in Section N on May 2, 1936.

Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness (original), 0.095 m.



Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4092.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

[-----]ον· Χολαργεὺς· καὶ Σύντροφος [-----]  
[-----]ῆ· Ἀσιατικοῦ· ἐκ Πορείων· / [-----]

The feminine demotic in line 2 is misspelled, and according to accepted standards should have been written ἐκ Πορίων.

**95** (Plate 56). Fragment of a small columnar grave monument, found on February 14, 1935, in Section Ξ.

Height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2427.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

[-----]  
[-----]μ[-----]  
Ἀγκυρανῆ

**96** (Plate 56). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 24, 1936, in Section N.

Height, 0.225 m.; diameter (preserved), 0.305 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3866.

*saec.* I *a.*

Ἡφαῖ[στ-----]  
Νου[μηνίου]  
Ἀμυσ[ηρός]

The name restored in line 2 is by far the most probable as a supplement for the preserved letters. Hephaist— was probably a brother of Euterpe named in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8063 and 8064.<sup>17</sup> The inscription would have been symmetrical without the initial *alpha* of line 3. Indeed, this *alpha* is of a style different from the *alpha* in line 1 (it has a broken cross-bar and exaggerated finials) and seems to have been added

after the rest of the text was inscribed. If the suggestion in note 17 is correct, Noumenios must have been more than usually unfortunate in getting the correct texts cut on the tombstones of his children.

**97** (Plate 56). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 5, 1935.

Height, 0.266 m.; width, 0.167 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3130.

*aet. Rom.*

Θηβ[-----]  
Ἀντ[-----]  
Ἀντι[οχεύς]

**98** (Plate 56). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.18 m.; diameter, 0.188 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3585.

*saec.* III *a.*

[-----]  
[---]ο[-----]  
Ἀντιοχέ[ως]  
θυγάτηρ  
5 Εὐτύχου  
[-----]  
[γυνή]

<sup>17</sup> I believe that these two grave monuments refer to the same person, and that the columella with the name incorrectly cut (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8063) was never used over the grave. This suggestion was offered by K. D. Mylonas in *Ἐφ.* Ἀρχ., 1893, p. 223.

**99** (Plate 57). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the rough-picked back and the top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Φ on December 7, 1936.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4311.

*saec.* III *a.*

[Βερ]ενίκη

[Ἡπε]ιρώτις

**100** (Plate 57). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section P on February 6, 1935. The left side, the top, and the rough-picked back are preserved.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.207 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3337.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

Ἡράκλει[τος] (or Ἡρακλί[δης])

Ἐπικρά[τους]

Ἡρακλε[ιώτης]

**101** (Plate 57). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section P on April 21, 1936.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4047.

*saec.* III *a.*

Ὀνήσι[μος]

Ὀνησιάν[δρον]

[Ἡρ]ακλε[ιώτης]

**102** (Plate 57). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section P on March 17, 1936.

Height, 0.25 m.; diameter, 0.176 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 3801.

*saec.* I *p.*

-----  
[Σωτ]ηρίχου

[Ἡρα]κλεώτης

The deceased may well have been a brother of that Soterichos whose tombstone has been published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8795. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8794.

**103** (Plate 57). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on April 13, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2759.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[...]ίδης

[Ἡρακ]λεώτης

**104** (Plate 58). Grave stele of Pentelic (?) marble, complete except for a chip from the upper left corner, found in the basement wall of a modern House in Section Y on January 29, 1937.

Height, 0.54 m.; width, 0.243 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 4465.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[...]των χρηστὸς

[Ἡ]ρακλεώτης

**105** (Plate 56). Upper part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in a lot at the corner of Athena and Vyssi Streets (outside the excavations) and brought to the Agora Museum on February 25, 1937.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 4562.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Εὐήμερος  
Πίστον  
Θισβεύς

**106** (Plate 57). Two fragments of a thin plaque of Pentelic marble found in Section Σ on March 16 and 24, 1936.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness (original), 0.029 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3815.

*saec.* III/IV *p.*

ἐνθάδε κείτ  
αι ὁ Καισαρεὺς  
[---]στ[---]  
[-----]

The plaque shows a pediment and at the left a pilaster outlined in shallow grooves. Apparently the inscription was cut later on the plaque after the right side of it had been broken away. This fact, together with the formula of the text, is perhaps an indication that the document is Christian.

**107** (Plate 57). Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, mended from three fragments, found on December 14, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section T.

Height, 0.33 m.; diameter, 0.232 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 3147.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Nε]κόπολις  
[Ka]λλατιανή

**108** (Plate 57). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 14, 1935.

Height, 0.435 m.; diameter, 0.185 m.

Height of letters, 0.019 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3148.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

M â  
[K]αππαδό  
[κ]ισσα

The restoration was made by Charles Edson, who has examined the squeeze in Princeton. For the name Mâ at Athens see also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3965, 5343, 5403, 8413, and 10448.

**109** (Plate 58). Crowning member of a grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the left, with top and back rough-picked, and with the right side and bottom smooth, found in a late wall in Section P on May 5, 1936. The inscription is on a single line below the cornice.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 1.02 m.; thickness, 0.565 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 4122.

*post med. saec.* IV *a.*

[-----] Ἀντιπάτρον Κιτιεύς

**110** (Plate 57). Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the right and at the bottom, found on February 8, 1935, in Section Ξ.

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2386.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Ἀριστοῦχος  
Κύθνιος

The original thickness of the stone, with rough-picked back, is preserved.

**111** (Plate 57). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on October 16, 1935.

Height, 0.318 m.; width, 0.310 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.



Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3114.

*saec.* I *a.*

[Κα]λλιστὸν

[Σ]ωκράτου

Μεγαρέ[ως]

[γυνή]

**112** (Plate 57). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 18, 1936.

Height, 0.303 m.; width, 0.234 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3261.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Ἀσκ[-----]

Πομ[-----]

Μεταπ[όντιος]

**113** (Plate 57). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back preserved, found in Section P on March 3, 1936.

Height, 0.183 m.; width, 0.148 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3691.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Ἀρτεμ[---]

Ἀρτεμ[---]

Μιλήσιο[ς]

The inscription is complete at the left, and is cut on a surface which is slightly concave. The stone has been badly hacked and battered. Perhaps the top and left sides, though rough, are original with reference at least to this present text.

**114** (Plate 57). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section Σ on March 12, 1936.

Height, 0.321 m.; width, 0.359 m.; thickness, 0.106 m.

Height of letters, 0.046 m.-0.068 m.

Inv. No. I 3761.

*aet.* *Rom.*

-----

[Δι]ον<σ>ίο[ν]

Με<ι>λησ<ι>α

The stonecutter was illiterate, cutting Ε in place of Σ in line 2, and omitting *iota* twice in line 3.

**115** (Plate 57). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section HH on March 18, 1936.

Height, 0.44 m.; diameter, 0.304 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 3776.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Ἐρώτ[ιον]

Μιλη[σία]

Κύρ[ον]

Θηβα[ίων]

γυνή]

**116** (Plate 57). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in a modern fill in Section HH on February 29, 1936.

Height, 0.62 m.; diameter, 0.257 m.

Height of letters, 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 3614.

*saec.* I/II *p.*

Ζωὶς

[Μ]ενάνδρου

Μιλησία

This inscription was seen by Pittakys and Ross, and is now published also as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9623.

**117** (Plate 57). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section MM on March 24, 1936.

Height, 0.28 m.; diameter, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3865.

*fin. saec. I p.*

Ὀνησὸν

Εὐκάρπου

Μιλησίου

The name Eukarpos was common among Milesians living in Athens.

**118** (Plate 57). Columella of Hymettian marble brought in to the excavations of the Agora from Hermes St. on February 18, 1936.

Height, 0.375 m.; diameter, 0.214 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3453.

*saec. II p.*

Σκόπας

[Ε]ὐχαρίσ<τ>ου

Μιλήσιος

Line 2 reads: [.]ΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

**119** (Plate 57). Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section HH on March 31, 1936.

Height, 0.238 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.11 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3903.

*aet. Rom.*

Υγείνο[ς]

Ἀθηνίω[νος]

Μ[ιλή]στ[ιος]

**120** (Plate 59). Upper part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on February 11, 1937.

Height, 0.272 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4497.

*ca. a. 200 a.*

Φιλίστα

Μιλησία

Διοδώρου

θυγάτηρ

**121** (Plate 57). Upper part of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in Section N on April 24, 1936. The inscription is cut above a niche which once contained a sculptured relief.

Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.578 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 4044.

*saec. II p.*

Ὀνησὸν Νεικοδήμου

Μιλησία

The normal spelling of the name as Ὀνησώ appears in No. **117**, above (*q. v.*).

**122** (Plate 57). Three fragments of a columnar grave monument, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936, and joined together. One fragment preserves the ring and part of the top.

Height, 0.64 m.; width, 0.428 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.063 m.

Inv. No. I 3548.

*saec. III/II a.*

Εὐα[ - <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>4</sup> - ]

[Ἀ]πολλ[ωνίου]

Περὶν[θιος]

**123** (Plate 58). Upper part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ on December 31, 1936. Both sides and the back are preserved.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.283 m.; thickness, 0.071 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4376.

*saec.* III *a.*

[‘Ρό]διον Φιλοκράτους Πλαταική

**124** (Plate 59). Upper right corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, found in a modern wall in Section N' on June 20, 1935.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness (original), 0.08 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3032.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

[. .]οναι[.]ς

[. .]μάρχον

[Σαλ]αμίνιος

In line 1 the third letter may have been *omikron* or (possibly) *phi*.

**125** (Plate 57). Fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a late fill in Section T on February 28, 1936.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 3652.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

[‘Αρτε]μιδώρ[α]

[Δημ]ητρί[ου]

[Σηλυ]μβριαν[οῦ]

[θυγάτηρ]

5 [-----]

[-----]

[γυνή]

or possibly:

[‘Αρτε]μίδωρ[ος]

[Δημ]ητρί[ου]

[Σηλυ]μβριαν[ός]

**126** (Plate 59). Columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, brought into the excavations from a neighboring tile factory on February 18, 1936.

Height, 0.427 m.; diameter, 0.187 m. (top) and 0.27 m. (bottom).

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3454.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

[Δ]υσίς

Φιλικού

Συρακοσία

**127** (Plate 60). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in Section P on March 24, 1936.

Height, 0.20 m.; diameter, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3874.

*saec.* I *a.*

[Ε]ὔτυχι[ανός]

[Νι]κοκλέ[ίδου]

[Τα]ναγ[ραῖος]

Questions of symmetry show that the restoration given in line 3 is to be preferred to [‘Α]ναγ[υράσιος], for example, and also indicate a slight preference for the name supplied in line 2 over the shorter [Νι]κοκλέ[ους], which is, however, a quite acceptable alternative.

**128** (Plate 60). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section Σ on April 2, 1936.

Height, 0.351 m.; width, 0.422 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.213 m.

Height of letters, 0.034 m.-0.045 m.

Inv. No. I 3957.

*aet. Rom.*

‘Αμμί[α]

Διογένο[υ]

[.]α[<sup>ca. 5</sup>-----]

The text might also be read: \*Αμμι[ον] | Διογένο[υς] | [.]α[<sup>ca. 6</sup>-----].

**129** (Plate 60). Fragment from the upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section X on December 14, 1936.



Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4325.

*saec.* II *p.*

Ἀμμόνιος — — — —

**130** (Plate 58). Upper left corner of a grave relief of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on February 24, 1937.

Height, 0.191 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4529.

*saec.* III *a.*

Ἀντιφάνης Ἀντιφ[ — — — — — ]

The upper part of a head is preserved, broken just below the eyes, and wearing a diadem.

**131** (Plate 60). Part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked top and rough-picked back preserved, found on March 23, 1936, in Section T.

Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3892.

*aet. Rom.*

[Ἀπο]λλώνιο[ς — — — — —]



There is a moulding above the inscription and a shallow circular cutting, as of a niche, below.

**132** (Plate 60). Part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the right edge and traces of the moulding across the top preserved, found in Section II@ on March 16, 1936.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3799.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

[Ἀρισ]τοκλῆς

— — — — —

Traces of letters occur in the second line, below which the stone is broken away.

**133** (Plate 60). Fragment of a large columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, found in Section HH on March 19, 1936.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.408 m.; thickness, 0.213 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3778.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

Μάρ· Ἀύρ· [ — — — ]

Βάσσου [ — — — — — ]

**134** (Plate 60). Small grave stele of Hymettian marble, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.255 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 3488.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Ἀφροδισία

For similar epitaphs, of the same date, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10913-10915.

**135** (Plate 59). Part of a funeral lekythos of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern wall in Section Σ on May 1, 1936.

Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.344 m.; thickness, 0.139 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4102.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Ἀφροδισ[ία]

Δώρο[v]

γυνή

**136** (Plate 60). Inscribed fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section N on March 5, 1936.

Height, 0.23 m.; diameter, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3680.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἀρ<ι>στῶ  
Ἀπολλω[---]  
-----

There are traces of letters in the third line.

**137** (Plate 60). Upper left corner of a pedimental funerary stele of Pentelic marble, with original thickness preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 16, 1936.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.273 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 3254.

*saec. II/I a.*

Βακχ[is] Ὀ[---]

**138** (Plate 60). Fragment of a base of Hymettian marble, perhaps a grave stele, with the left side preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.206 m.; width, 0.278 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 3544.

*saec. IV a.*

Βρυων[---?]  
[..]μα[----]  
[-----]

One Bryon was ambassador to Athens from Chios in 384 B. C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 34, line 38).

**139** (Plate 60). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the back preserved, but

broken on all sides and badly burned, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 17, 1936. A moulding is preserved above the letters, and above the moulding is a surface which seems to have been part of a pediment.

Height, 0.362 m.; width, 0.214 m.; thickness, 0.111 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 3259.

*saec. II/I a.*

[Δ]ημαίνε[τος]  
[Δ]ήμον

Perhaps the name in line 1 should be read as [Δ]ημαίνε[τη].

**140** (Plate 60). Plaque of Hymettian marble, with part of the top and rough-picked back preserved, found on February 5, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section O.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 2389.

*aet. Rom.*

[Δ]ημοστρά[τη]  
[χρ]ηστῇ χ[αίρε]

**141** (Plate 61). A funerary amphora of Pentelic marble, decorated in low relief, found in a late Roman fill in Section N on February 18, 1937.

Height, 0.461 m.; diameter, 0.262 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4518.

*saec. IV a.*

Δημοχάρης

The inscription is cut above the figure of an elderly bearded man, who stands facing a woman (left) by whose side is a child. There are remains of a painted tongue pattern around the shoulder of the amphora at the base of the

neck, and, below this, on the reverse a band composed of zigzags.

**142** (Plate 59). A sculptured grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side and back (worn smooth) preserved, found in Section HH on March 31, 1936. Above the broad inscribed fascia are remains of a moulding and below it is a relief in a shallow recessed panel, showing the head and shoulders (much battered) of a man.

Height, 0.254 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3905.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[Δ]ιονύσιος[ς - - - - -]  
Φ[- - - -]

**143** (Plate 60). Part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 11, 1935. The stone is broken on all sides except the top, and exhibits a beveled edge and raised band above the letters of the inscription.

Height, 0.107 m.; width, 0.096 m.; thickness, 0.109 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 3140.

*aet.* Rom.

[Διο]νυσόδ[ωρος - - - or οτος]

**144** (Plate 60). Upper part of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, but with the top, sides, and part of the back(?) preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Φ on Dec. 2, 1936.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4306.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Δωρὶς

χρηστῇ

For similar monuments with this name, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11226-11228.

**145** (Plate 60). Fragment from a small monument of Pentelic marble, broken at the right, found in a wall of Byzantine date in Section N on March 6, 1936.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.445 m.; thickness, 0.19 m.

Height of letters, 0.036 m.

Inv. No. I 3681.

*aet.* Rom.

Δωρὶς Η[- - - -]

The inscription is on the upper fascia of three which form an architrave.

**146** (Plate 60). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section HH on February 26, 1936.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.224 m.; thickness (original), 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3607.

*saec.* II *p.*

Εἰσιὺς Ἀθ[- - - -]

*vac.*  ΝΗΚ[- - - -]

**147** (Plate 59). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side, back, top, and bottom preserved, broken away at the left, found in the wall of a modern house in Section X on December 18, 1936.

Height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.332 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 4328.



*post med. saec.* IV *a.*

[-----] Ἐπιτάλ{λ}ου  
[θ]υγάτηρ

**148** (Plate 60). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Pentelic marble, broken on the sides and at the back and bottom, found on April 11, 1935, in a late fill in Section O.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.037 m.

Inv. No. I 2756.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἐρμεία[ς]  
-----

**149** (Plate 60). Fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the foundation of a modern house in Section O on April 17, 1935.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.26 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2794.

*saec.* II *a.*

Ἐρμυκ[-----]  
Ἀρε[-----]  
[-----]

**150** (Plate 60). Fragment of a pedimental grave stele of Hymettian marble, found in Section Σ on April 2, 1936. Parts of the left side, back (?), and sloping top are preserved.

Height, 0.187 m.; width, 0.206 m.; thickness, 0.149 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.019 m.

Inv. No. I 3953.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[Ε]ὐθύκριτ[ος-----]

**151** (Plate 60). Fragment from the top of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section X on December

18, 1936. The top is rough-picked, and both sides are broken away. The bottom is smooth, possibly from a re-use of the stone.

Height, 0.127 m.; width, 0.187 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4327.

*aet. Rom.*

[-----]ς Σείμων Εὐτυχία [-----]  
Νέων Θε[-----]

**152** (Plate 60). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the rough-picked top preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. The inscription is cut on a taenia, the under surface of which is smooth but backed by a downward spring as though it might be the top of a large niche.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.187 m.; thickness, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

Inv. No. I 3514.

*aet. Rom.*

[Εὐτυ]χιάνο[ς]

**153** (Plate 62). Fragment of Pentelic marble, found in a late wall in Section O on April 6, 1935. The stone is from the coping course of a grave monument, and preserves at the bottom part of the undercut edge. It is otherwise broken on all sides.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 2718.

*aet. Rom.*

[Ζη]νόβιος

**154** (Plate 62). Upper left corner of a pedimental stele of Hymettian marble, found in a wall of Byzantine date in Section Ξ on June 19, 1935.

Height 0.225 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness (rough-picked back preserved), 0.11 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3043.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

Θιωδώρα Σ[— — —]

The stele evidently served as the tombstone of Theodora (in more conventional spelling) and perhaps her husband S — — — —.

**155** (Plate 62). Complete top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section T on January 14, 1936.

Height, 0.168 m.; diameter, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3282.

*aet. Rom.*

Ἰρις

**156** (Plate 62). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 18, 1935. This seems to be a re-used block, and if so it may be now almost complete as a grave-stone.

Height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.286 m.; thickness, 0.084 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 3156.

*aet. imp.*

Ἰρις  
χρηστή

**157** (Plate 62). Fragment from the upper part of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a late wall in Section O on May 3, 1935.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2830.

*saec.* I *a./p.*

Καλλισ[— — —]  
[.]φ[— — — — —]  
— — — — —

**158** (Plate 62). Fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the top, back, and left side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 16, 1935.

Height, 0.183 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.066 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 3152.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Καλλίστ[ρατος]  
Κηφισοδ[ώρου or ότου]

**159** (Plate 62). The upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with the left side and top very roughly finished, found in a modern fill in Section Σ on February 7, 1936. The inscription was cut on the top band of the mouldings, and the stele itself (now largely broken away) was probably adorned with sculpture in relief.

Height, 0.143 m.; width, 0.132 m.; thickness, 0.108 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3357.

*aet. Rom.*

Κλωδία [— — — —]

**160** (Plate 62). Part of a small pedimental grave monument of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on November 4, 1935.

Height, 0.116 m.; width, 0.191 m.; thickness, 0.112 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 3067.

*aet. Rom.*

[Κόττ]αβος Πόθο[υ — — — —]

**161** (Plate 62). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section T on March 7, 1936.

Height, 0.21 m.; diameter, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 3714.

*ca. saec.* II/I *a.*

Κωμική

χρηστή

The readings of letters in line 1, except for the first and last, must be considered doubtful.

**162** (Plate 59). Fragment of a funerary lekythos of Pentelic marble, with part of the shoulder and upper body only preserved, found on February 8, 1935, in the foundations of a house in Section II.

Height, 0.15 m.; diameter, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 2413.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Κωνόπη

For the name, see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 590.

**163** (Plate 62). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found in a modern wall in Section HH on February 27, 1936.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.178 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 3612.

*saec.* II *p.*

Μηνόφιλ[ος - - - -]

**164** (Plate 62). Part of the crowning member of a grave monument of Pentelic marble, broken at both sides, found in a modern wall in Section Φ on February 1, 1937.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 4486.

*act. Rom.*

[ - - - - ]ος Μηνοφίλου [ - - - - ]

**165** (Plate 59). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in Section HH on February 15, 1936.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.234 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 3383.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Μοσχίων

Μηνο[ - - ]

- - - - -

**166** (Plate 62). Fragment of a pedimental grave stele, with part of the top preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on December 17, 1935. This fragment also preserves part of its under surface, and must itself be considered as only the top member of the monument. The inscription is on two taeniae under the horizontal moulding.

Height, 0.485 m.; width, 0.389 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.037 m.

Inv. No. I 3154.

*saec.* I *p.*

Μυράλη [ - - - - - ]

[ Ἀπο ]λλ[ - - - - - γυνή ]

**167** (Plate 62). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on April 4, 1935, in Section N.

Height, 0.21 m.; diameter, 0.31 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2705.



*aet. Rom.*

Νικάριον

A variant form of the feminine name Νικάριον.

**168** (Plate 62). Small grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.168 m.; width, 0.118 m.; thickness, 0.071 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 3476.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Οἶνανθίς

For the name, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11996.

**169** (Plate 58). Fragment from the top of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. Traces of acanthus ornament in relief on the upper part are nearly all broken away.

Height, 0.372 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3529.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[Π]αντακλῆς

**170** (Plate 58). A large block of Pentelic marble, apparently a building block re-used, found in the wall of a modern house in Section T on September 23, 1935. There are traces of anathyrosis on the bottom (with respect to the inscription).

Height, *ca.* 0.50 m.; width, 1.225 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.335 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.022 m. (line 1) and 0.018 m. (line 2).

Inv. No. I 3094.

*aet. Rom.*

Σοφιστικὸς Στράτωνος

Κέλαδος Διονυσίου

This inscription has been most recently published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12633, and the text has come down among the funerary monuments from Fourmont's notes which were used by Boeckh in *C.I.G.*, 1004. Fourmont read the first name in line 2 as Κέλμος. This was emended by Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III, 3352) to Κέλ(σ)ος. Now that the stone has been recovered the reading is clear. Karl (Carolus) Keil, in his *Specimen Onomatologi Graeci*, 1840, p. 77, had already suspected here the correct form Κέλαδος (cf. Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*, Κέλμος).

**171** (Plate 59). Upper left corner of a pedimental grave stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-dressed back preserved, found in Section Σ on February 4, 1936. Below the taenia with the inscription was a niche, 0.102 m. deep, presumably for sculpture.

Height, 0.312 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.187 m.

Height of letters, 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 3348.

*saec.* II *p.*

Στεφηφό[ρος - - - - -]

One Stephaphoros of Aixone was a member of the Council in 174/5. Cf. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 55, no. 21, line 37.

**172** (Plate 62). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ on January 18, 1936.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.322 m.; thickness, 0.138 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 3264.

*saec.* II *p.*

Σωσίβιος

- - - - -

**173** (Plate 62). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the back, found in Section Σ on May 5, 1936.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.279 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.031 m.

Inv. No. I 4131.

*saec.* II *p.*

[Σω]σιπάτρα  
[-----]

**174** (Plate 61). A small pedimental sepulchral stele, complete except for minor fractures, found in the wall of a modern house in Section X on December 1, 1936.

Height, 0.75 m.; width, 0.382 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 4322.

*saec.* II *a.*

[Φ]ανοδίκη

The measurements of this stele accord well enough with those given by Pittakys for *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12867 (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 2245) to make it certain that they are the same. Moreover, the stele described by Pittakys is said to have been brought from the Peiraeus to a house near the Areopagus, together with other stones now known as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6921 and 6507. Of these, the former was rediscovered in the excavations of the Agora on Jan. 14, 1937, in Section Y in the wall of a house very near by. The latter has not as yet been rediscovered. Pittakys recorded the initial letter of the name, but even in his copy it may have depended on restoration not noted as such. The letters, with their broad splayed finials, are more appropriate to the second century than to the fourth, and for this reason I suggest the later date for the inscription.

**175** (Plate 62). Fragment from the top of a stele of Pentelic marble, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. The

bottom is smooth-finished (so far as preserved) as though it might be the top of a niche.

Height, 0.238 m.; width, 0.136 m.; thickness, 0.098 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 3516.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Φιλαθή[ναιος]

**176** (Plate 62). Part of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936.

Height, 0.178 m.; width, 0.248 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 3519.

*aet.* *Rom.*

[-----]ος Φιλήτων [-----]

**177** (Plate 62). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom and badly worn, found in Section N on May 1, 1936.

Height, 0.30 m.; maximum diameter, 0.225 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4091.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Φιλόμηλος

**178** (Plate 59). Upper left corner of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, with rough-picked back preserved, brought in from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. A projecting moulding (broken away) once ran across the stele below the taenia which carried the inscription.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 3506.

*aet.* *Rom.*

Ἐνδράριος

Probably the main field of the stele exhibited figures in relief, one of whose names has been preserved.

[.εα.⁴.] κλέους  
[-----]

**179** (Plate 61). Part of a Doric architrave from a small funeral monument, taken from the Stoa of Attalos in February of 1936. A regula (width, 0.21 m.) with six guttae is preserved; on the right side part of a regula with three guttae remain.

Height, 0.211 m.; width, 0.345 m.; thickness, 0.191 m.

Height of letters, 0.029 m.

Inv. No. I 3469.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[.εα.⁴.] ταίχμη

**180** (Plate 62). Fragment from the upper part of a small columnar grave monument of Hy-mettian marble, found in a well in Section O on May 4, 1935.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2831.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

-----  
χρηστή

## MISCELLANEOUS

**181** (Plate 62). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found in Section N' on June 13, 1935.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. (line 1), 0.011 m. (lines 2-4).

Inv. No. I 3005.

This inscription must be read in the photograph. The first line has part of an alphabet running from left to right but in which the individual letters were written retrograde. The next lines have parts of an alphabet in which the gamma was written retrograde. This may have been a practice piece on which some student of Roman times was learning to cut letters as they were taught to him, perhaps with some reference to earlier styles of writing.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY



# THE ARCHONSHIP OF PYTHARATOS

(271/0 B.C.)

(PLATES 63 AND 64)

IN ONE of the many studies which during the past decades have been devoted to readjusting and shifting the archon list of Athens for the third century B.C., Meritt sixteen years ago opportunely remarked: "a named secretary for any one of the dated archons Anaxikrates (279/8), Demokles (278/7), or Pytharatos (271/0), possibly also for Peithidemos, Diognetos, or Antipatros, would establish definitely the chronology of the archons of the early third century. Until such a discovery, absolute certainty is impossible."<sup>1</sup>

Such a discovery with respect to one of the three vital archons—for Peithidemos, Diognetos, and Antipatros are not so vital, in that they are not actually dated archons<sup>2</sup>—has now been made. Two decrees of a single archonship, that of Pytharatos, have been successively recovered in the Agora Excavations during 1948 and 1954. I am deeply indebted to Benjamin D. Meritt for informing me of these discoveries, and for giving me the opportunity to study and publish, not only the decrees themselves, but also their implications as to the revision of the chronology of the third century B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 131; quoted in *Archon List*, p. 37. It may be noted that, to save space, the following works most frequently cited appear with abbreviated titles: *Archons* = Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931; *Archon List* = Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 1939; *Chronology* = Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940; *Calendars* = Pritchett and Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, 1947. It will be well also to list here certain inscriptions which are conveniently referred to by their Agora Inventory numbers, in order to show the places and dates of their publication, as follows: I 15 + 96 = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 156-158, no. 5; I 113 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 42-43, no. 31, and VI, 1937, pp. 460-461, no. 8; I 166B = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 199-201, no. 40; I 226 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 3-4, no. 5; I 605 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 419-428, no. 15; I 787 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 73-76, no. 29; I 863 = *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 562-565, no. 40; I 940 = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 177-178, no. 25; I 1804 + 1870 = *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 273-274, no. 71; I 3068 = *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8; I 3238 + 4169 = *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, no. 2; I 3878 = *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 442-444, no. 1, and VII, 1938, pp. 476-479, no. 31; I 5191 = *Chronology*, pp. 24 ff., and *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 4; I 5228 = *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104-111, no. 20; I 5824 = *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 243-246, no. 8; I 6064 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3-13, no. 3; I 6096 (no. 183, here published); I 6625 = *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 236-239, no. 7; I 6664 (no. 182, here published).

<sup>2</sup> As will later be shown, the positions of Peithidemos, Diognetos, and Antipatros are variable and must be shifted (falling one year earlier in each case than shown, for instance, in *Chronology*, pp. xix-xx) with reference to the fixed positions of Anaxikrates, Demokles, and Pytharatos.

particularly of the period between the creation of the two new "Macedonian" tribes (Antigonis and Demetrias) and the new "Egyptian" tribe (Ptolemais). In the present article, however, we shall be concerned only with the year of Pytharatos.<sup>3</sup>

The date of the new inscriptions is fixed in 271/0 B.C. by the name of the archon Pytharatos, one of the four archons of the third century definitely located by ancient evidence in terms of Olympiads.<sup>4</sup> For both Cicero (*De Fato*, 19) and Diogenes Laertius (X, 15) place in his year the death of Epicurus, Diogenes adding that it was the second year of the 127th Olympiad (271/0 B.C.). Also Eusebius (Armenian version) dates the death of Epicurus in the year of Abraham 1746 = O1. 127, 3, and so in 270/69 B.C.; but since the Armenian version locates all the Olympiads one year too early<sup>5</sup> we must correct this to O1. 127, 2 = 271/0 B.C. The trustworthiness of this date has never been doubted;<sup>6</sup> and it agrees also with other definite evidence. For Metrodorus the philosopher died seven years before his master Epicurus (Diogenes Laertius, X, 23), in the archonship of Demokles (Philodemus, *Pap. Herc.*, 176),<sup>7</sup> who is exactly dated by Pausanias (X, 23, 14) in the third year of the 125th Olympiad (278/7 B.C.). The predecessor of Demokles, namely, Anaxikrates II, is likewise exactly dated by Pausanias (*ibid.*) in the second year of the 125th Olympiad (279/8 B.C.).<sup>8</sup> Thus there can be no doubt that in the new decrees we have accurately dated evidence of fundamental importance for the chronology of the third century B.C.

One of the great surprises to be found in these decrees is the fact that, both honoring boards of officials of the preceding year, the taxiarchs and *sitonai*, this preceding archonship is described as that of Lysitheides, who in most of the recent studies had been dated a quarter of a century later.<sup>9</sup> He was placed in the proximity

<sup>3</sup> In view of the obligatory adjustments caused by these decrees of Pytharatos in the archon lists, as well as those of the secretaries and priests, of the third century in particular, based on detailed arguments which cannot be included in this article, and also for the purpose of discussing various transpositions of fourth-century decrees, I have prepared a third monographic study, *Problems of Athenian Chronology*. This will cover the following: I, The Secretary Cycles in the Period of the Ten Tribes; II, The Cycles of the Priests of Asklepios; III, The Creation of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307/6; IV, A Revision of the Third-Century Archon List; V, The Creation of Ptolemais in 222 B.C.; and VI, Prytany Days and Civil Days.

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the three mentioned above, the fourth of course is Thrasyphon (221/0).

<sup>5</sup> *Archons*, pp. 458-459.

<sup>6</sup> The date of Pytharatos has never been questioned: see *Archons*, pp. 30, 45, 50, 54, 77, 80-81; *Archon List*, pp. 21, 37, 47, 54, 64; *Chronology*, pp. xix, 33.

<sup>7</sup> Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 368; Gomperz, *Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 387; Vogliano, *Epicuri et Epicureorum scripta*, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Philodemus, *Ind. Stoic.*, V, V<sup>b</sup>; Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, pp. 28, 54.

<sup>9</sup> Lysitheides in 274/3 (Manni in 1952); after 274/3 (Kirchner in 1916 and 1918); 265/4 (Johnson in 1918, Beloch); 263/2 (Tarn); 259/8 (Flacelière); 253/2 (Dinsmoor in 1939); ca. 250 (Köhler, Ferguson in 1899, Kirchner in 1903, Kolbe); 249/8 (von Schöffer); 246/5 (Pritchett and Meritt in 1940); 245/4 (Ferguson in 1932, Meritt in 1935-38); 244/3 or 243/2 (Manni in 1949); 242/1 (Meritt in 1948); 236/5 (Dinsmoor in 1931); 229/8 (Johnson in 1913).

of Thersilochos and Hieron because the treasurer of the *thiasos* of Bendis under Lysitheides (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1317) was the proposer of a decree of the same *thiasos* under Thersilochos (*S.E.G.*, II, 10) and was one of the *epimcletoi* of the same *thiasos* under Hieron (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1317b), and because the treasurer Stratokles held this position permanently in all three years.<sup>10</sup> But since the same people apparently were active in this *thiasos* for life, there is no reason why they should not have been mentioned in inscriptions covering a span of twenty-five years. We may conclude not only that Lysitheides must have held office before Pytharatos, but also, since such honors to the *sitonai* and other boards were normally decreed, if not on their last day of office, at least in the following year unless there was a backlog of overlooked omissions such as were rectified in the year of Kydenor,<sup>11</sup> that the year of Lysitheides should be regarded as the immediately preceding year 272/1. As a matter of fact, the only possible year for Lysitheides, in agreement with the new arrangement of the archon list, is actually the preceding year 272/1, where his name exactly fits the restoration [*Λυσιθεΐδ*]οῦ in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 704, with a secretary from Sounion (VI).<sup>12</sup>

The secretary of this year of Pytharatos appears in both decrees as Isegoros the son of Isokrates of Kephale. He is otherwise unknown, and even the name Isegoros was not hitherto known in Attica;<sup>13</sup> but he is of fundamental importance because we now learn that the tribe furnishing the secretary was Akamantis (VII), thus supplying the long-missing key to the rotation of the secretary cycles in the second quarter of the century.<sup>14</sup> Without going into greater detail at this point, it is now apparent that the block including at least twenty-one years, most of two secretary cycles, hitherto based on the archonship of Diokles III as a pivotal date, must now be shifted to fit another and more exact pivotal date, the archonship of Pytharatos. The successive adjustments may be illustrated with reference to a few of the archons who fall unequivocally within this period and are accompanied by known secretaries, as follows:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See *Archons*, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> To be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>12</sup> If it were not for the necessity of inserting *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 704 with the archon [...<sup>8</sup>...]οῦ in 272/1, as will later be demonstrated by means of the secretary cycle, it might be possible to insert Lysitheides in 274/3. But the only other unplaced archon's name of the period before 271/0, *Εὐβούλου*, is too short for restoration in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 704.

<sup>13</sup> Isegoros in Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, 1894, p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> The hitherto unknown secretary for the year of Pytharatos (271/0) has been variously assigned to tribe I (Kolbe 1908, 1933), XI (Ferguson 1898-1907, Kirchner, Tarn, Kolbe 1943), X (Beloch), IX (Johnson, Dinsmoor 1931, Ferguson 1932, Meritt 1935-1938, Pritchett-Meritt 1940), VIII (Dinsmoor 1939), but never to VII (except in the recent articles of 1949-1953 by Manni and Deprado; see note 37).

<sup>15</sup> Systems with more confused arrangements, those of Kolbe, Johnson, Tarn, and Beloch, are here omitted.



Archon	Tribe of secretary	Ferguson-Kirchner	Dinsmoor 1931	Dinsmoor 1939	Pritchett-Meritt	Dinsmoor 1954
Diokles III	IV	290/89	288/7	287/6	288/7	286/5
Diotimos III	V	289/8	287/6	286/5	287/6	285/4
Euthios	VII	287/6	285/4	284/3	285/4	283/2
Nikias II	VIII	—	—	283/2	284/3	282/1
Ourias	IX	285/4	283/2	282/1	283/2	281/0
Olbios	III	251/0	276/5	276/5	277/6	275/4
Glaukippos II	V	277/6	275/4	274/3	275/4	273/2
Pytharatos	VII					271/0
"	VIII			271/0		
"	IX		271/0		271/0	
"	XI	271/0				
Menekles	XI	283/2	269/8	268/7	269/8	267/6
Nikias III	XII	282/1	268/7	267/6	268/7	266/5

We may now examine the two decrees individually, afterward returning to consideration of the year as a whole from the viewpoint of the calendar problem.

182 (Plate 63). The earlier of the two decrees of Pytharatos was found in Section Zeta of the Agora Excavations on April 22, 1954, lying in a fill of late Hellenistic or early Roman times just to the west of the Middle Stoa.<sup>16</sup> It is a stele of Pentelic marble preserved in a single piece, the flat top having crowning mouldings broken away at the left; and the bottom is broken off along a diagonal which extends from the beginning of line 42 at the left to a point 0.04 m. below the end of line 56 at the right.

Inv. No. I 6664.

Height as preserved, 0.765 m. The original height may have been about a meter allowing for the loss of blank space at the bottom.

Width at top, including mouldings, 0.375 m. The mouldings consist of an upper fascia 0.019 m. high (on which is inscribed line 1, the invocation [ $\theta$ ]εοί), and below this an ovolo 0.018 m. high and a lower fillet of 0.007 m. with a hollow congé receding to the main surface of the stele. The total projection of the fascia is 0.022 m. at the front and 0.0215 m. at the sides.

Thickness of stele, 0.10 m. excluding mouldings, the back roughly chamfered at both edges to 0.085 m.

<sup>16</sup> I am informed by Homer Thompson that it was found in the ruins of "a sizeable building of the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. which had partially closed the gap between the Tholos and the Southwest Fountain House until it was demolished to make way for the west end of the Middle Stoa."

Width of stele (below mouldings), 0.332 m. at bottom of line 2 (the *congé* includes the height of line 2), 0.352 m. at bottom of line 36 (end of text), and 0.355 m. at lowest measurable point at bottom of line 41, indicating a taper of 0.023 m. in 0.487 m., an increase of 0.0476 m. per meter.<sup>17</sup>

The text proper consists of 35 lines covering 0.423 m. (from top of line 2 to bottom of line 36), the height of the letters being 0.005/0.006 m. and the 34 line-spacings averaging 0.01226 m. After line 36 was a clear space of 0.01466 m. (instead of the usual 0.0063/0.0073 m.), and this was followed by the first of the tribal names, completely erased, in line 37. Next, after the 35 lines of the decree, followed 20 lines (37-56) occupied by the names of ten of the twelve tribes and of their representatives, covering 0.2405 m. (from top of line 37 as restored to bottom of line 56), with a slightly increased line-spacing averaging 0.01233 m. From the top of line 2 to the bottom of line 56 was, therefore, a distance of  $0.423 + 0.01466 + 0.2405 = 0.678$  m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon, the lines ending with words (in 14 instances) or syllables (in the 21 others), and very variable in length, from 31 letters (line 32) to 33 (lines 24, 26-27), 34 (lines 2, 35), 35 (lines 4, 15, 20, 23, 28, 34), 36 (lines 5, 7, 16-19, 21-22, 29), 37 (lines 3, 12-14, 25, 33), 38 (lines 6, 8, 10, 30-31), 39 (lines 9, 36), or even 40 letters (line 11). The letters used for the names of tribes and taxiarchs are not appreciably larger than those in the text but are more widely spaced, so that in some instances it was impossible to include the final letters of the demotics (lines 38, 42, 56). The only scribal error occurs in line 31.

#### PRAISE OF THE TAXIARCHS

a. 271/0 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Θ]            ε            ο            ί

- Ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιγονί  
 δος δευτέρας πρυτανείας, ἥμῃ Ἰσήμερος Ἰσοκρά  
 του Κεφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μεταγεινιῶ  
 5 νος ἐνάτει ἰσταμένον, ἐβδόμῃ τῆς πρυτανεί  
 ας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπελήφειεν Αἰ  
 [σ]χίνης Νικομάχου Ἀναφλύστιος καὶ συμπρόε  
 [δρ]οι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Εὐβουλος  
 [Λυσ]ιδήμου Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ταξίαρχοι  
 10 [οἱ ἐ]πὶ Λυσιθείδου ἄρχοντος τάς τε θυσίας ὄσας  
 [ἔδε]ι αὐτοὺς θῦσαι μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τεθύκασιν  
 ἀπάσας ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή

<sup>17</sup> I am indebted to George A. Stamires for a preliminary copy of the text, and to Eugene Vanderpool of the Agora Excavation staff for a squeeze, photograph, and the numerous measurements which form the basis of the foregoing description.

- μου, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἕκαστος ὅπως ἂν ὡς βέλτιστα τοῖς ὅπλοις κατε  
 15 σκευασμένοι εἰς τε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐφε  
 δρείας καὶ τοὺς ἐξετασμοὺς πορεύωνται, διε  
 τέλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πειθαρ  
 χοῦντες τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀκολούθως τοῖς νό  
 μοις, ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνη  
 20 ται τιμῶν τοὺς χρεῖας αὐτῶι παρεχομένους,  
 τύχει ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς προέ  
 δρους οἵτινες ἂν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ  
 δήμῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματί  
 σαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι  
 25 [τ]ῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ  
 [ἐ]παινέσαι τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐπὶ Λυσιθεί  
 [δ]ου ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐ  
 τῶν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς  
 ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ  
 30 τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προ  
 <ε>δρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν·  
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ  
 ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ  
 καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταξιάρχων, καὶ στήσαι ἔμ  
 35 προσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα  
 φὴν μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει : Δ : δραχμὰς  
 [[Ἀντιγονίδος]]  
 Λυσικράτης Ναυσιφάνου Κυθήρριο(ς)  
 Ἐρεχθείδης  
 40 [Φ]ιλίσκος Μοσχίωνος Θημακεύς  
 Πανδιονίδης  
 Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφάνου Παιανιεύ(ς)  
 Λεωντίδης  
 [Φι]λόθεος Διοδότου Σουνιεύς  
 45 Ἀκαμαντίδης  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . ] Χαρισάνδρου Κικυννεύς  
 [Ο]ἰνείδης  
 [ . . . <sup>ca. 8</sup> . . . ]ος Κόνωνος Ὀῆθεν  
 [Κεκροπ]ίδης  
 50 [ . . . . . <sup>ca. 11</sup> . . . . . κ ]λέους Φλυεύς  
 [Ἰποθωντί]δης  
 [ . . . . . <sup>ca. 15</sup> . . . . . ]του Ἐλευσίνιος



[Αἰαντίδος]  
 [.....<sup>ca. 18</sup>..... 'Α]φιδναῖος  
 55 [Ἀντιοχίδος]  
 [.....<sup>ca. 20</sup>..... 'Αλ]ωπεκ(ῆθεν)  
 vacat

## NOTES

Line 9: For the patronymic of the spokesman, where it is certain that three letters are missing at the beginning because of a flake chipped from the stele. Stamires suggests [Χαρ]ιδήμον. The argument for restoring these three letters as ΛΥΣ rather than ΧΑΡ will be discussed in connection with the second decree.

Line 14: Meritt restored [κάλλιστα] in line 11 of Agora I 15 + 96 instead of βέλτιστα which appears at the corresponding point on the present stone.

Lines 14-15: In Agora I 15 + 96 in the corresponding position (line 12), Meritt restored [παρε]σκευασμένοι; but the word κατεσκευασμένοι as fully preserved in the present decree suggests that the same should be restored in the other.

Line 22: The final nu of λάχωσιν, which is present in other taxiarch decrees, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500, Agora I 15 + 96 and 863, as well as in most other instances (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 199, 246?, 284, 330 A, 478, 591, 593, 682, 704, 710, 712, 716, 721, 729, 730, 735, 766?, 769, 772, 775, 776?, 782, 788, 802?, 808, 821, 832?, 847, 889?, and no. 183 below—followed by a vowel only in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772, 786, 889) is here omitted (as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 277, 330 B-C, 428, 479?, 650, 732?).

Line 23: This occurrence of εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν is to be added to the list of examples of this formula antedating the end of the Chremonidean War (*Archon List*, pp. 18-19, 41, where Agora I 15 + 96 is included); cf. no. 183 below.

Lines 30-31: The word προεδρίαν was written on the stone as ΠΡΟΗΔΡΙΑΝ.

Line 31: The usual formula οἷς ἡ πόλις (as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385, 510, 555, 646, 708, 792, 900, etc., cf. no. 183 below) appears instead of οὗς ἂν ἡ πόλις as in other taxiarch inscriptions, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500 and Agora I 15 + 96.

Line 37: The tribal name was erased in 201 B.C., but may be restored as [Ἀντιγονίδος] as shown below.

Lines 38, 42: The final sigma omitted for lack of space.

Line 56: The final ῆθεν omitted for lack of space.

## COMMENTARY

The chairman of the proedroi, Aischines son of Nikomachos of Anaphlystos (XII), properly belongs to a tribe differing from that holding the second prytany (Antigonis, I). He was probably a descendant of the Aischines who was the father of Xenokrates of Anaphlystos, in a sepulchral inscription of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5675).

The spokesman for this decree of 271/0 was Euboulos son of Lysidemos of Melite, who is otherwise unknown but was likewise spokesman, as we shall see, for the other new decree of this year (Agora I 6096). It may be noted that, among other spokesmen in decrees concerning taxiarchs, two repeatedly concerned themselves with that office. Thus the spokesman for both decrees of 302/1, that for the taxiarchs of 305/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500), and that for those of the current year (Agora I 5228), was Memnon son of Medon of Aphidna, who is otherwise unknown. The spokesman for the two decrees of 281/0 (Agora I 863) and of 275/4 (Agora I 15 + 96) was again a single individual, Leon son of Kichesias of Aixone, previously unknown, though his family is known for six generations.<sup>18</sup>

The new decree is the latest of eight inscriptions now known to be concerned primarily with the taxiarchs, three already in the *Corpus* and five added by the American Excavations in the Agora.

The taxiarchs are frequently mentioned in Attic inscriptions merely as military officers along with the generals and others (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 21, 105, 112, 120, 148, 334, 554, 687), without reference to their names or number. However, we are told by Lysias (XIII, 79), Demosthenes (IV, 26), Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 61, 3), and Pollux (VIII, 94) that they commanded the regiments (τάξεις or φυλαί) of hoplites, just as the phylarchs commanded the squadrons of cavalry, and that they were ten in number, chosen from the ten tribes and each commanding the regiment forming the contingent from his own tribe (ταξίαρχοι δέκα, εἰς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων).<sup>19</sup> This is corroborated by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 4), mentioning Aristokrates son of Skellias of Kekropis as taxiarch commanding his own tribe in 411 (καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων), also by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1155, a tribal inscription honoring Boularchos son of Aristoboulos of Phlya, taxiarch of the tribe Kekropis in 339/8, and by Agora I 3068, another tribal inscription honoring Philokles son of Philotheos of Sounion, taxiarch of the tribe Leontis in 333/2. Boularchos is of a family known through five generations; his grandfather Boularchos and his father Aristoboulos are mentioned in *I.G.*,

<sup>18</sup> These are (1) Kichesias I and (2) his son Leon I, the spokesman in 281/0 and 275/4 (as cited above); also (2) Kichesias II (probably a brother of Leon I) and his sons (3) Leon II, an ephebe in 237/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787) and (3) Kichesias III, thesmothetes in 214/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706); also the latter's son (4) Leon III who with his wife made an offering to Artemis (commemorated by Phaidimos, *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 271), and who was the accuser of the seditionist Apollodoros in 192 (Livy, XXXV, 50, 4) and was ambassador to Rome in 189 (Polybius, XXI, 31, 6 = XXII, 14; Livy, XXXVIII, 10, 4), as well as supervisor of the erection of statues at Delos in 160/59 (*I.G.*, XI 4, 1056); also his brother (4) Kichesias IV and the latter's son (5) Leon IV, agonothetes of the Theseia about 142 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 960) and included in a list of notable Athenian citizens about 125 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2452); and finally (6) Kichesias V of the cavalry squadron of Kekropis in 128/7 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, no. 27, col. II, line 15).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Xenophon (*Hell.*, I, 6, 29; 7, 30), speaking of the ten ships of the taxiarchs in 406 B.C. For modern references, see Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 1926, pp. 891, 1128; Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, 1928, p. 49; Lammert, *R.E.*, V, 2, s.vv. ταξίαρχος and τάξις.

II<sup>2</sup>, 2814; his son Boularchos appears as one of a committee of ten in a late fourth-century catalogue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1933); and his grandson Kallitheos was *epimeletes* of the Dionysia in 266/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 668).<sup>20</sup> And Philokles, of a family known through five generations, we shall meet again in connection with his presumable grandson Philotheos, taxiarch in 271/0 (Agora I 6664). These specific statements, however, all date from the period of the ten tribes; and whether the regiments were increased to twelve or thirteen in accordance with corresponding enlargements of the number of tribes, as would seem natural, is nowhere clearly indicated.

Among decrees of the State, two are for special services of the taxiarchs in the very years in which the decrees were passed. In Agora I 5228 the taxiarchs for 302/1, the archonship of Nikokles, are thanked as early as Pyn. 24/25 = Pryt. IV 25 of that year for their services in connection with the Eleusinia; and, while it is specified that their names should be appended (line 24), the list is broken away together with the bottom of the stele. Again, in Agora I 863 the taxiarchs for 281/0, the archonship of Ourias, are thanked for their services as a delegation to the Boeotians, primarily to the Basileia festival at Lebadeia, as early as Met. 28/29 = Pryt. II 28 of that year.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the taxiarchs of 281/0 are listed in the body of the text, but they are not in tribal order and only six in number (tribes II, III, VII, IX, XI, and XII not being represented), suggesting that exactly half of the taxiarchs were sent on this mission:

Deinostratos son of Deinidos of Cholleidai	(VI)
Eukleides son of Lysistratos of Peiraieus	(X)
Autias son of Autokles of Acharnai	(VIII)
Habron son of Epigenes of Halai	(IV) <sup>22</sup>
Aristodemos son of Aristophon of Steiria	(V)
Theophantos son of Nikostratos of Gargettos	(I)

One of them, Autias son of Autokles, was also honored in an inscription at Oropos (*I.G.*, VII, 4266), evidently in connection with this same mission.<sup>23</sup> He was presumably fairly young in 281/0, and so was undoubtedly identical with the contributor to the defense of the State in 247/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 791, line 72);<sup>24</sup> thus he was probably a great-grandson of the Autokles son of Autias of Acharnai who was a councillor in 360/59 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1745) and again after the middle of the century

<sup>20</sup> Kirchner (*P.A.*, 1770) gives the stemma (cf. *Chronology*, p. 55).

<sup>21</sup> At least the taxiarchs are not specified as of the preceding year, so that Meritt concludes that the Basileia must have been celebrated very early in the Athenian year.

<sup>22</sup> Halai here assigned to Aigeis (IV) rather than Kekropis (IX), because of the identification of Habron (see below).

<sup>23</sup> Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 305.

<sup>24</sup> See the text in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 290-291.



(*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2408), and also secretary in 327/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 356-357; Agora I 226). Deinostratos is known from his sepulchral inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7795); his brother Deinidos son of Deinidos appears in a list of councillors of the middle of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2434). Eukleides was a descendant of the Eukleides of Peiraieus who was father of Dionysios, one of the treasurers of Athena *ca.* 444 B.C. (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 359). Habron may have been a great-grandson of the Habron of Halai whose son Sokrates was a councillor of Aigeis at the middle of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747). Aristodemos was probably a grandson of the Aristophon of Steiria who was a councillor in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700). And Theophantos may have been a grandson of the Nikostratos of Gargettos whose son Epilykos is known from a votive inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2174).<sup>25</sup> Thus all six of the taxiarchs listed for 281/0 belong to known families.

Four other decrees honoring taxiarchs are of more stereotyped form, passed at or after the conclusion of their terms of office, those of the years 305/4, the archonship of Euxenippos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500), of 276/5, the archonship of Philokrates (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685), of 275/4, the archonship of Olbios (Agora I 15 + 96), and of 272/1, the archonship of Lysitheides (the present decree, the latest of the known decrees honoring taxiarchs). Two were passed on the last day of the years to which they refer, Skir. 29/30 = Pryt. XII 32 of 276/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685) and Skir. 29/30 = Pryt. XII 29 of 275/4 (Agora I 15 + 96), these being successive years. Agora I 6664 (the present decree) was passed on Met. 9 = Pryt. II 7 of the following year 271/0, the archonship of Pytharatos. And *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500 was passed three years later, on <Anth.> 27/28 = Pryt. VIII 27 of 302/1, the archonship of Nikokles. Probably in all except *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500, which is complete and lacks the names,<sup>26</sup> the taxiarchs were listed at the end below the decree; but of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685, we possess only the upper portion, while in Agora I 15 + 96 the lower portion is broken away so that, in view of the absence (as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500) of any prescription that the names should actually be inscribed, we cannot be certain that they were listed.<sup>27</sup> Only in the new decree, Agora I 6664, is the complete list preserved:

<sup>25</sup> Previously classified as a sepulchral inscription, and omitted in the *editio minor* where it is reclassified as votive (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, iii 2, p. 900).

<sup>26</sup> Photograph in 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1910, col. 403.

<sup>27</sup> Possibly some of the unclassified lists of officers arranged in tribal order might have formed the terminations of taxiarch decrees: i. e., in the old order preceding 307/6, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1701-1702 (but the latter found at Eleusis) and Agora I 940; of the first half of the third century, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1704; of the second century, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1712. An early fourth century list, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2369, is not in the official order (VII, VIII, VI, so far as preserved). There seems to be no published piece which could be joined at the lower left corner of Agora I 6664. There may, however, be some relevant pieces among the unpublished material from the Agora.

Lysikrates son of Nausiphanes of Kytheros	(I)
Philiskos son of Moschion of Themakos	(III)
Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania	(V)
Philotheos son of Diodotos of Sounion	(VI)
..... son of Charisandros of Kikynna	(VII)
.....os son of Konon of Oe	(VIII)
----- son of -----kles of Phlya	(IX)
----- son of -----tos of Eleusis	(X)
----- son of ----- of Aphidna	(XI)
----- son of ----- of Alopeke	(XII)

The first was obviously from one of the two "Macedonian" tribes, as shown both by its position (preceding Erechtheis) and by the fact that the tribal name was erased in 201 B.C.; thus it offers welcome confirmation of Pritchett's argument that Kytheros was transferred in 307/6 from Pandionis to Antigonis,<sup>28</sup> so that this tribal name may be restored without question. The missing taxiarchs, therefore, were those of Demetrias (II) and Aigeis (IV).

Of the four completely preserved names, Lysikrates was undoubtedly an ancestor of Lysikrates of Kytheros, father of the ephebe Hierokles in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 112). Of Philiskos we have his sepulchral inscription on a colonette of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6209). Demostratos was evidently the grandson of a Demostratos of Paiania whose son appears as a dedicant in an inventory of silver paterae of the last third of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1566, line 27). And Philotheos is of special interest because he was apparently the great-great-grandson of the Philokles of Sounion and his wife Philia, whose daughter Philylla is known from a votive base (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4025, signed by Kephisodotos the sculptor) after the middle of the fourth century, and whose son Philotheos was *sophronistes* in 333/2 (Agora I 3068); and the son of Philotheos was Philokles, the taxiarch for Leontis in 333/2 (Agora I 3068), who was probably the father of Diodotos, whose son Philotheos held the same office as his grandfather. It is probable that if the six other names were fully preserved we should likewise be able to recognize their families.

In the case of the tribal decrees, that of Kekropis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1155, was found on the Acropolis, while in that of Leontis, Agora I 3068, it is specified that the stele should be set up in the sanctuary of the Hero, presumably that of the tribal hero Leos rather than the *Ἡρώς στρατηγός*, since the latter would have been equivalent to the

<sup>28</sup> Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 186, 188 = *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 5, 7. The evidence comes from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2413, listing names under five demotics, [Paian]ia, Kytheros, Kydathenaion, Aithalidai, and Potamos, of which four were known to have been transferred to Antigonis, so that Pritchett rightly claimed that the fifth (Kytheros) must likewise have belonged at this time (about 304/3) to Antigonis.

strategion. Furthermore, it was found in a wall of a modern house in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, at a distance from the decrees mentioning the strategion. And Agora I 5228, honoring the taxiarchs for their participation in the Eleusinia, was directed to be set up against the Eleusinion (πρὸς τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ ἐν ᾧσται), on the north slope of the Acropolis high above the southeast corner of the Agora, the region in which it was found, built into the "Valerian Wall" south of the church of Hypapanti and the site of the Eleusinion.<sup>29</sup> In the present decree (Agora I 6664), however, it is directed that the stele be set up in front of the strategion (ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου), the same formula being employed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500; similarly Agora I 863 was to be set up against the strategion (πρὸς τῷ στρατηγίῳ). In Agora I 15 + 96 this particular phrase is broken away without the possibility of checking (Meritt restored ἐμπροσθεν κ. τ. λ.), and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685, the entire lower portion is missing. Apart from the three preserved allusions, the only other epigraphical mention of the strategion is in the inventory of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for 313/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1479, line 66), where certain equipment is mentioned as hung up ἐν τῷ στρ[ατηγίῳ]. But the building is mentioned several times in literature. From Aeschines (II, 85) we might infer that it was near the Bouleuterion, the envoys of Philip conferring in it after adjournment of the ekklesia in 343; from Demosthenes (XLII, 14) that it was convenient to the archives, i. e., the archeion or the Metroon, both of these passages intimating that it adjoined the Agora; from Plutarch (*Nicias*, V, 1; XV, 2) that councils of the generals were held here in the late fifth century; and from Diogenes Laertius (I, 2, 18) that it existed as early as the time of Solon, who is reported to have piled his arms πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου.<sup>30</sup> Here, too, was probably a cult of the Ἡρώς στρατηγός (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 53). This general location is corroborated by the evidence of the provenance of most of the taxiarch decrees, four at least of the five general decrees having been found close together toward the southwest corner of the Agora. Thus *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500, was found east of the Hephaisteion during further clearing of Dörpfeld's trial excavation in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo Patroos;<sup>31</sup> Agora I 15 + 96 was found built into a late wall just in front of the "Stoa of Zeus" as the Metroon was then called; Agora I 863 was found built

<sup>29</sup> For the location of the Eleusinion, and the provenance of inscriptions mentioning it, see the recent excavation evidence; Mrs. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 637; Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447 note 5, and V, 1936, p. 183; Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 101, 112 note 48; Shear, *ibid.*, pp. 267-268; Oliver, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 258; Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 251, 261-264; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 81, 89-90; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 150; Meritt, *ibid.*, pp. 190, 253; Jeffery, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 86, 88; Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 130, 134-136; cf. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, p. 1 note 4.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, 1890, p. 344; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 1931, p. 346; Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, 1936, pp. 296-299; McDonald, *Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, 1943, pp. 295-298; Crosby, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 187.

<sup>31</sup> "Ad orientem versus a Theseo"; more closely defined by Oikonomos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1910, col. 1.



into a late well in front of the Tholos; and Agora I 6664, as noted above, was in fill of late Hellenistic or Roman times just west of the Middle Stoa; all lay in or close to Section Zeta, which runs southward from a point opposite the southeast corner of the Metroon complex, past the Tholos, to include the west end of the Middle Stoa.<sup>32</sup> In this region near the southwest corner of the Agora are the foundations of two unidentified public buildings, the somewhat trapezoidal "Greek building" southwest of the Tholos,<sup>33</sup> and the so-called "Poros building" farther southwest on the opposite side of the street.<sup>34</sup> Both are similar in character, broken up into offices; and one of them might well have contained the strategion,<sup>35</sup> preferably the "Greek building" nearer the Tholos in view of the provenance of so many of the inscriptions.<sup>36</sup>

**183** (Plates 63 and 64). The later decree of the archonship of Pytharatos was found in Section Kappa of the Agora Excavations on April 7, 1948.<sup>37</sup> It had been re-used, face down, as one of the cover slabs of a drain which passes close to the northwest corner of the Fountain House near the southwest corner of the Agora. As a result, the letters at the top and bottom, where the stele rested on the side walls of the drain, are fairly well preserved, while those of the middle portion have been badly worn by the action of water. It is a stele of Pentelic marble, preserved in a single piece including the pedimental top; the apex of the pediment is broken away, and the bottom is likewise broken off along a diagonal which extends from the beginning

<sup>32</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685 may have come from the same region; when published by Durrbach (*B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, pp. 327-331) it was housed in the Varvakeion.

<sup>33</sup> This structure appears in the recent plans but has not yet been studied in detail; cf. Thompson, *The Tholos* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV), p. 111; also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 168; XX, 1951, pp. 183-184.

<sup>34</sup> Crosby, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 168-187.

<sup>35</sup> Certainly the strategion was not in the so-called "Civil Offices" built against the west end of the north front of the Middle Stoa (Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 130-131, fig. 1 at 12; Stevens, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 174-175, fig. 1 at A), these being of the early Roman period.

<sup>36</sup> According to a report now received from the Agora excavations, it is officially suggested that the "Greek building" was in fact the strategion. By letter, Homer Thompson informs me that the plan is in fact a Pentagon, though one of the angles is bent inward contrary to Washington standards.

<sup>37</sup> A preliminary notice of the discovery, appearing first in the fortnightly report of the Agora Excavations for April 5-17, 1948, was made in the annual report by Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 222-223. Some more detailed studies, based on the preliminary announcement, have already appeared in the articles by Manni, "Tre Note di Chronologia ellenistica" (*Rend. Acc. Lincei*, ser. 8, IV, 1949, pp. 53-85), "Pirro e gli stati greci nel 281/80 A.C." (*Athenaeum*, n.s. XXVII, 1949, pp. 102-121), and *Demetrio Poliorcete*, Rome, 1952, and also by Deprado, "La Liberazione di Atene nel 286 A.C." (*Riv. Fil.*, n.s. XXXI, 1953, pp. 27-42). I am informed that a new study of the life of Demetrios Poliorketes, in which this inscription likewise plays a part, is being prepared by Leonard C. Smith at the University of Liverpool. I regret that the actual publication of this inscription, so largely illegible, was delayed until I could return to Athens and personally examine the stone in 1953.

of line 44 at the left to a point corresponding to the end of the missing line 63 at the right.<sup>88</sup>

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Height as preserved, 1.02 m. The original height was probably about 1.20 m., allowing for the missing apex acroterion and the blank space at the bottom. For the width of the pedimental top is 0.468 m. and the pedimental slope is 1:1.83, so that the apex of the pediment must have been 0.128 m. above the horizontal mouldings; and the combined height of the latter is 0.0515 m. The top of line 1 is 0.015 m. below the mouldings, and the total height of the inscribed portion (to be restored as 64 lines) was 0.798 m. as shown by the following calculation, thus accounting for 0.128 + 0.0515 + 0.015 + 0.798 = 0.992 m. apart from the missing apex and bottom.

The horizontal mouldings consist of an upper fascia of 0.024 m., below this an ovolo 0.020 m. high, and a lower fillet of 0.0075 m., with a hollow congé receding to the main surface of the stele. The total projection of the fascia is 0.022 m. on the front and 0.0225 m. on the sides. The pediment mouldings consist of an ovolo 0.012 m. high with a fascia of 0.013 m. below it; the tympanum, exactly in the plane of the face of the stele below, recedes 0.022 m. both from the pedimental ovolo and the horizontal fascia. There is no trace of any invocation (such as *θεοί*) on the horizontal fascia.

Thickness of stele, 0.12 m. above (excluding mouldings), 0.14 m. below.

Width of stele (below mouldings), 0.423 m. at top of line 1, 0.457 m. at lowest measurable point (bottom of line 45), indicating a taper of 0.034 m. in 0.565 m., an increase of 0.06018 m., per meter, or about 0.00127 m. per line.<sup>89</sup>

The text proper consists of remains of 51 lines covering 0.6415 m., that is, 0.636 m. (from top of line 1 to top of line 51) for 50 line-spacings averaging 0.01272 m., the height of the letters being 0.0055 m. But the upper lines are spaced 0.0120 m. (0.120 m. from top of line 1 to top of line 11, 0.132 m. to top of line 12), while those near the end are spaced 0.0130 m. (0.143 m. from top of line 38, 0.130 m. from top of line 39 to top of line 49), indicating a gradual increase of the spacing toward the bottom. After line 51 is a clear space of 0.013 m. (instead of the usual 0.0065/0.0075 m.), insufficient to be counted as an empty line. Next, after the 51 lines of the decree, must have followed 13 lines (52-64) occupied by the names of the representatives of the twelve tribes and their secretary, as specified within the decree

<sup>88</sup> I must record my obligations to Eugene Vanderpool, George A. Stamires, and John Travlos of the Agora Excavations staff, who have been so kind as to furnish copy, squeeze, and photographs, as well as details of the discovery of the stone and the necessary measurements.

<sup>89</sup> A nearly horizontal scratch line, 0.676 m. below the tops of the letters of line 1 at the right edge, running inward for a length of 0.175 m. (where it terminates at a distance of 0.681 m. below the tops of the letters of line 1), cuts through the letters of line 54 and so did not serve as a guide line. It is, however, exactly at right angles to the inclined right edge, and so may have been erroneously scratched for this purpose.

and as indicated by the remains of five of them (lines 52-56), with a line-spacing of only 0.0115 m. and so covering  $(12 \times 0.0115) + 0.0055 = 0.1435$  m. From the top of line 1 to the bottom of line 64 was, therefore, a distance of  $0.6415 + 0.013 + 0.1435 = 0.798$  m.

Spacing of letters on centers, average 0.01203 m. in line 1, 0.01216 m. in line 43. For in line 1: 0.009 m. from left edge to axis of first letter (epsilon), thence  $16 \times 0.012125 = 0.194$  m. to axis of 17th letter (tau), thence  $17 \times 0.011941 = 0.203$  m. to axis of 34th letter (omicron), thence 0.017 m. to right edge (total  $0.009 + 0.397 + 0.017 = 0.423$  m.). Hence the final sigma would have been centered 0.005 m. from the right edge. But in line 43: 0.025 m. from left edge to axis of 2nd letter (omicron), thence  $32 \times 0.012156 = 0.389$  m. to axis of 34th letter (sigma), thence 0.041 m. to right edge (total  $0.025 + 0.389 + 0.041 = 0.455$  m.). Hence the first tau would have been centered 0.013 m. from the left edge, the final nu 0.005 m. from the right edge. Thus the width of the left margin increased by  $0.013 - 0.009 = 0.004$  m. in this height; but on the other hand it is evident that half of the taper was 0.0162 m. in this height (0.539 m.), so that the axes of the *stoichoi* are not exactly vertical but, in the left half at least, diverge slightly toward the left as they descend. This is shown also by the fact that, while the axis of the 17th letter (tau) in line 1 is 0.203 m. from the left edge, the axis of the 17th letter (omicron) in line 46 is 0.207 m. from the left edge, with the same deviation of 0.004 m. from parallelism with the left edge. Toward the right, therefore, the distance from the axis of the 17th letter to the right edge increased from 0.220 m. in line 1 to 0.248 m. in line 46, for instance, more than enough for two letters extra. This enlargement was absorbed partly by increasing the number of letters toward the bottom, and partly by the very slight increase in the average spacing of the letters themselves. The stoichedon checker (10 spacings laterally by 10 lines vertically) varies from  $0.1203 \times 0.120$  m. at the top to  $0.1216 \times 0.130$  m. toward the bottom, and so from an exact square to a vertical oblong.

There were normally 35 letters per line at the beginning, 36 letters toward the middle, and 37 letters toward the end, with minor variations of one letter more or less effected by crowding or spreading at the ends of the lines, in order to terminate with full words (72.4 per cent or twenty-one instances: lines 1-3, 5-6, 9-10, 32-33, 35-36, 39-40, 42-44, 46-50) or at least with syllables (27.6 per cent or eight instances: lines 4, 7-8, 34, 37-38, 41, 45). Thus the number of letters (or letter spaces) becomes 34 (lines 2-3, 7), 35 (lines 1, 4-6, 8-10, 33, 38, 40), 36 (lines 34-35, 37, 39, 42, 46-47) 37 (lines 32, 36, 43-45, 58-59), or even 38 (lines 41, 50). There are at least three examples of crowding two letters into a single space (II in line 2, IE in line 4, EI in line 6); and there is one instance of haplography, two successive alphas being represented by only one (line 44). Other scribal errors occur in lines 38 and 39.

Lines 1-10 and 32-51 can be read and restored with a fair degree of plausibility; but the intervening lines 11-31, constituting part of the eroded surface, are represented



only by disconnected single letters or groups of letters for the most part unintelligible. The present version is based on a preliminary reading by Stamires, with revision after examination of the stele by the writer. Letters on which we both agree, as well as additional letters which the writer believes that he could detect, are shown without special indication. On the other hand, letters seen only by Stamires on a squeeze, which, though undoubtedly correct so far as they lie within the restored lines 1-10 and 32-50, could not be perceived by the writer on the stone itself, are marked by dots for editorial purposes. A few additional letters visible only in fragmentary form are likewise marked by dots:

Line 7: the 5th letter (nu)	Line 54: the 22nd letter (mu) and the 25th (sigma)
Line 8: the 24th (upsilon), the 27th (delta), and the 33rd letter (epsilon)	Line 55: the 24th and 25th letters
Line 10: the 34th letter (omicron)	Line 56: the 26th and 27th letters (alpha, nu)
Line 46: the 5th letter (psi)	Line 57: the 26th and 28th letters
Line 48: the 9th letter (alpha)	Line 58: the 27th and 29th letters
Line 52: the 20th letter (alpha) and the 28th (eta)	

## PRAISE OF THE SITONAI

a. 271/0 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34-38

- Ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δεωντίδο[ς]  
 [ἐ]νάτης πρυτανείας, ἥνι Ἰσηγόρος Ἰσοκράτο[ν]  
 [Κ]εφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνο[ς]  
 [ἐ]νάτει ἰσταμένον τετάρτει ἐμβολίμωι, ἐβδ[ό]  
 5 [μ]εῖ καὶ εἰκ[οσ]τέϊ τῆς πρυτ[α]νείας· ἐκκλησί[α]  
 [τῶν προέ[δ]ρω[ν ἐ]πεψήφισεν Πειθίας Θεοφίλο[ν]  
 [Ἀ]θ[μο]ν[εὺς καὶ συμπρ]ό[εδρ]οι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βο[ν]  
 [λ]ε[ῖ κ]α[ὶ τῶι δήμωι· Εὐβουλος Δ[ν]σ[ιδήμον] Με[λι]  
 τε[ὺς εἶπεν] ὅτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρότεροι] σιτῶναι ο[ἱ]  
 10 [ἐ]πὶ Δ[νσιθείδον] ἄρχοντος . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .] ουμενο[ν]  
 [.] ρηστονο[.] . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . τὸν ἐνι] α[ν]τὸν τὸν  
 [μ]ετ[ὰ Δνσιθείδην] ἄρχοντα — — — — —] οἱ  
 [.] ο[.] — — — — —] καὶ [τὰ]  
 [σ]υμφ[έρ]ο[ντα τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων . . .] λο[.]  
 15 [.] ιω[.] — — — — —] τ[.] . . .  
 [.] η[.] — — — — —]  
 [.] ατ[.] — — — — —]  
 [.] οἱ[.] — — — — —] η[.]  
 [.] γ[.] . . .] ιαδιοτελ[.] ν[.] — — — — —] δ[.]  
 20 [.] αγ[.] . . .] ιοτ[.] — — — — —] ξ[.]

- [ . . ] ι [ - - - - - ] ι [ . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] γκοπο [ - - - - - ]  
[ . ] άντων ἐπὶ τῶν [ - - - - - ] ησν [ . ]  
βουλῆς κατουσεδ [ - - - - - ]  
25 [ . ] ινω [ - - - - - ]  
[ . . . . ] υ [ . ] ις [ - - - - - ] ο [ . ]  
[ . . . . . ] τ [ - - - - - ]  
[ . . . . . ] λσ [ - - - - - ]  
[ . . . . . ] η [ - - - - - ]  
30 [ - - - - - ] θ [ . . . . ]  
[ - - - - - ]  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τ] εἰ [βουλεῖ]  
[ τοὺς προέδρο] ν[ς οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδ] ρεύε[ιν]  
ἐ[ν τῷ δῆμῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρη]  
35 [μα] τ[ίσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]  
τῆς βουλ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τ] ε[ἰ β] ουλ[εῖ]  
ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τοῦ[ς σιτώνας] τ[οὺς σι] τῶν[ήσαν]  
[τ] <α>ς ἐπὶ Λυσιθείδου [ἄρχο] ν[τος καὶ στε] φανῶ  
σαι αὐτῶν ἕκαστ<ο>ν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν  
40 [νόμ] ον φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον  
[ε]ῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγ[ῶ]  
σιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν, καὶ [τ]ὸ[ν] ἀρχιτέκτον[α]  
[τ]ὸν αἰεὶ καθιστάμενον κατανέ[μ]ειν αὐτοῖς τῇ[ν]  
[θέα] ν ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν [γ]ραμματέα <α>ὐτ[ῶ] ν κ[αὶ]  
45 [στεφ] ανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφ[ά] νωι ἀναγράψα[ι] δὲ [τό]  
[δε τὸ] ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόμ[α] τα τῶν σιτωνῶ[ν καὶ]  
[τοῦ γραμ] ματέως αὐτῶν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ[ι τὸν]  
[γραμματέ] α τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν, καὶ στήσ[αι ἐν]  
[τῇ ἀγορᾷ] τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γενόμενον ε[ἰς τὴν]  
50 [ποίησιν τῆς στή] λης καὶ τὴν ἀν[αγρ] α[φὴν] μερί[σαι]  
[τὸν ταμίαν vacat] vacat  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] τρά[τ] ου Γα[ρ] γήττ[ι] ο] s (I)  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] Ξν] πεται[ώ] ν (II)  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] Εὐων] μεύς (III)  
55 [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ογ[ - - - ] (IV)  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] Πα] ιαν[ιεύς] (V)  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] Σ] ονν[ιεύς] (VI)  
[ . . . . . . . . . . ] Κεφα] λ[ῆ] θ[εν] (VII)  
(Oineis) - - - - - (VIII)  
60 (Kekropis) - - - - - (IX)

(Hippothontis)-----	(X)
(Aiantis)-----	(XI)
(Antiochis)-----	(XII)
[γραμματεὺς -----]	(?)

## NOTES

Line 2: Two letters  $\Pi$  in a single space.

Line 4: Two letters  $\text{IE}$  in a single space.

Line 6: Two letters  $\text{EI}$  in a single space.

Line 7: The 5th letter of the demotic of the proedros could be either mu or nu; and since the demotic was evidently limited to 8 letters, we may consider only  $\Pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (but hardly  $\text{Κεραμεύς}$ ) on the one hand and  $\text{Ἀθμονεύς}$ ,  $\text{Αἰξωνεύς}$ ,  $\text{Ἀχαρνεύς}$ , or  $\text{Ὀτρυνεύς}$  (but hardly  $\text{Κολωνεύς}$ ) on the other. Stamires felt that the 2nd letter was omicron; thus we should be limited to  $\Pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\text{Ἀθμονεύς}$ . Either would fit the requirement that the proedros must not be from the prytanizing tribe (Leontis, VI); for, while part of Potamos was in Leontis (VI), two other parts were in Antigonis (I) and Demetrias (II), and Athmonon was in Kekropis (IX). With the feeling that the 5th letter more closely resembles nu, I restore  $[\text{Ἀ}]\theta[\mu\omicron]\nu[\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$ . This would agree, furthermore, with the fact that the father's name Theophilos was known in the deme of Athmonon, at about 330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1575,  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma \text{Τρ}[- - -]$   $\text{Ἀθμονεύς}$  in a list of silver paterae) and in the imperial period (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 5335,  $\text{Ἐρμαγόρας } \Theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon \text{Ἀθμονεύς}$  in a sepulchral inscription). Neither of the names Peithias or Theophilos was associated with Potamos.

Line 8: The four last letters of the line must belong to the demotic of the spokesman; the initial  $\text{M}$  is well preserved and the second letter seems to be the vertical bar of  $\text{E}$  (though falling under the middle of the letter  $\text{O}$  above), but rising too high to be the vertical bar of  $\text{Y}$  (as in  $\text{Μυρρινούσιος}$  or  $\text{Μυρρινούτης}$ ). Thus the third and fourth letters would seem to have been slightly crowded, and of the two available demotics we may select  $\text{Με}[\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$  rather than the rare  $\text{Με}[\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$ . This has now been confirmed by the earlier decree (Agora I 6664) of the same year, clearly proposed by the same spokesman. The preceding letters in line 8 obviously belong to the patronymic, for which Stamires suggested  $\text{Χα}[\rho]\iota[\delta]\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ; and I could actually detect a portion of the delta as the fifth letter from the end, preceded by a vertical stroke. And Vanderpool, after examining the stone at my request, stated that "while I would not venture to read these marks, I do see in certain lights support in each letter for Stamires' [Char]idemou and this may well be the correct reading. Even if Charidemos should be accepted as the father's name, however, I think it would be well to keep the first three letters in brackets." Another reason for accepting  $[\text{Χα}\rho]\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\upsilon$  was the fact that this name is supposed to have been used in Melite (*P.A.*,



15387). But the latter rests on very doubtful authority, a funerary inscription of the end of the fifth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6879) with four names superposed: Μελι[— —], Χαροπίδ[ης] Χαρίδημος, Χαριάδης. Restoring the first as Μελι[τεύς], this was supposed to be a demotic applying to the three following names, none of which is otherwise associated with Melite (*P.A.*, 15533, 15387, 15316).<sup>40</sup> The first line might equally well have been another name such as Μελί[ας], Μέλι[ς], Μελί[ττιος], or Μελί[των], all good Athenian names. Furthermore, on our actual stone itself (Agora I 6096) I was unable to perceive any trace of the initial chi, and instead of the doubtful second letter alpha there seems to be in this position a diagonal stroke like the upper right corner of kappa, upsilon, or psi, apparently eliminating Χα[ρ]ιδήμων. Assuming that the second letter was upsilon, and that the vertical stroke in the fourth space might likewise be restored as upsilon, it had seemed to me that the name might be read as [Ε]ϛ[θ]υδήμων, particularly as this name is known to have been used in the

<sup>40</sup> Another element to be taken into consideration is the fact that in a list of councillors of Demetrias (Agora I 1804 + 1870 = *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 273-274, no. 71), of the middle of the third century, Pritchett decides that a list of at least six names, including a Charopides, might very tentatively be assigned to Melite because of the large number and also because of the assumed identification of Charopides (*P.A.*, 15533); and all these are duly accepted as of Melite in the *Hesperia Index* (I-X). With due regard to representation quotas, to be sure, we are restricted to the large demes of Demetrias, that is, Hagnous (4 +), Melite (17 ?), Phyle (4 ?), Thorai (4 ?), and Xypete (number of councillors unknown), and for similar reasons a block of at least five names in the first column of the same inscription, likewise with the demotic missing, is tentatively assigned in the *Hesperia Index* to Hagnous. Thus we have a tenuous identification of eleven individuals resting on the doubtful identification of one (Charopides of Melite). It is obvious that we need more conclusive evidence before accepting these identifications. It so happens that, in the first group, three of the four certainly restorable names ([Ἀρίστ]αρχος, [Χαιρ]έας, and Χαιρέστ[ρατος]) actually occur in the deme of Hagnous (*P.A.*, 1659, 15095, 15155), and two others might be restored in agreement with this deme (Ἀντί[πατρος], Σωσί[χιος], *P.A.*, 1167, 13301). On the other hand, only one of the certain names, [Ἀλκίμα]χος, is known in the deme of Melite (*P.A.*, 620), while two others might fit appropriate restorations (Σώσι[ππος] = *P.A.*, 13278, and Ἀντι[κλής] or Ἀντι[φάνης] or Ἀντί[χαρμος] = *P.A.*, 1068-1069, 1240, 1320). The chances of equating the first group with Xypete are very slight, being limited to the restorations Ἀντι[γένης] or Ἀντι[κλής] (*P.A.*, 994, 1070) and Σωσι[άδης] or Σωσι[γένης] (*P.A.*, 13174, 13214), while the demes of Phyle and Thorai give even less satisfactory results. Thus there can be little doubt that the five names in the first column are rightly associated with Hagnous. This leaves for the second group Melite, Phyle, Thorai, or Xypete. In this second group, two of the twelve names certainly appear in Phyle (Ἀριστοφῶν and Πολύευκτος, *P.A.*, 2119, 11955) and a third can be appropriately restored (Ἀντι[γένης], *P.A.*, 1005). Only one name, the ubiquitous Διοκλῆς (*P.A.*, 4039-4040) certainly appears in Melite, apart from the possible restoration of another (Ἀντι[κλής] or Ἀντι[φάνης] or Ἀντί[χαρμος], *P.A.*, 1068-1069, 1240, 1320) and the very doubtful [Χ]αροπίδης (*P.A.*, 15533). As for Xypete, Διοκλῆς (*P.A.*, 4043) would again fit, as well as the possible restorations Ἀντι[γένης] or Ἀντι[κλής] (*P.A.*, 994, 1070); and for Thorai we should have only the possible restoration Ἀντι[φάτης] (*P.A.*, 1259). Numerically, therefore, it would seem most reasonable to assign the second group to Phyle, thus eliminating the evidence for the identity of the so-called Charopides of Melite, and so depriving Charidemus likewise of this corroboration of the attribution to Melite. Furthermore, Stamires now suggests that the name with which this investigation started, Charopides in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6879, should actually be read as Χαροπί[ο]ς.

deme of Melite (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1927, after the middle of the fourth century; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2394, of 340/39 or 313/2; Agora I 3238 + 4169, of 239/8).<sup>41</sup> The last had seemed particularly appropriate because the Euthydemos of Melite there mentioned as a *sitophylax* in 240/39 might be construed as a son of Euboulos son of Euthydemos in 271/0, continuing his father's interest in the grain supply. But this possibility is now eliminated by the perfectly clear iota as the fourth letter of the patronymic in the other decree of 271/0 (Agora I 6664). There remains a third Athenian name, Lysidemos, which would meet all the requirements except that it is not known in Melite. A certain Lysidemos was the target of one of the orations of Hyperides (fr. 119 = Pollux, VII, 149), and the name appears in inscriptions of the first half of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1932, *Λυσίδημος Λυσίου Ἀγκυλῆθεν* in a list of prominent citizens liable for liturgies; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345, line 64, in a list of *thasiotai*), in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, *Λυσίδημος Λυσιθέου Παλληνεύς*, a councillor), and at the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3850, *Λυσιφάνης Λυσιδήμων Ἀγνούσιος* on a votive base on the Acropolis). While three of these are definitely not of Melite, either of two others might have been. Thus we may prefer the restoration [Λ]υ[σ]ιδήμων; and possibly even the extremely doubtful trace of the initial letter might be read, not as chi, but as lambda. All but the first three letters of the same patronymic appear in the earlier decree Agora I 6664, which must be restored similarly. For the missing nomen in our decree there remain 8 spaces, exactly fitting the name *Εὐβουλος* which is preserved in Agora I 6664.

Line 10: Stamires and Raubitschek suggest [φιλοτιμ]οῦμενο[ι].

Lines 32-50: For the restoration of lines 32-50, inclusive, Stamires pointed out that we have a very close parallel in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, which exactly fits the remnants of our text with only a few minor changes.

Line 34: Cf. no. 182 (above), line 23.

Lines 37-38: Where Köhler and Kirchner had restored [σιτωνήσαντας] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792 (line 5), Meritt suggested [κατασταθέντας] (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 564 note 1). The preserved letters in our inscription would favor τοῦ[ς σιτώνας] τ[οὺς σι]των[ή-σαντας] τ[οὺς ἐπὶ Λυσιθέιδου] [ἄρχο]ν[τος], except that there is hardly room at the end of line 37 to crowd in the final letters of *σιτωνήσαντας*, and except (further) for the anomaly of τοὺς thrice repeated. It is better to assume here an error in the text, and to posit that the stonecutter should have inscribed the final syllable -τας at the beginning of line 38 instead of the article τοὺς. Reading [σιτωνήσαντας ἐπὶ . . .]βίου in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, therefore, we have seven letters for the archon's name, or possibly eight with [ἐπ' . . .]βίου, the year, as we shall see, being 253/2 in agreement with Meritt (*Chronology*, pp. xxi, 99). The possibility of [σι]των[ησ]αμ[έ]ν[ους], as suggested with reservations by Stamires and Raubitschek, would have the somewhat unfortunate effect, if repeated in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, of limiting the name of the archon for 253/2 to [ἐπ' . . .]βίου, hardly another Olbios.

<sup>41</sup> Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, no. 2, A 7 and B 8.



Line 39: The word ἑκαστον was erroneously cut as ΕΚΑΣΤΩΝ.

Line 42: Cf. no. 182 (above), line 31.

Line 44: The alpha omitted following γραμματέα. The name of the secretary of the *sitonai*, given at this point (line 10) in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, is omitted and relegated to line 64.

Line 49: Where *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792 provided that the stele should be set up [ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὗ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ Δ]ιὸς ἐστίν, we are limited to a locality in 9 letters, which would, to be sure, fit [ἀκροπόλει], but this seems less fitting than [τῇ ἀγορᾷ] which was written out with the article in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 125, 676, 791, and 875.

Line 51: Where *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792 provided, as restored, that the expenditure should be met by τὸν τ[αμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν], we are limited here by the existing blank space to a maximum of 14 letters, thus eliminating both the foregoing and also either [τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου] or [τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει] in 17 or 18 letters; furthermore, the treasurer of the demos functioned in this capacity for the last time in 302/1 (*Archons*, p. 64), while the single officer of administration could not have functioned in the period to which our decree belongs (*Archons*, pp. 58, 64-66, 76, 86, 87, 111; *Archon List*, pp. 18, 41). The vague term [τοὺς ταμίας] is improbable as differing from the singular form in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792. Presumably we are to restore the equally vague term [τὸν ταμίαν] (as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845 A, 863, 908, 909, 924 add., 1008 C, 1038, cf. *Magn.* no. 37), and also to restore the same term in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, where the broken stone gives no authority for [τῶν στρατιωτικῶν].

Line 52: The axis of the first preserved letter tau is 0.239 m. from the right edge and so 0.223 m. from the restored left edge, and is directly beneath the 18th letter alpha of line 50, thus allowing, if the list of *sitonai* aligned with the left edge of the text,  $17 + 6 = 23$  letters for the nomen and patronymic, which is possible in view of the fact that the patronymic appears to have been rather long. The demotic belongs to Antigonis (I), indicating that the names are in tribal order.

Line 53: There would be 18 letters for the nomen and patronymic; the demotic belongs to Demetrias (II).

Line 54: The demotic ends with -εύς, limiting us within Erechtheis (III) to Εὐωνυμέυς, Κηφισιεύς, or Λαμπρεύς; since the preceding letter appears to be either mu or nu, we are limited to [Εὐωνν]μεύς. There would remain 16 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 55: The only discernible traces of the demotic are so vague that no definite restoration can be proposed, though, since it must belong to Aigeis (IV), the possibilities are [Ἀγκυλῇ|θε|ν], [Βατῇ|θε|ν], [Ἑστιαίῳ|θε|ν], [Κολωνῇ|θε|ν], or [Πλω]-θε|ύς], allowing respectively 17, 19, 16, 17, or 20 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 56: Since the alternative reading -ιδῆ[ς] would not fit a demotic of Pandionis (V), we may adopt -ιαν; the only suitable restoration [Πα]ιαν[ιεύς] would leave 22 letters for the nomen and patronymic.



Line 57: Of the presumable letters  $\rho\upsilon\upsilon$ , the second is very doubtful and the third retains only the left vertical stroke; nevertheless, since the demotic must belong to Leontis (VI), we may tentatively restore  $[\Sigma]\rho\upsilon\upsilon[\iota\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma]$ , leaving 24 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 58: The presumable letters  $\lambda.\theta$  might be, respectively, alpha, delta, or lambda, and theta or omicron; since they must belong to a demotic of Akamantis (VII), we may restore  $[Κ\epsilon\phi\alpha]\lambda[\eta]\theta[\epsilon\nu]$ , leaving 22 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

## COMMENTARY

The chairman of the proedroi, Peithias son of Theophilos of Athmonon (IX), properly belongs to a tribe differing from that holding the ninth prytany (Leontis, VI). He may have been a son or grandson of the Theophilos of Athmonon mentioned in a list of silver paterae at about 330 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1575).

The spokesman was the same Euboulos son of Lysidemos of Melite who appears in the same capacity in the other decree of this year (Agora I 6664), but is otherwise unknown.

This is the third or fourth of the known honorary decrees for the whole board of *sitonai*, the others being *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, which we may assign to 252/1 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> Agora I 6064 of 244/3 B.C.,<sup>43</sup> and possibly also the fragmentary *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 744 of the first half of the third century. It had been suggested that the board may have consisted of three members because of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 906, of 175/4 B.C., in which three Athenians were to be selected to form a commission  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma\iota\tau\omega\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ ;<sup>44</sup> but this may have been a special situation. In our inscriptions it is obvious that the board of *sitonai* consisted of one representative for each tribe, as well as the secretary. For in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, there were twelve names arranged in four columns, three names in each column, each name preceded by the name of the tribe, while in our new decree the names were arranged in twelve lines, without the names of the tribes but following tribal order, Gargettos (I), Xypete (II), and presumably Euonymon (III), — — — — (IV), Paiania (V), Sounion (VI), and Kephale (VII). Individuals known to have been members of such boards include Demosthenes (Demosthenes, XVIII, 248), Kallisthenes (Demosthenes, XX, 33), and Euboulides of Eleusis (E.M. 12825).<sup>45</sup>

There were also  $\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \sigma\iota\tau\omega\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ , of whom one from Pergase appears in an inscription of the beginning of the second century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1708). Probably another was Miltiades of Marathon, mentioned in an honorary decree of 141/0 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 968)

<sup>42</sup> The preceding archon . . . bios is to be placed in 253/2 B.C.

<sup>43</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3-13, no. 3.

<sup>44</sup> For the *sitonai*, see Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 1027, 1121; Thalheim, in *R.E.*, III, A, s.vv.  $\Sigma\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\iota$  (cols. 396-397),  $\Sigma\iota\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (cols. 397-398),  $\Sigma\iota\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$  (col. 399).

<sup>45</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 201-203.

as having served [ἐπὶ τοῖς] σιτωνικ[οῖς] in the archonship of Archon (147/6). And they likewise had a secretary, according to a decree of 267/6, the archonship of Menekles (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1272), honoring a certain Dion who twice served as secretary, both earlier and in that year. Associated with them were the *sitophylakes*, originally one from each tribe, five for the Peiraieus and five for the city, according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 51, 3), who adds that in his own time the number was increased to thirty-five, fifteen for the Peiraieus and twenty for the city. But this enlargement was doubtless temporary, caused by the emergency of the famine of 330/29 to 326/5 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 360). After the creation of the two Macedonian tribes, the number ten was doubtless increased to twelve, six for the Peiraieus and six for the city; and each board apparently had its secretary, according to an honorary decree of about 300 (Agora I 5824),<sup>46</sup> where six men were listed in tribal order (III, —, —, —, X, XI) together with a secretary whose name is lost, apparently the *sitophylakes* of the city—the beginning of the decree is lost, but the formulae so resemble the following as to leave little doubt. The *sitophylakes* of the city are again listed for 240/39 (Agora I 3238 + 4169), where there are only five names in confused order (tribes IV, VIII, I or III, XII, and II, repeated as IV, VIII, II, I or III and XII), with a secretary from Kropidai (VI). It has been suggested that by this time they had been reduced to the original number of five for each board, and that the two additional tribes were represented by the two secretaries, since in this instance the secretary happens to come from an otherwise unrepresented tribe.<sup>47</sup> But this was more probably accidental; and on the analogy of the earlier inscription it may be inferred that at this time each board normally consisted of six members with a secretary chosen at large, one name being here omitted for reasons beyond our control. The office of secretary of the *sitophylakes* is included also in a list of government officers dating from about 150 B.C. (Agora I 113).<sup>48</sup>

The day on which our decree was passed was Elaphebolion 9 (actually 9E), just as in the analogous decree Agora I 6064 (the prescript of the third similar decree, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 792, is lost), so that this may well have been regarded as the normal day for such business. We know, at present, eleven decrees passed on this day: <sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 243-246, no. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Crosby, *Hesperia*, XI, 1937, p. 446; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 244.

<sup>48</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 42-43, no. 31; Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 460-461, no. 8.

<sup>49</sup> Lists of decrees passed on this day had been compiled by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, iv, p. 30) and Ferguson (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 133, note 46, p. 136). Kirchner included only five (a, b, e, f, k), to which I added two (c, d; cf. *Archons*, p. 380; *Archon List*, pp. 213-214). Ferguson included only six (e, f, h, i, j, k), discarding four others (a, b, c, d) because of the doubts cast upon their combination by West and Meritt; their reinstatement will be discussed elsewhere. The dates given for boards honored in two instances (g, i) are those determined in the following argument.

(a)	307/6	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 460	unknown subject	ἐκκλησία
(b)		" 461	"	"
(c)		" 462	"	"
(d)		<i>S.E.G.</i> , III, 86	honors to three Prienians	
(e)	295/4	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 646	honors to Herodoros	ἐκκλησία κυρία
(f)		" 647	unknown subject	
(g)	271/0	Agora I 6096	for <i>sitonai</i> of 272/1	ἐκκλησία
(h)	244/3	" 6064	for <i>sitonai</i> of 247/6	ἐκκλησία κυρία
(i)		" 5191	for <i>agoranomoi</i> of 246/5	" "
(j)	171/0	" 166B	for ephebes of 172/1	ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
(k)	118/7	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1008 B	for ephebes of 119/8	" " " "

Thus all the known decrees passed on this day in four of the years (271/0, 244/3, 171/0, 118/7) are concerned with honors to boards or bodies who functioned in preceding years. It will be noted that in two of the years (295/4, 244/3) it was the chief assembly of the prytany, and that in two other years (171/0, 118/7) the assembly was held in the theater of Dionysos.

The importance of this day is that it was the last day available for public business before the interruption caused by the Dionysia. The preliminary tryout or *proagon*, as well as the Asklepiaia, had already been held on Elaph. 8; and probably the festival of the Soteris was held on Elaph. 9 itself.<sup>50</sup> The great *pompe* occurred on Elaph. 10 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, lines 117-121), followed on the same day by the dithyrambic contests for men and boys, and then in succession by a day of five comedies, and by three days each with three tragedies followed by a satyric play (cf. sequence in law of Euegoros, in Demosthenes, XXI, 10), presumably on Elaph. 11, 12, 13, and 14. During the Peloponnesian War, at least after 429 (*I.G.*, XIV, 1097), the days following the *pompe* were reduced to three, each with three tragedies, a satyric play, and a comedy (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 786-789), the additional day being afterward reinstated.<sup>51</sup> Conflicts sometimes occurred between meetings of the Ekklesia and days

<sup>50</sup> On the sequence of events, see Dutoit, *Zur Festordnung des grossen Dionysien*, 1898, pp. 38 ff.; Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 428-448; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 138 ff.; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 96-98; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 133-135 note 46; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 1953, pp. 61-65.

<sup>51</sup> Pickard-Cambridge argues that Ferguson's "view that the 9th of Elaphebolion was a day of inaction in the ritual of the Dionysia, and that the festival proper may have begun on the 10th, is not so convincingly proved," and this opinion that no day elapsed between the *proagon* and the *pompe* is followed by Bieber (*A.J.P.*, LXXV, 1954, pp. 307-308). Therefore Pickard-Cambridge prefers to date the *pompe* and the dithyrambic contests for men and boys on Elaph. 9, followed by four days (the 10th to 13th, shortened to three days, the 10th to 12th, during the Peloponnesian War) for the dramatic performances. But these dates for the *pompe* and the following contests seem to be controverted by the impressive array of stated meetings of the assembly on the 9th and by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368 with regard to sacrifices to Dionysos on the 10th (i. e., the occasion of the *pompe*), and so should evidently run from Elaph. 10 to 14 (during the Peloponnesian War from 10 to 13). The Pandia were celebrated on the (or a) day after the Dionysia (Photius, *s.v.* Πάνδια; the day left uncertain by Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177 and final table, while Elaph. 17 as given by Treidler in



of the festival, as on the 8th,<sup>52</sup> the 12th,<sup>53</sup> and the 14th;<sup>54</sup> but no public meetings, so far as we can ascertain, occurred on the 10th,<sup>55</sup> the 11th,<sup>56</sup> and evidently not on the 13th.<sup>57</sup>

The most interesting and exceptional item of the prescript is the dating on a fourth intercalary day, Elaphebolion 9E, making it the 13th day of Elaphebolion. For the first time among Attic inscriptions do we find such a reference to the insertion of as many as four intercalary days;<sup>58</sup> hitherto we had known only as many as one<sup>59</sup> or two.<sup>60</sup> Usually such intercalary days were inserted at the end of one of the last

*R.E.*, XVIII, *s.v.* Pandia, lacks authority), and, having apparently been an old full-moon festival (Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 432 with sources; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, I, p. 238 note 2), would probably have occupied the 15th, thus forming the limit before which the Dionysia were later inserted (cf. Wilamowitz, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 133). A special assembly could be held in the agora (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1140) or in the theater (Demosthenes, XXI, 8-9) on the day following the Pandia, or on the 18th and 19th (Aeschines, II, 61; III, 68).

<sup>52</sup> Aeschines, III, 67 (in 346, for which Aeschines attacked Demosthenes); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 359 (in 326/5; for the date see *Archons*, p. 372; *Calendars*, p. 54); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, lines 13, 78, 109.

<sup>53</sup> Agora I 3878 (of 319/8; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 476; *Calendars*, p. 63). But in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 388 (of the same year) Elaphebolion 12 was written by mistake for Mounichion 12 (Crosby, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 478-479; *Archon List*, p. 34 note 62; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 269 note 7; *Calendars*, pp. 41, 63).

<sup>54</sup> Thucydides, IV, 118, 12 (in 423).

<sup>55</sup> As shown by Ferguson, *loc. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Ferguson refers to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 365 (in 323/2) as a possible exception; but this was actually dated on Hek. 11 (*Archons*, p. 373; *Calendars*, p. 57). Others were formerly assigned to Elaph. 11, as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 670 A (of 280/79, now redated Skir. 11; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 670 A add.; *Archons*, pp. 389-391; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 106; *Calendars*, p. 70) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 360 (of 325/4, now redated Pos. II 11; cf. *Archons*, p. 372; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 536; *Calendars*, pp. 55-56), so that these likewise may be disregarded.

<sup>57</sup> For the 13th see Agora I 605 (of 196/5, ἐκκλησία κυρία in the Peiraieus; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422); but this was the 13th κατ' ἄρχοντα (*Calendars*, pp. 15, 75), and the date κατὰ θεόν was Elaph. 18, so that the seeming conflict might be explained. Possibly also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 372 (of 322/1) might be dated Elaphebolion 13, if this were to be interpreted as an intercalary year; but since it was undoubtedly an ordinary year, it is preferable to restore the date as Elaphebolion 19 (cf. *Calendars*, pp. 59-60). For meetings in the period Elaph. 17-19 see Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Auf-führungen*, p. 218 (wrongly quoting Aeschines, II, 61, for the 17th).

<sup>58</sup> The Euboean inscription *I.G.*, XII 9, 207 (suppl., p. 178) permitted intercalations up to three days (cf. *Calendars*, pp. 20-21).

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 358, 471, 791, 1006 A, and Agora I 787. Compare also the days designated as προτέρα (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 486, 495, 496, 497, 597 add., and E.M. 12952; cf. *Archons*, pp. 385-387; *Calendars*, pp. 69, 79), indicating that the following day was ἐμβόλιμος.

<sup>60</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 458, 838, and Agora I 6625. In the light of the new decree referring to a fourth intercalary day (certainly not a fourth intercalary month), I must withdraw my former interpretation (more or less following Kirchner), to the effect that δευτέραι ἐμβολίμοι might refer to a second intercalary month consisting wholly, therefore, of intercalary days (*Archons*, pp. 194, 378, 382; *Archon List*, pp. 215-216, 218-219, 230, 231-232, 236, 240-241; *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, pp. 615-616), a theory based primarily on the coincidence that both of the then known years showing this expression (307/6, 226/5) did, in fact, have irregular intercalary months. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.*, IV, 2, p. 22) had already inferred that the expression concerned rather an intercalary day; and this point of view

months in the year, as Skirophorion 29/30A and 29/30B in 304/3 and 303/2,<sup>61</sup> or Mounichion 29/30B in 306/5,<sup>62</sup> or Elaphebolion 29/30B in 333/2 and 247/6 B.C.<sup>63</sup> Earlier intercalary days, but still within the last decades of months, were Hekatombaion II 25B in 228/7,<sup>64</sup> Metageitnion 22C in 226/5,<sup>65</sup> and Gamelion 23C in 307/6 B.C.<sup>66</sup> The only occurrence in the middle decade is Metageitnion 16C in 214/3 (Agora I 6625). The only previously known analogy for an intercalary day in the first decade of a month is Boedromion 8B in 122/1 B.C.<sup>67</sup> The reason for the insertion of four extra days immediately after Elaphebolion 9 in 271/0 B.C. was undoubtedly the same as that permitting the intercalation of as many as three days as specified in the Euboean law (*I.G.*, XII 9, 207, suppl., p. 178) dated about twenty years earlier, that is, in connection with the theatrical performances of the Dionysiac festival, which at Athens extended from Elaphebolion 10 to 14. Evidently the preparations for the Dionysiac festival of 271/0 B.C., presumably celebrated with special splendor as shown by the fact that the *agonothetes* Thrasykles rebuilt the upper part of the choragic monument of his father Thrasyllus to commemorate it, consumed more time than had been allowed, and the four extra days had to be inserted in order that the *pompe* might still be held on Elaphebolion 10.

We may now consider the calendar quality of the year as a whole, on the basis of the two new decrees. The year 271/0 was the tenth year of the ninth Metonic cycle (280-261), and the succession of ordinary and intercalary years within this cycle has appeared in the most recent arrangements, in accordance with the shifting of the years of the archons, as follows: <sup>68</sup>

was adopted by West (*Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 359-360), Meritt (after momentary acceptance of my view, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 529-532, 537), and Pritchett (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 139; *Chronology*, pp. 14-15, 18; *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, pp. 419-420 = *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 19-20; *Calendars*, pp. 22, 33, 74).

<sup>61</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 486, 495-497, 597 add., and E.M. 12952 (*Archons*, pp. 385-387; *Calendars*, pp. 69, 79).

<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 471 (*Archons*, p. 387; *Calendars*, p. 79).

<sup>63</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 358, 791 (*Archons*, pp. 357, 387, 396; *Archon List*, p. 228; *Calendars*, pp. 48, 82).

<sup>64</sup> Agora I 787 (*Archon List*, pp. 230-231; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 73).

<sup>65</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 838 (*Archons*, pp. 193-194; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 531; *Archon List*, pp. 231-232; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 74).

<sup>66</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 458 (*Archons*, pp. 378-379, 385; *Archon List*, pp. 215-216, 218-219; West, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 359; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 139; *Chronology*, pp. 14-15, 18; *Calendars*, pp. 22, 33, 69, 74).

<sup>67</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006 A (*Archons*, pp. 412, 418; *Archon List*, p. 247; *Calendars*, p. 86). The probable restoration of a similar early intercalation in 222/1 B.C., amounting to three days presumably again in Boedromion before the Eleusinian festival, will be discussed elsewhere.

<sup>68</sup> For the previously published arrangements see *Archons*, pp. 30, 392-394, 423; *Archon List*, pp. 20-21, 226-227, 249; *Chronology*, pp. xviii-xx; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 81, 84.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Dinsmoor 1931	O*	O*	(i)	(o)	(i)	O	I*	O	(o)	(i)	O*	I	O*	O	I*	O	(o)	(i)	O*
Dinsmoor 1939	O*	I	O	I	O*	O	I*	O*	O	I	O*	O	I	O*	O	I*	O	I	O*
Pritchett-Meritt	O*	O	I	O*	O	I*	O*	I	O	I	O	I	O*	O*	I*	O*	O	I	O*
Pritchett-Neugebauer	O*	O*		O*		I*	O*				O	O*	O*	O*	I*	O*			O*
Dinsmoor 1954	O	O	I	O*	I*	O*	O	I*	O*	I*	O*	I	O*	I	O*	O	I	O*	O*

In all these arrangements, with one exception, it is possible to observe the normal rule that there are no consecutive intercalary years and that no more than two ordinary years should appear together. It is difficult to understand why Pritchett and Neugebauer show a succession of four ordinary years for 270/69–267/6, for the first of which, even with their distribution of the archons (Diogeiton with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 772 being assigned to 270/69), there is no evidence whatever as to the calendar quality. In any case, the tenth year 271/0 would be (or should be) intercalary in all these arrangements.

The calendar equation in the first decree of 271/0 (Agora I 6664) is Met. 9 = Pryt. II 7, dated on the 39th day of the year and thus showing that the first prytany had 32 days. It is hardly possible that the year could have been ordinary, with an excess of two days in the very first prytany. In other words, the year was definitely intercalary from the very beginning and should have contained twelve prytanies of 32 days each, making the total of 384 days.

The calendar equation in the second decree (Agora I 6096) being Elaph. 9E = Pryt. IX 27, it would appear that, if Elaph. 1 fell in the normal position on the 266/267th day of an intercalary year, Elaph. 9 should have been the 274/275th day, so that Elaph. 9E would have been the 278/279th day. This would suggest that, the last four months covering  $384 - 265/266 = 118/119$  days, but only 114/115 regular days after deduction of the four intercalary days, the remainder of the year would have consisted of four months averaging  $28\frac{1}{2}$  or  $28\frac{3}{4}$  regular days (one day being suppressed in each). But the day of the decree was also the 27th of the ninth prytany; and since the prytanies should normally have averaged 32 days in an intercalary year, the 27th of the ninth prytany should have been the 283rd day of the year. Thus we must somehow obtain an equivalence between the 278/279th civil day and the 283rd prytany day, a discrepancy of  $4/5$  days. For the 278/279th civil day would leave  $251/252$  days for the eight preceding prytanies (averaging  $31\frac{3}{8}$  or  $31\frac{1}{2}$  days), or, conversely, the 283rd prytany day would require 270 days for the preceding nine months (averaging 30 days). It results that there would be a deficiency of  $4/5$  days in the normal arrangement of the prytanies, or an excess of  $3/4$  days in the months.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Before the discovery of the earlier decree Agora I 6664 it had been possible to obtain the same result, and the certainty that the year was intercalary, by eliminating the possibility of an ordinary year. For, in an ordinary year, Elaph. 1 would normally have been the 237th day, and Elaph. 9E the 249th day; but with prytanies averaging  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days it is evident that Pryt. IX 27 would have been the 263rd day. Between the 249th civil day and the 263rd prytany day we should have a discrepancy of 14 days, which could not have been reconciled under any circumstances.



It is evident that we must find some compromise, and that there must have been some further irregularities in the year apart from the intercalation of four days in Elaphebolion. It is essential that Elaph. 1 must coincide with Pryt. IX 15, and that this day, normally beginning  $(4 \times 29\frac{1}{2}) = 118$  days before the end of the year (i. e., being the 267th business day), should be so located as not to give abnormally deficient final months or excessive final prytanies. If we deduct two days from  $4 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 118$  for the months, but add two days to  $(4 \times 32) - 14 = 114$  for the prytanies, Elaph. 1 = Pryt. IX 15 would begin 116 days from the end of the year (i. e., becoming the 269th business day). Since the year started in the normal intercalary form with prytanies of 32 days, we may assume that two of the first eight prytanies were shortened to 31 days, and that there was also a slight irregularity in the fixed alternation of full and hollow months (i. e., Hekatombaion and Metageitnion being successive full months), permitting us to restore the calendar preceding Elaphebolion as follows:

1.	Hek.	1	=	Pryt. I	1	148.	Maim.	29	=	Pryt. V	21
30.	"	30	=	"	30	149.	Pos. I	1	=	"	22
31.	Met.	1	=	"	31	159.	"	11	=	"	32
32.	"	2	=	"	32	160.	"	12	=	Pryt. VI	1
33.	"	3	=	Pryt. II	1	178.	"	30	=	"	19
*39.	"	9	=	"	7	179.	Pos. II	1	=	"	20
60.	"	30	=	"	28	191.	"	13	=	"	32
61.	Boed.	1	=	"	29	192.	"	14	=	Pryt. VII	1
64.	"	4	=	"	32	208.	"	30	=	"	17
65.	"	5	=	Pryt. III	1	209.	Gam.	1	=	"	18
89.	"	29	=	"	25	222.	"	14	=	"	31
90.	Pyan.	1	=	"	26	223.	"	15	=	Pryt. VIII	1
95.	"	6	=	"	31	237.	"	29	=	"	15
96.	"	7	=	Pryt. IV	1	238.	Anth.	1	=	"	16
119.	"	30	=	"	24	254.	"	17	=	"	32
120.	Maim.	1	=	"	25	255.	"	18	=	Pryt. IX	1
127.	"	8	=	"	32	267.	"	30A	=	"	13
128.	"	9	=	Pryt. V	1	268.	"	30B	=	"	14

An extra day (30B), for which we have many analogies, may have been added to Anthesterion in order to delay the beginning of Elaphebolion, a delay which proved to be inadequate for the preparations for the Dionysia. Then, after the beginning of Elaphebolion, with the intention of having four months of 29 days but with these shortened to 28 regular days because of the unexpected intercalation of four days, and with two of the prytanies lengthened to 33 days to compensate for the two shorter prytanies in the first part of the year,<sup>70</sup> the remainder of the calendar would have been as follows:

<sup>70</sup> This is but one of many instances through which I shall attempt to demonstrate the impossibility of the new hypothesis of Pritchett and Neugebauer, the basis of their book on *The Calendars*

269.	Elaph.	1	=	Pryt. IX	15	301.	Moun.	1	=	Pryt. X	15
277.	"	9A	=	"	23	318.	"	18	=	"	32
278.	"	9B	=	"	24	319.	"	19	=	Pryt. XI	1
279.	"	9C	=	"	25	328.	"	28	=	"	10
280.	"	9D	=	"	26	329.	Thar.	1	=	"	11
*281.	"	9E	=	"	27	351.	"	23	=	"	33
282.	"	10	=	"	28 ( <i>pompe</i> )	352.	"	24	=	Pryt. XII	1
286.	"	14	=	"	32	356.	"	28	=	"	5
287.	"	15	=	Pryt. X	1	357.	Skir.	1	=	"	6
300.	"	28	=	"	14	384.	"	28	=	"	33

As thus computed, the two decrees of 271/0 were passed on the 39th and 281st days of the year, and so on the 3317th and 3559th days of the ninth Metonic cycle<sup>71</sup> which began on July 16, 280 B.C. (Julian day 1619350), falling on August 15, 271, and April 14, 270, respectively.

In order to avoid additional delay in the publication of the more vital chronological results based on these inscriptions and related investigations, there is appended a simplified table of the archons and of the tribal affiliations of the secretaries and priests of Asklepios, together with the calendar quality of the years in the corresponding Metonic cycles, for the purpose of illustrating the revised principles of rotation. Detailed discussion of the evidence must be postponed for a later publication.<sup>72</sup>

#### TRIBAL ROTATION OF SECRETARIES AND PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS 322-195 B.C.

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
322/1	O	Philokles III	I Kephisia	i Lamptrai?
321/0	O*	Archippos I	II Kollytos	ii Erchia?
REGISTRARS				
320/19	I*	Neaichmos	I Lamptrai	iii Kydathenaion?
319/8	O*	Apollodoros III	VIII Anakaia	iv Oion?

of Athens. They assume, for instance, that in an intercalary year of the periods of twelve tribes the prytanies were always rigidly and uniformly of 32 days ( $12 \times 32 = 384$ ), regardless of the irregularities, sometimes very striking, thereby resulting in the lengths of the months. Comparatively few Athenian years, either intercalary or ordinary, can be satisfactorily reconstructed on the basis of a rigid "Aristotelean" sequence of prytanies.

<sup>71</sup> The preceding nine years of the cycle covered 3278 days (cf. *Archon List*, p. 227).

<sup>72</sup> See note 3, above.

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
	VII		SECRETARIES	
318/7	O	Archippos II	? .....	v Prospalta?
317/6	(i)	Demogenes	} unnamed, chosen by sortition	} sortition, order uncertain
316/5	(o)	Demokleides		
315/4	O	Praxiboulos		
314/3	I*	Nikodoros		
313/2	O	Theophrastos II		
312/1	(i)	Polemon		
311/0	(o)	Simonides		
310/09	O*	Hieromnemon	} II/II Diomeia	9/11 (Aiantis)
309/8	I	Demetrios I of Phaleron		
308/7	O	Kairimos		
307/6	I*	Anaxikrates I		

*Creation of tribes Antigonis and Demetrias*

306/5	O*	Koroibos	XI Rhamnous	12
305/4	O*	Euxenippos	XII Alopeke	1
304/3	O*	Pherekles	I Gargettos	II Melite
303/2	I*	Leostratos III	III Phegous	3
302/1	O*	Nikokles	IV Plotheia	IV Kolonos
301/0	I*	Klearchos	V Probalinthos	5
300/299	O	Hegemachos	6	6

## VIII

299/8	O*	Euktemon II	VII Kephale	7
298/7	O*	Mnesidemos	VIII Phyle	8
297/6	I	Antiphates	ix Halai	9
296/5	O	Nikias I	X Azenia	10
295/4	O*	Nikostratos	XI Phaleron	11
294/3	I	Olympiodoros (a)	12	12

## REGISTRARS

293/2	O*	Olympiodoros (b)	XI Phaleron	1
292/1	I	Philippos III	X Oion	2
291/0	O	Telokles	9	3
290/89	I	Charinos	VIII Phyle	4



	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
			SECRETARIES	
289/8	O*	Aristonymos	I Aithalidai	5
288/7	O	Kimón I	ii Thorai	6
287/6	I	Xenophon	3	vii Sphettos?
286/5	O*	Diokles III	IV Halai	8
285/4	O*	Diotimos III	V Paiania	ix Phlya?
284/3	I	Isaios	6	X Eleusis
283/2	O*	Euthios	VII Cholargos	xi Phaleron?
282/1	I*	Nikias II	VIII Acharnai	xii Semachidai?
281/0	O*	Ourias	IX Aixone	1
	IX			
280/79	O	Gorgias	x Eleusis	ii Koile?
279/8	O	Anaxikrates II	11 Trikorynthos?	3
278/7	I	Demokles	12	4
277/6	O*	Sosistratos II	1	V Probalinthos
276/5	I*	Philokrates II	II Melite	vi Oion?
275/4	O*	Olbios	III Euonymon	7
274/3	O	Euboulos II	4	8
273/2	I*	Glaukippos II	V Myrrhinous	9
272/1	O*	Lysitheides	vi Sounion	10
271/0	I*	Pytharatos	VII Kephale	XI Aphidna
270/69	O*	Philippides	8	XII Alopeke
269/8	I		9	I Paiania
268/7	O*	Peithidemos	10	2
267/6	I	Menekles	XI Trikorynthos	III Anagyrous
266/5	O*	Nikias III	XII Alopeke	IV (Aigeis)
265/4	O	Diognetos	3	V Konthyle
264/3	I	Antipatros II	4	VI Sounion
263/2	O*	Arrheneides	5	VII Eiresidai
262/1	O*	Kleomachos	VI Kettos	VIII Lakiadai
	X			
261/0	O	Philostratos?	7	IX Sypalettos
260/59	O	Antiphon II	8	X Peiraieus
259/8	I*	Thymochares	9	XI Rhamnous
258/7	O	Diogeiton	X Keiriadai	XII Eitea & Aigilia
257/6	O	Polystratos?	11	I Pergase

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
256/5	I*	Euboulos III	XII Alopeke	II Melite
255/4	O	Lykeas?	1	III Euonymon
254/3	I*	Alkibiades	ii Potamos	IV Ionidai
253/2	O*	... bios	iii Kephisia	V Oa
252/1	I*	Kallimedes II	IV Plotheia	VI Hekale
251/0	O*	Antimachos	V Myrrhinous	VII Eiresidai
250/49	O*	Thersilochos	VI Phrearrhoi	8
249/8	O*	Polyeuktos	VII Kephale	IX Phlya
248/7	I*	Hieron	VIII Oe	10
247/6	O*	Diomedon	iii Anagyrous	11
246/5	I	Philoneos II	4 Hyporeia?	12
245/4	O*	Theophemos I	5	1
244/3	I*	Kydenor	VI Eupyridai	II Xypete
243/2	O	Eurykleides	7	3
	XI			
242/1	O		8	4
241/0	I*	Lysiades II	9	5
240/39	O*	Athenodoros	X Hamaxanteia	6
239/8	I*	Lysias	XI Aphidna	7
238/7	O	Phanostratos II?	12	8
237/6	O	Kimon II	1	9
236/5	I*	Ekphantos	II Hippotomadai	10
235/4	O*	Lysanias III	III Euonymon	11
234/3	O*	Pheidostratos	iv Erchia	12
233/2	I		5	1
232/1	O	Jason?	6	2
231/0	(i)		7	3
230/29	(o)	Phanomachos?	8	4
229/8	O*	Heliodoros	IX Athmonon	5
228/7	I*	Leochares	X Oion	6
227/6	O*	Theophilos II	XI Aphidna	7
226/5	I*	Ergochares	XII Alopeke	8
225/4	O	Niketes II	1	9
224/3	O	Antiphilos	2	10
	XII			
223/2	O*	Kalli . . . . .	iii Kedoi	11

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
<i>Creation of tribe Ptolemais</i>				
222/1	I*	Archelaos	IV Ankyle	12/13 (Antiochis)
221/0	O*	Thrasyphon	V Paiania	1
220/19	I	Menekrates	6	2
219/8	O*	Chairephon	VII Kydantidai	3
218/7	O*	all . . . . .	VIII Kephale	4
217/6	I	Euandros II	9	5
216/5	O	Hagnias	10 . . . . .	6
215/4	I*	Diokles IV	XI Keiriadai	VII Oinoe
214/3	O*	Euphiletos	XII Rhamnous	8
213/2	O	Herakleitos I	13	9
212/1	I		1	10
211/0	O	Aischron	2	11
210/09	O	Philinos?	3	12
209/8	I*	. . . . .	IV Erchia	13
208/7	O		5	1
207/6	I*	Ankylos	6	2
206/5	O	Kallistratos II	7	3
205/4	O	Pantiades	8	4
XIII				
204/3	I*	Apollodoros IV	IX Oe	5
203/2	O*	Proxenides	X Aixone	6
202/1	O	Euthykritos II?	11	7
<i>Dissolution of tribes Antigonis and Demetrias</i>				
201/0	I*	Isokrates	V Aigilia	1
<i>Creation of tribe Attalis</i>				
200/199	O	Nikophon?	6	2
199/8	(i)		7	3
198/7	(o)		8	4
197/6	O	Dionysios I?	9	5
196/5	I*	Charikles	X Rhamnous	6

WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.



## THE NEW HOMER

THE epigram on the plinth of the statue representing a personification of the Iliad (above, pp. 62-65) is of considerable archaeological and historical importance.<sup>1</sup>

Ἰλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου]  
Παρστάτις ἰδρυμαι τῷ με τεκόντι νέω[ι].

The pentameter indicates that the statue of the Iliad was set up next to a statue of her "new" father. The first line also speaks of two Homers, one older and one younger than the Iliad herself. The older Homer must be the famous poet of the Iliad, but it was the new Homer next to whose statue stood that of the Iliad.

This interpretation of the epigram permits at once the identification of the "New Homer" with C. Iulius Nikanor who was known as the *Neos Homeros*. Most of the evidence concerning this remarkable man (who was a friend and contemporary of the Emperor Augustus) was assembled more than ninety years ago.<sup>2</sup> Some new evidence has recently come to light, and, while a careful study of it will be necessary, a preliminary account of it may be submitted here in order to indicate the significance of the new discovery and to stimulate further study of this man.<sup>3</sup>

The Attic inscriptions in which Nikanor's name appears are the following:

1. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3785 (a = E. M. 3124, identified by Grimaldi): inscribed base of an honorary statue of C. Iulius Nikanor, the son of Are(i)os. This inscription suggests the identification of Nikanor with the son of the philosopher Areius Didymus who was a friend of the Emperor Augustus (Suetonius, *Divi Augusti Vita*, LXXXIX, 1), and of Maecenas (Aelianus, *Varia Hist.*, XII, 25).

<sup>1</sup> The statue of the Iliad has been discussed repeatedly; reference may be made to P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 262-266 (with bibliography). The artist's signature preserved on the statue representing the Odyssey is now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4313.

<sup>2</sup> See Karl Keil, *Rh. Mus.*, XVIII, 1863, pp. 56-70. For recent treatments of Nikanor, see P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 8-10, 168, 176; A. Stein, W. Kroll, and C. Wendel, *R.E.*, s.v. Nikanor, Nos. 18 and 22; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, p. 149; S. Accame, *Il Dominio Romano in Grecia dalla guerra Acaica ad Augusto*, pp. 178-179; Th. Ch. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General in Athens* (Diss. Princeton, 1951), Athens, 1954, pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to H. A. Thompson for having discussed with me the archaeological implications of the association of the Iliad monument with Nikanor. In the original publication of the Iliad base (above, p. 64) its association with the Library of Pantainos was suggested. This appears to involve some chronological discrepancy inasmuch as Nikanor, the New Homer, was active in the time of Augustus whereas the Library was erected in the reign of Trajan. The difficulty can scarcely be resolved without additional evidence. One can conceive, however, that a statue of the New Homer, dating from his life time or soon after, was set up a good deal later in the Library of Pantainos, and that the statues of the Iliad and the Odyssey, whose style suggests a date in the second century, were then added so as to make up a group.

I am also grateful to Fr. W. M. A. Grimaldi, S. J., and to E. Vanderpool who examined most of the inscriptions mentioned in this report.

2. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3786-3789: a series of inscribed statue bases honoring Iulius Nikanor, the New Homer and the New Themistokles. Two of these monuments (3786 and 3787) were set up on and near the Akropolis, one (3788) in the Peiraieus, and one (3789) in Eleusis. These identical inscriptions assure the identification of Nikanor with Nikanor the New Homer, a native of Hierapolis, mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἱεράπολις. In one of these inscriptions (3788) the designation of Iulius Nikanor as the New Homer and the New Themistokles is completely preserved, while in the others it has been erased; this erasure itself supports the identification of Nikanor with the man of this name mentioned by Dio Chrysostom, XXXI, 116.
3. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1723; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 162-167 (with fig. 11 on p. 163): archon list in which Iulius Nikanor, the New Homer (and the New Themistokles), is mentioned as Hoplite General. This inscription is dated by Dow (p. 166) "at the earliest late in the reign of Augustus." Notice that the laudatory epithet ("the New Homer") was added to Nikanor's name in this public document; notice also that the epithet was not erased.
4. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069 + (?) 1119 + E. M. 5245 (apparently unpublished) + I 175 + I 1059 + I 6132 + I 6387 (unpublished fragments from the Agora). A second copy of the same inscription was set up in Eleusis: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1086 + A. N. Skias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1895, col. 121, no. 34 (already associated with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1086 by Skias, but apparently excluded from publication in *I.G.*). In the Attic decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069), Nikanor is mentioned with his epithets (not erased) and as Agonothetes of the Augustan Games and as Hoplite General; for the combination of these two offices, see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, p. 85. The association of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1069 (which seems to be lost) with the other six Athenian fragments is suggested (a) by the occurrence of one significant word (κεχειροτονημένον in line 8) in the first line of the small fragment from Eleusis published by Skias ([κε]χειροτο[νημένον]), and (b) by the occurrence on the same fragment (line 5) of the name of Iulius Nikanor. Moreover, the larger fragment from Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1086) has an erasure in line 14 in which the epithets of Nikanor can be restored since the corresponding line of the Athenian fragment (*I.G.*, III, 47, line 14; the letters of this line are omitted in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1119) allows the reading and restoration: καὶ ὁ Ιού[λιος. . .]. This document, the text of which has still to be studied, evidently is concerned with real estate on the island of Salamis, and thus confirms once more the identification of this Nikanor with the Nikanor mentioned by Dio, ὃς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἐωνήσατο.

Attention may be called to the literary problem connected with these inscriptions and with the statue of the Iliad. The official designation of a man as the New Homer and the erection of his statue with that of the Iliad are puzzling. It seems that Nikanor

was the author of a poem which could be identified or equated with the famous Iliad of Homer. The suggestion may be made that he was the author of the *Ilias Latina*.<sup>4</sup>

A final suggestion may be made to explain Nikanor's second epithet: the New Themistokles. Since the most noteworthy deed of the famous Themistokles was his victory at Salamis, one should expect that Nikanor, too, was the victor of a battle of Salamis. It so happens that Augustus staged in 2 B.C. a naumachia between the Persians and the Athenians (Ovid, *Ars Am.*, I, 171-2) in which the Athenians won (Cassius Dio, LV, 10, 7). Graindor rightly connected this event with the sham battles at Salamis which the Athenian ephebes staged during the Empire (*Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 128-9). It is now possible to confirm this connection and to see in Nikanor the man who 'won' the battle of Salamis in 2 B.C., and who established the commemorative celebrations of the ephebes at Salamis. This explains satisfactorily his second title: the New Themistokles.<sup>5</sup>

ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHKE

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

<sup>4</sup> See C. Hosius, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.*, 4th ed., pp. 505-508.

<sup>5</sup> Attention may be called to the repeated references to monuments and to sanctuaries on Salamis in the much discussed inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035 (especially lines 30-34); for the Augustan date of this document, see H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 298-9, and note 20 (with bibliography).



## OLYNTHIAKA \*

### 5.

#### THE SECOND STOREY

SINCE at the most only two or three feet, and often only a few inches, of the walls is preserved above the floor levels of the first storey of the Olynthian houses, a second storey can only be inferred from indirect evidence. Such evidence is not lacking. But even if it were, surely the natural assumption, unless strong evidence to the contrary could be adduced, would be that urban houses such as the Olynthian would in general be built two storeys high. Later houses at Delos, Pompeii, and Herculaneum had extensive second storeys; Colophon had at least partial second storeys in the few houses excavated,<sup>1</sup> and multiple storeys were common at a much earlier date in Crete, Egypt, and the Near East.

Yet in a recent sketch of the typical Olynthian house, with special reference to the houses discovered in 1938, Dr. George Mylonas speaks skeptically of the existence of a second storey: "we have some evidence which seems to indicate that the second story was not unknown to the Olynthian builders."<sup>2</sup> And of the House of Many Colors (F -ii 9), the finest house discovered in 1938 and, except for the lack of mosaics, one of the best from any of the four campaigns on the site, he says that "our particular house had enough room on the ground floor to provide for an average family in accordance with the standards used in ancient Greece" (p. 397). Robinson hesitantly follows Mylonas in the publication of the house in *Olynthus*, XII (p. 204), a second storey in which he says is "rather doubtful."

The arguments for the existence of a second storey in the Olynthian houses have been presented in considerable detail in *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 214-219, "The Second Storey," and pp. 267-280, "Stairways." In substance they are based on the frequent mention of a second storey in literary references of the Hellenic period; on the scarcity or even absence, in some of the best houses, of ground-floor rooms suitable for bedrooms; and on the existence of solidly-built stairways in many houses excavated previous to 1938, regarded as certain in eighteen instances, probable in seven others.<sup>3</sup>

\* An asterisk beside a house number in this paper indicates that a plan of the house will be found in Figure 1. The four preceding articles were published in *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 196-207.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 91-171.

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Jour.*, XXXV, 1940, pp. 389-402, especially p. 397. Dinsmoor, in his *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 252, in speaking of 5th and 4th century Greek houses, remarks that "the house seems generally to have been of one storey." Since this statement in such an authoritative handbook is evidently based on Mylonas' article, it is evident that Mylonas' doubts need immediate consideration.

<sup>3</sup> See list *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 279 f. The stairways were certainly not intended to lead to roofs, which were not flat but sloping and tiled.

Since neither Mylonas nor anyone else, so far as I am aware, has endeavored to refute these arguments it seems unnecessary to repeat them here. The present paper will merely attempt to supplement the previous account by a study of the houses excavated since the publication of *Olynthus*, VIII, and a restudy of some of the earlier houses.

More difficult to determine than the mere existence of a second storey is the extent of the second storey. On general grounds we may suppose that most of the first-floor rooms would be duplicated in the second, as most economical of space.<sup>4</sup> But the fact that the stairway regularly is located in, or leads up to, the northern half of the house might be taken to suggest that only here was there a second storey. Yet this is a natural location for the stairs, if only because in the pastas-type house the gallery above the pastas was the means of communication for the various rooms of the second floor as the pastas was for the ground floor. However, it is very significant that in the Villa of Good Fortune, which was a pastas-peristyle house, the stairs were placed in the east portico and ascended to the *south*.<sup>5</sup> Indeed we may fairly assume that normally when there were porticoes on the east, west, or south there were also second-storey rooms on these sides, since it is very unlikely that such porticoes were built only to provide additional sheltered cloisters on the ground floor; they seem rather to support galleries to provide communication for the second-storey rooms.<sup>6</sup>

Even in the case, however, of pastas-houses with no additional porticoes there are occasional hints to be found in the groundplan that a second storey existed in the southern part of the house (as well as in the northern).<sup>7</sup> For example in A 9\*, which definitely had a stairway leading to a second storey over the northern half, the entrance room *m* (and no doubt *n* as well) must have had a room above, for otherwise the spur of wall on its west side would only have obstructed passage into the court; its purpose must have been to reduce the unsupported span of the west wall of the room above *mn*.<sup>8</sup> The similarly located but narrower entrance passage *l* of A 10\* (also with stairs

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lysias, *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, 9, "οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω."

<sup>5</sup> As correctly shown in the model made by Sylvia Hahn, under the direction of Homer Thompson, for the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, closely following the small model which I made for the *Olynthus*, VIII publication; the misstatement in the preface to *Olynthus*, XII (p. xi) is due to a confusion between this stairway and the two-flight stairway in a house on the North Hill, A vi 5\*, which is shown in my restoration in *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 73.

<sup>6</sup> A 2, A 3, A 4, A 6,\* A v 6,\* F -iii 9, and the House of the Comedian. Yet there could have been no second-storey rooms on one or more sides in some instances, e. g. the south and east sides of F -iii 9 (*Olynthus*, XII, pl. 176).

<sup>7</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 90.2. The cobblestones in this instance do not prove that *m* was open to the sky; their purpose here was as paving for traffic coming in and out of the court, as shown by the cobblestone ramp projecting out into the street through the double doorway. The owner may have been a supplier of building-materials (*ibid.*, p. 79). Also in A 6\* (*ibid.*, pl. 89) we have cobbling in the entrance-passage, although here laid only as narrow tracks for wagon wheels.

to the north half) was probably also covered by a second-storey room since the abrupt termination of the cobbling of the court along a clearly preserved line at the threshold of this room implies that it was not open to the sky, yet it would have been pointless merely to roof over an entrance-passageway. That the same house had a second-storey room even over the small and almost isolated andron, *i*, on the west of the court, is suggested by the dressed stone base at its northeast corner, whose purpose must have been to carry a pillar supporting a jog of connecting flooring from the gallery to the room above *i*.<sup>9</sup> The dressed stone bases on the west side of the entrance-passages of A 1\* and A 6\* tell the same story.<sup>10</sup>

At the entrance to B v 1\* the two bases (only the south one is preserved) indicate too ponderous a construction merely to be intended to take the weight of the lower edge of the prothyron roof, which could have been amply supported laterally in the adobe walls;<sup>11</sup> the pillars set on these bases would be better adapted to carrying a stout lintel taking the weight of the wall of a second storey overhead.<sup>12</sup> This certainly suggests that the southern series of rooms (including a kitchen, *hij*, with pillar-partition) had a complete second storey in spite of the north-to-south narrowness of the court, *f*, and its consequent overshadowing by high southern rooms.<sup>13</sup>

Even such a plain and somewhat irregular house as A iv 5\* (excavated in 1938) seems to have had a second storey in the southern part of the house, for in addition to four bases along the front of the *pastas*, *d*,<sup>14</sup> there are bases parallel to the east wall of *gj* and so near to it (about 0.80 m.) that they can only have been intended for the support of a narrow gallery to serve second-storey rooms above *g* and *j*; the first-floor portico would have been too shallow to be useful.<sup>15</sup> Two bases against the walls on the west and east sides of the court in A viii 8\* are also difficult to explain in any other way.<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Mylonas' reluctance to accept the second storey as a common feature of the Olynthian house seems to have been encouraged by his experience in excavating some

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 88.2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 89.

<sup>11</sup> On the prothyron (entrance-porch) see *ibid.*, pp. 154-156.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 103. 1.

<sup>13</sup> This would have been partly counteracted by the sharp slope of the hill from north to south which, by putting the southern rooms at a lower level than the northern, permitted better penetration of the sun into the *pastas* (*ibid.*, pp. 130-132).

<sup>14</sup> Obviously the two squares of rubble masonry to the east of the two dressed stone bases (one is said to measure "48 m. long by 18 m. wide by 0.37 m. high"—*sic*!) originally carried two more stone bases, for three bases are still *in situ* on similar rubble foundations in the same court; yet the text (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 68) conjectures that one formed "part of a wall." This use of a supporting rubble platform for stone bases is uncommon at Olynthus; it was evidently employed here to compensate partly for the sharp slope of the floor.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 56.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 26.



thirty-five houses in 1938, more than a third of the total number so far excavated at the site. "In none of these," he wrote in a letter to me, "was any evidence found of a second storey in spite of very careful attention to the problem." Even if this were certain, however, it would perhaps be less surprising than might seem at first blush, for the number of houses from the excavations of 1938 of suitable quality and well enough preserved for us to expect to find a stairbase (the clearest evidence) in them is exceedingly few. But, in actuality, I believe that sufficient evidence does exist for stairways in four of the 1938 houses, and the indications that there was a second storey in two others (A iv 5\*; A viii 8\*) have just been cited. The evidence for the stairs will be presented in the following.

In F -iii 10\* ("House of the Twin Erotes") a block of stone having the characteristic proportions of an Olynthian stairbase was found lying about 0.15 m. from the west wall of the west portico, *f*. Robinson accepts it as a stairbase, but makes the impossible suggestion that it is the foot of a stairway passing through the outside wall of the house and along the north exterior side of the andron.<sup>17</sup> Obviously the block was not *in situ*;<sup>18</sup> if it be simply shifted 90° so that its present south end is next to the wall we obtain a perfectly possible position, similar to the stairways in A 3 and A 4.<sup>19</sup>

We reach the House of Many Colors, F -ii 9\*. Mylonas thinks (see above) that there are sufficient rooms for an ancient Greek family on the ground floor, but is it not remarkable that in a house of such outstanding quality we can find no rooms likely to have been used as permanent bedrooms? An entrance-corridor, *j*; the court, *i*; pastas, *e*; open portico with cistern, *l*; two kitchen-complexes, *ab* and *kg**h*;<sup>20</sup> a storeroom, *m* (remains of four large pithoi were found in it); an andron with anteroom, *df*; and *c* with a cement floor and catch-basin, perhaps used for ordinary dining purposes, at any rate hardly a bedroom. Surely we must look for the bedrooms on the second floor. Yet no stone stairbase is preserved. Note, however, that in spite of the generally good preservation of the house, most of the altar and even all but one block of its dressed-stone base has disappeared, and remember that a stairbase makes highly desirable building-material. A more real difficulty is where to find room for a stairway!

Olynthian stairways are almost always single-flight runs and one side is built

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>18</sup> The photo, *ibid.*, pl. 193.1, which presumably shows the base as it was found, indicates that the plan (pl. 190) represents the block about a foot too far to the north.

<sup>19</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 89. This would be unnecessarily far from the main entrance of the house if the entrance were really as argued in the text (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 226), on the analogy of the other houses on Ave. G, on the east. But the only two of these houses whose entrances are preserved are "9" houses (F -ii 9\* and F -iii 9), that is, houses in the northeast corner of a block, and on the principles explained in *Olynthus*, VIII (pp. 152 f.), they did have their entrance on the east. No. "10" (and "2") houses, however, normally have entrances directly into the court, as in A vi 2 and 10, and so in all likelihood in this house also (cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 202 note 16).

<sup>20</sup> Dr. Mylonas thinks rooms of *ab* type may have been bedrooms, but I argue against this in my article on the "Kitchen-complex" (see below, pp. 328 ff., especially p. 340).

(as normally today) against a solid wall for support and economy of space. The court, a very common location, is in this house ruled out: there are no solid walls of sufficient length on any side.<sup>21</sup> The pastas, the commonest site of all, is also out: its narrowness (less than 3 m.), the position of the doors into *abc*, and the lack of any traces on the well-preserved plaster in the west end of the room, are all against such a possibility. To place the stairway in a regular room would be out of line with normal Olynthian practice.<sup>22</sup>

Our last resort, then, is the deep south portico. The plaster wall on its west side is preserved for some distance above the pavement and shows no trace of stairs, and the south outside doorway is rather too close.<sup>23</sup> The position of the cistern eliminates the south side. Only the east remains, and here the wall exists only as a sub-pavement rubble foundation and so gives us no help. But there are two peculiarities which a stairway here will explain. The first is the position of the easternmost of the four bases along the north side of the room facing on the court. Why was this base not set against the east wall as the westernmost base was set against the west wall?<sup>24</sup> And why was this base connected by a meter length of solid wall to the east wall of *l*, instead of being free-standing? If we restore a flight of stairs starting in the northeast corner of the room and ascending to the south along the east wall, we obtain reasonable answers to these questions: the wall is just long enough to protect the wooden stairs and their users from the rain driving in from the north,<sup>25</sup> and the pillar on

<sup>21</sup> The wall along the north side of the court was only solid at the bottom; see my article on the semi-enclosed portico, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 203-207.

<sup>22</sup> We restore (see below p. 326) a stairway in Room *h* in A viii 2,\* but this was a small room reserved for the purpose, not a large room with stairs in it; moreover *h* seems to have been wide open at its east end to the court. There seems also to have been a stair in Room *g* of A vi 8, but this was in addition to one in the pastas; the room above *g* was probably separate from the rest of the house (*Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 112 f., pl. 97).

<sup>23</sup> The text (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 203) is confused at this point (see also note 27), having been evidently transcribed from two sets of field notes without proper collation. Thus we read (lines 13 f.) that "on the west wall three sections, with intervals of 0.052 m. (*sic*) are clearly preserved"; and two lines further, that "this room has vertical incised lines at intervals of 0.52 m., on both west and south walls." The interval 0.52 m. is of course the correct value. Then we have a repeated description of what is evidently a door-sill for a door into the alley, described once correctly as a break in the wall about 1 m. wide beginning 1.04 m. east from the southwest corner of *l*; but in the preceding sentence it is said to be "0.50 m. west (*sic*!) from the southwest corner." There seems from the photos to be no reason for the remark that the opening "had been blocked up and plastered over," and the fact that the threshold was 0.18 m. above the pavement does *not* make a door unlikely. The door was obviously merely a "back door" (such as can be seen in some other block houses near one end of a block, as in A vii 1); the high threshold was designed to prevent water from the alley from flooding into the room.

<sup>24</sup> Surely not to shorten the interaxial distance, which was hardly over 1½ m.; in any event a fifth pillar could have been inserted.

<sup>25</sup> Since the wall could have taken the thrust of the wooden staircase there may have been no stone base. The approach to the first step from the side is not unique; compare, for example, the stair in A 10\* (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 276).

the base is in exactly the right position to take the weight of the northeast corner of the gallery flooring at the edge of the stairwell.<sup>26</sup> The other puzzling feature in *l* is the base *in situ* against the south wall, *ca.* 1.10 m. from the southeast corner;<sup>27</sup> but now its purpose too becomes clear: on it stood a pillar supporting the southwest corner of the stairwell. The run, nearly 3½ m., is quite adequate, and its southward direction is paralleled in the Villa of Good Fortune.<sup>28</sup> From the head of this stairway one could have passed through the room over *l* to the room over *k*, or through the rooms above *mjf* into the upper gallery above *e*. Figure 2 (a, c, and d) suggests a possible restoration.<sup>29</sup>

This is one more piece of evidence, to be added to those mentioned above, for the existence of a second storey over the southern rooms, including in this case even the central room on the south.

The interpretation just given for the base against the south wall in *l* of F -ii 9\* provides the clue to explain the peculiar pair of bases against the north wall of the pastas, *e*, in the Villa of the Bronzes\*.<sup>30</sup> A stone of appropriate character for a stair-base in size, wear, and cuttings was found near the front entrance of this house but was rightly recognized not to be *in situ*.<sup>31</sup> The reasonable suggestion was made that the stairs ran along the west wall of the court up to the gallery, but the position of the two bases in the pastas strongly suggests that the stairbase really lay originally at right angles to the east wall of the pastas just north of the easternmost of the four bases facing on the court. The stairs could just clear the top of the door into room *f*, while the base in the northeast corner<sup>32</sup> would support a small landing at the head of the stairs (Fig. 2, b). The second base, which the text describes as "in line with the

<sup>26</sup> As in A 9\*; cf. also A vii 4, A vii 6 (*ibid.*, pls. 90.2, 99).

<sup>27</sup> The text says 3 m. (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 203), but the position shown in the plan, pl. 158, is corroborated by the photo, pl. 160.1; the base is described twice in the same paragraph (pp. 203, 204), first as 0.55 by 0.47 m., and secondly as 0.54 by 0.47 by 0.10 m.

<sup>28</sup> W. A. McDonald, "Villa or Pandokeion" in *Studies in Honor of D. M. Robinson* I, p. 372, notes the Villa of Good Fortune as the only instance of a stairway leading southward in the Olynthus houses, and thus suggesting a greater development of the second-storey southern rooms than usual. His suggestion that the Villa was a place of public entertainment is interesting and he makes the most of his admittedly slender evidence; however I can still see no strong reasons for believing it anything more than the house of a particularly well-to-do Olynthian.

<sup>29</sup> The cistern shown in the restored drawing was apparently never completed, but there was a cistern in a similar position in the pastas of B v 1\*; the water must have been piped into it from the eaves in a trough resembling the one in our restoration (Fig. 2, d).

<sup>30</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 202.

<sup>31</sup> The measurements are given as 0.92 by 0.375 by 0.278 m. The cutting along one end on the top surface would be for a stringboard; that along the back, for the bottom of a riser; *ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>32</sup> The description in the text (*ibid.*, p. 244) is obscure, but perhaps, as suggested, there was a higher base on the thin slab *in situ* (which looks, see pl. 206.1, like a reversed lower millstone), which would even it up better with the western base; see pl. 207.



second base from the east" (fronting the court),<sup>33</sup> would support the other end of a joist running from the base at the front of the pastas to the wall (near the door to c), the extra support being needed to help carry the weight of the open edge of the stairwell (perhaps nearly a meter farther east) and of the stairway. The analogy with the construction of a stairwell of A 10\*, where all doubt as to the existence of a stairway is removed by the presence of a stairbase *in situ* and of traces of a base for a landing,<sup>34</sup> greatly strengthens such a restoration of the stairway of the Villa of the Bronzes.

Our restored plan (Fig. 2, b) makes one further suggestion, namely that the reason why the wall between *f* and *i* (Fig. 1), instead of being in line with the front of the pastas as commonly in houses of regular plan,<sup>35</sup> is something over a meter farther north, is that in this way there could be an entrance into the room over *i* directly from the gallery. This was possible because there would have been ample headroom over the bottom of the stairs to permit the outer few feet of the gallery to continue right through to the east wall, which incidently would have the further merit of considerably strengthening the construction of the gallery at this end. Here we have, then, still one more example of evidence for a second storey over rooms in the southern half of the house, and here as in F -ii 9\* one of the first-storey rooms below is a kitchen-complex. The importance of this point is brought out below (see pp. 339 f.).

On the basis of these stairway identifications we may venture with considerable confidence to still another in a house excavated in 1938, A viii 2\*.<sup>36</sup> In the northeast corner of *h*<sup>37</sup> is a dressed stone base neatly fitted into a notch made in the southwest corner of the westernmost pastas base. Clearly it is *in situ*, but can not belong to a portico. If, however, a stairway be restored along the north wall of *h*, beginning near its northwest corner, there is plenty of room for the run and for a broad landing between the pastas base and the east wall of the room over *e* (Fig. 2, a).<sup>38</sup> The base thus becomes explicable as intended for a pillar supporting the northeast corner of the landing; possibly there was also one, now lost, at its southeast corner. Such a position for a stairway is unusual and yet quite in accord with the regular principle, for it would have led directly to the gallery above the pastas. Perhaps, too, we can suggest why it was so placed. There were too many doors in the pastas to leave any room for

<sup>33</sup> The photo, pl. 207.1, indicates that the text in this case is approximately correct, and that the plan (pl. 202) is inaccurate.

<sup>34</sup> See *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 275 f., fig. 28; perhaps there was also a short second flight turning toward the west, as in A 10\*. Cf. also the position of the stairway at the west end of the pastas in A vi 8 (*ibid.*, pl. 97).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. e. g. A vi 5,\* A vii 4, A vii 6, etc. (*ibid.*, pls. 97, 99).

<sup>36</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 12-17.

<sup>37</sup> The room is wrongly interpreted as an entranceway in *ibid.*, p. 14; see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 202 note 16.

<sup>38</sup> The landing is necessary, for otherwise one would have to step down sideways on to the top step.

a stairway; and while it could have been put in the court, as in many houses, this was certainly not an ideal location, for both the wooden stairs and its users were exposed to the weather. Indeed we may see here a tendency, which became the rule in the Hellenistic houses at Delos, to put the stairway in a room of its own, the "cage."<sup>39</sup>

Another possible stairway in the houses excavated in 1938 is in A viii 4.<sup>40</sup> Two blocks of stone, together a little under a meter in length and a little under half a meter in width project at right angles from the east wall of the pastas, *f*. The run would have to be in the neighborhood of 45° to clear the door into *f*, whose door we note was placed as far from the stairbase as possible. The pitch, though somewhat above the optimum of about 37°, is found in Delian houses,<sup>41</sup> and the position of the stairbases in A 5 and A 6\* is suggestive of staircases equally steep.<sup>42</sup>

We return now to three of the houses found in 1931 and 1934. House A vi 5\* had a two-flight stairway in the court leading up to the gallery above the pastas.<sup>43</sup> This could have served rooms over *a*, *b*, *d*, *i*, *j*, and *h*, but what of the room over *f*, cut off as it was by the flue over *e*?<sup>44</sup> The two re-used blocks of dressed stone in the south-east corner of *f* and the line of rubble foundation running west from them had always suggested a stairway to me, but in view of the existence of another stairway in the same house the possible interpretation of the construction as some kind of a cupboard base was hesitantly put forward.<sup>45</sup> I was also dissuaded from the stairway interpretation by the fact that I could not see the re-used blocks as a stairbase; now I realize, on the analogy of the stairways discussed above, that the stairs (no doubt a very light and narrow set) would have run up from the west and posts supporting a landing at the head of the stairs were furnished a firm bedding on the re-used stone blocks. Perhaps better than anything else this example shows how the provision of second-storey space was not neglected, even at the cost of installing an extra stairway to utilize the space above a single room in the southern half of the house.<sup>46</sup>

Finally let us mention one further probable and one possible stairway in houses excavated in 1934. The first is in A v 6\* where, against the wall of the east portico are two rectangular masses of rubble. Their situation and width are certainly strongly

<sup>39</sup> *Délos*, VIII, p. 305.

<sup>40</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, p. 23, pl. 14.

<sup>41</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 269-271.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 89.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-106, pls. 35, 98.

<sup>44</sup> I have checked all other examples of the "oecus-unit," especially those with a pillar-partition (implying a second storey), and find that in no other case would the flue make the room over the kitchen inaccessible. I was afraid there was another instance in F -ii 9\* until I discovered that the stairway led up to a room over the south portico instead of to the pastas (see above); this neat coincidence would seem not to be without significance.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> For two sets of stairs in the same house we may compare those in *g* and *e* of A vi 8, mentioned above in note 22.

suggestive of a stairway running north to the gallery above the pastas.<sup>47</sup> The second is A iv 9.\* The light adobe wall forming a rectangle in the southeast corner of Room *c* may well have been the basis for the landing of a stairway whose first run ascended from the north and, turning at this landing, continued westward to a doorway, approximately above that from *c* into *e*, opening on the gallery above the pastas, *e*.<sup>48</sup>

Since the only evidence for the existence of a second storey depends in many houses<sup>49</sup> on the precarious survival of a stone stairbase, it is surely obvious that *all* clues must often have been completely obliterated. Therefore, far from feeling any doubt because of this that the presence of second storeys was a common feature of the Olynthian house, we should rather consider it a matter for some surprise that at least some traces of a second storey should still be detectable in perhaps more than a third of the houses excavated on the site.

## 6.

### THE KITCHEN-COMPLEX

In his penetrating and careful excursus to *Olynthus*, XII Dr. G. E. Mylonas uses the term "oecus-unit" for the complex of rooms in which the food was prepared and cooked (as well as various other household tasks performed) in the Olynthian house. But because "oecus" is already associated in modern archaeological terminology with the dominant, megaron-like room of the Priene house and with the andron of the Delos house, neither of which at all resembles the Olynthian complex (nor each other!), I shall keep to the more noncommittal term "kitchen-complex" in once again attacking the most perplexing problem of identification and reconstruction presented by the Olynthian houses.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>47</sup> These rubble rectangular masses were so unlike the normal stairway base (though for the landing compare that in A vi 5 \*) that in the publication of the house I mentioned, only to reject it, the idea that they might be for a stairway (*ibid.*, p. 93).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 92-93; it was suggested (p. 88) that the adobe rectangle might be the base for a cupboard.

<sup>49</sup> As in A 3, A 4, A 6,\* etc. (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 89).

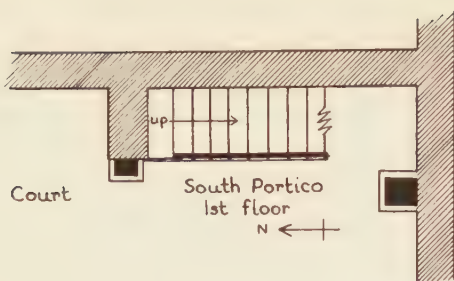
<sup>1</sup> Even if Mylonas be right when he argues (*Olynthus*, XII, pp. 384-389) that the ancients would have termed the Olynthian room-group the oecus, yet for reasons already stated in *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 172 f. (and in my unpublished Johns Hopkins dissertation,—whose main results were incorporated in *Olynthus*, VIII—*Domestic Architecture in Classical Greece*, 1933, pp. 19, 69), the term would be misleading. Indeed this has already proved to be the case, for Dinsmoor in his recent edition of *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, pp. 252 f. writes as follows of the Olynthian house: "a sheltered portico of some depth (the pastas) is contrived on the north side of the court, and behind this, facing south, is the main room of the house, the oecus, descended from the old megaron, and like its ancestor it very often has a central hearth." Now this is very likely true of the Priene-type house, but it is *not* true of the Olynthian, for the Olynthian "oecus-unit" (to use Mylonas' term) is utterly different in plan from the Priene "oecus" (which, like the megaron, is entered by



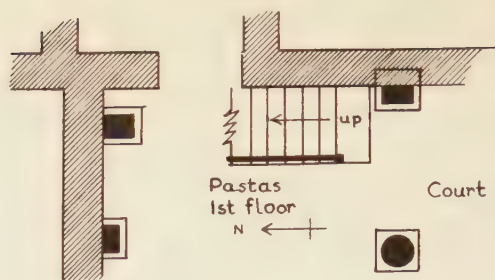


Fig. 1. Sketch-plans of fourteen Olynthus houses at approximately uniform scale.

F-ii 9  
(House of Many Colors)

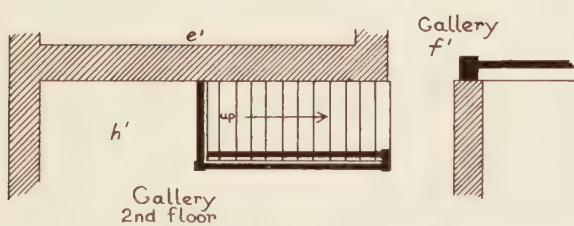
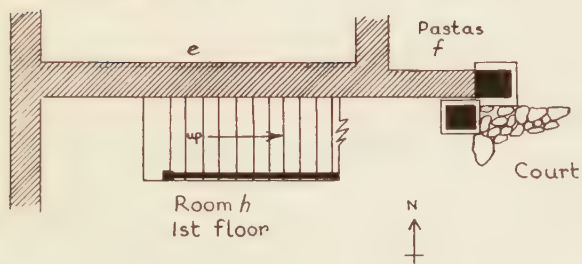


Villa of the Bronzes



b. Suggested stairway restoration.

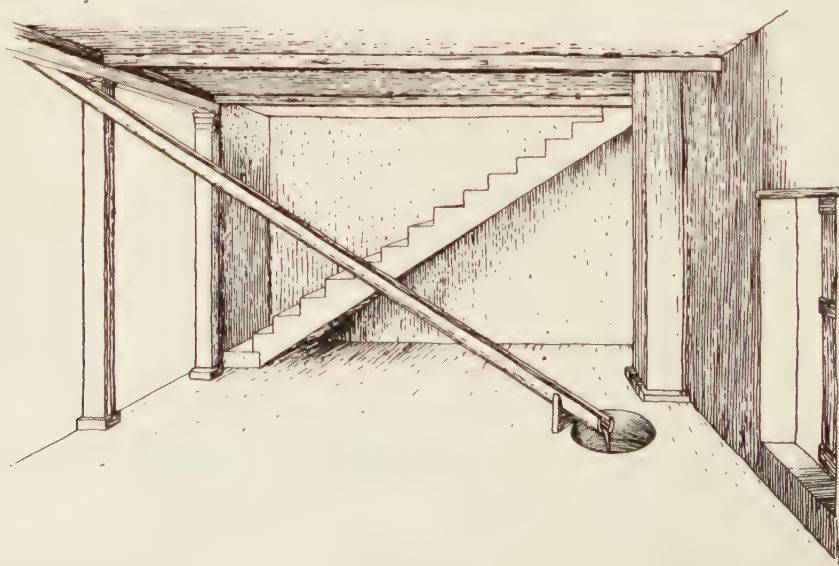
House A viii 2



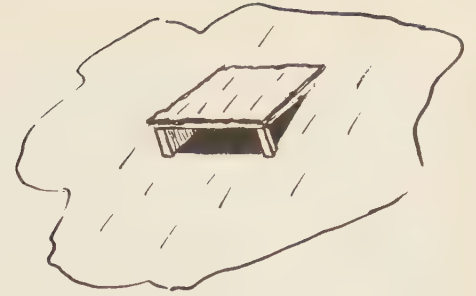
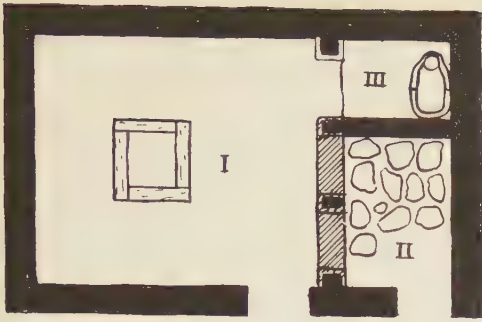
a. Suggested stairway restorations.



c. Perspective restoration of F-ii 9.

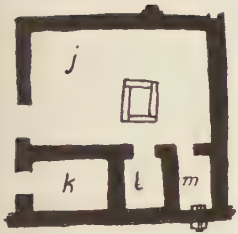


d. Restoration of stairway in F-ii 9 looking east.

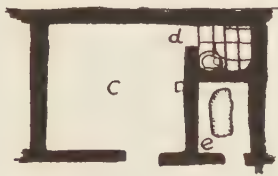


a. Plan of the "ideal" Olynthian kitchen-complex: I. Main room with hearth.  
II. Cooking area. III. Bathroom.

d. Sketch of flue-covering in old Swiss house.



Avii 6 Kitchen Complex

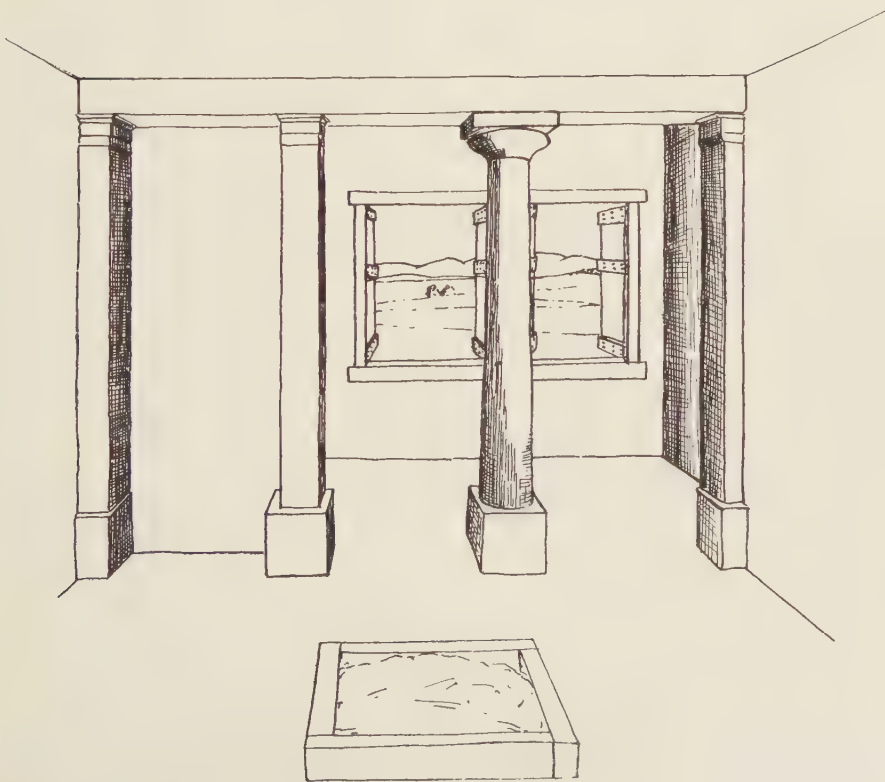


A2 Kitchen Complex

b. Plans of kitchen-complexes.



e. Section of an old Swiss house with kitchen.



c. Plan and restoration of the kitchen-complex in the House of the Comedian.



P	O	P	O
		House of the Comedian (G 29 = M 15).	
1 h			
		A viii 4 (M 17) A vi 4 (G 11 = M 7)	A vii 4 (G 19 = M 11).
1			
		F-ii 9, ghk (M 21).	B vi 2 (G 26 = M 13)
2 h			
		A 4 (G 3 = M 2). ESH 4 (G 28 = M 14). B vi 4 (M 19). Villa of the Bronzes (M 23) A 2 (G 2 = M 1). A 6 (G 6).	F-iii 10 (M 22). A viii 2, jkn (M 16). B vi 5 (M 20). A v 10 (G 9 = M 5). A vi 9 (G 16 = M 10). A viii 5.
2			
3 h			
		A xiii 10 (G 24) B vi 3	
3			
4 h			
		A iv 9, jk (G 6 = M 3).	A vi 7, klmno (M 9).
4			
		A vi 6 (G 13 = M 8).	A vii 6 (G 20 = M 12).
5 h			
		A v 9 (G 8 = M 4). B vii 2, jkl. South Villa (M 24).	
5			
6 h			
		A v 6 (G 7 = M B2). B v 1 (G 25 = M B5).	A 1 (G 1 = M B1). A viii 2, cd. A xi 10 (G 23 = M B4).
6			
		A vi 2 (G 10 = M 6).	
7 h			
		A iv 9, bc (G 5). A vi 5 (G 12). A vi 7, cd (G 14). B vii 2 (G 27). Villa Good Fortune (G 30). F-ii 9, ab.	Villa of the Bronzes, ab
7			
		A vi 10 (G 17). A vii 2 (G 18).	
8h			

Fig. 4. Typological Table of Olynthian Kitchen-Complexes.  
P = Partition-wall has pillar bases. O = Partition-wall contains no pillar bases. h = Hearth in large room (I). "(G 29 = M 15)" means this kitchen-complex is #29 in the table in *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 198 and #15 in Mylonas' list in *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 397-398.

Mylonas' thorough study of the new evidence provided by the 1938 excavations<sup>2</sup> and his revaluation of the old in the light of this have corrected some of my conclusions about the kitchen-complex as presented in *Olynthus*, VIII.<sup>3</sup> I now accept his demonstration that area **II** (see Fig. 3, a) was normally (always?) accessible,<sup>4</sup> and that the cooking was normally (always?) done there. But, amongst other points of disagreement, I do not agree in ruling out several kitchen-complexes (as interpreted in *Olynthus*, VIII) of Type **P7** (see chart, Fig. 4), which include the one in the very important "Villa of Good Fortune," our model Olynthian house.

In order to see clearly what are the distinguishing features of the kitchen-complex, let us begin with a list of eleven examples whose purpose is scarcely disputable since abundant remains of ashes were observed in **II** at the time of the excavation.<sup>5</sup> Both Mylonas and I agree in accepting these eleven, as well, of course, as a large number of others.

HOUSE	FEATURES	REFERENCE
(the plans of those marked with an asterisk may be found in Fig. 1)		
A 2, <i>cde</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , , 7.	<i>Olynthus</i> , VIII, pl. 89.
*A iv 9, <i>jk</i>	1, 2, 3, , , 6, 7.	, pl. 92.
*A v 6, <i>ef</i>	1, 2, , , , 6, 7.	, pl. 96.
*A viii 2, <i>jkn</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , , .	<i>Olynthus</i> , XII, pl. 6.

its own porch through a door in one end); only occasionally has a hearth; is regularly one of the least well decorated rooms on the ground-floor; and shows *no* tendency to dominate the plan by an axial position on the north side of the court. Rather, as Mylonas says (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 387), it tends to shrink away from the front door (which is natural since the room was much used by the women), and its position varies widely since it depends, at least in part, on the location of the house entrance. In what sense the Olynthian room can be called the "main room of the house" it is difficult to see, although it was certainly one of the most used—by the women.

<sup>2</sup> Mylonas was a member of the *Olynthus* staff at least part of the time at all four excavations, and was field-director in 1938; I was present at the second and third campaigns (1931 and 1934), and my special responsibility was the houses and city-plan.

<sup>3</sup> Although *Olynthus*, VIII appeared with D. M. Robinson as co-author, I think he will allow me to assume the burden of responsibility for what was said there about the kitchen, if only because he now follows Mylonas *in toto*; the kitchen-complex theory was already adumbrated in my dissertation (pp. 87-92) which was completed before I studied the added evidence of the houses excavated in 1934.

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to my statement in *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 192, 193. But surely there is no need to restrict the term "kitchen" to **II** where the actual cooking was done; the large room, **I**, where the preparation and serving of the food (as well, doubtless, as other household tasks) took place was also a "kitchen." Hence our term, "kitchen-complex," covers both rooms, and it may be extended for convenience to include the bathroom likewise.

<sup>5</sup> Eight of these eleven examples with preserved ashes were excavated in 1938 when attention was sharply focused on the problem; but the fill was so shallow over many houses on the top of the North Hill excavated in the first three campaigns that decisive evidence regarding the character of **II** might not have been obtainable no matter how careful their excavation.

HOUSE	FEATURES	REFERENCE
A viii 4, <i>cde</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , 6, 7.	<i>Olynthus</i> , XII, pl. 14.
B vi 4, <i>gkk'</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , , 7.	, pl. 104.
B vi 5, <i>gij</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , , .	, pl. 106.
*F -ii 9, <i>ghk</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, , 7.	, pl. 158.
*F -iii 10, <i>abc</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , 6, .	, pl. 190.
*V. Bronzes, <i>ijk</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, , , 7.	, pl. 202.
S. Villa, <i>jlm</i>	1, 2, 3, , , , 7.	, pl. 222.

The numbers in this table indicate the possession of the following characteristics, all of which are graphically represented in an "ideal" example in Fig. 3, a:

- 1) A large bare-floored and bare-walled room commonly about 4.50 to 5.00 m. wide by 5.00 to 6.00 m. long, and referred to in the following discussion as **I**.
- 2) A space along one end of **I** about two meters wide,<sup>6</sup> frequently not extending the full length of **I**, referred to as **II**.
- 3) A space divided off at one end of **II**, referred to as **III**.<sup>7</sup>
- 4) A bathtub *in situ* in **III**, or fragments of one.
- 5) A square stone hearth in **I**.
- 6) A floor of flat slabs of stone in **II**.
- 7) Bases (usually four) for pillars in the wall separating **I** from **II-III**.

As will be seen from this table the only characteristics in which all of these eleven examples agree are: 1) the size and general character of the large room, **I**; and 2) the approximate size of **II**. Any two adjacent rooms similar to **I** and **II** in size, relatively and absolutely, and similarly plainly finished, might fairly be suspected of being a kitchen-complex (e. g. A vi 8, *cd*),<sup>8</sup> but some further indication, such as ashes in **II**, must be forthcoming in order to attain any certainty.

Ten out of the eleven examples in the above list have a small space walled off (**III**) at one end of **II**. In three of these ten (A2,<sup>9</sup> A viii 4, Villa of the Bronzes\*) a bathtub was found *in situ*; in three more (A viii 2\*, B vi 5, F -iii 10\*) a gap in the floor and fragments of a tub; and in B vi 4 and F -ii 9\*, the fragments of a tub. In the remaining two a tub may once have existed and simply been carried off intact. A bathroom or tub was so frequently placed in this comfortably warm spot that the finding of one *in situ* should always prompt us to consider whether a kitchen-complex

<sup>6</sup> Maximum *ca.* 2.40 m. (F -iii 10). The table in *Olynthus*, XII, p. 398 sometimes errs on the high side: #19, *ca.* 1.60 instead of 2.60 m. (the text, p. 121, gives 1.50 m.); #22, *ca.* 2.40 instead of 2.70 m.; B #1, 2.30 instead of 2.90 m.; the length of #19 is also given as 3.80 m. for 2.80 m.

<sup>7</sup> I follow Mylonas' convenient terminology in the Excursus to *Olynthus*, XII.

<sup>8</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 97.

<sup>9</sup> See Fig. 3, b.



is adjacent. Yet there are many cases where there is no reason to believe that the bath did form part of such a complex,<sup>10</sup> so that the bath is clearly no decisive criterion; it may, however, serve as a clue.

In four instances the floor of **II** is covered with flat slabs of stone on which the fire was evidently made. Such large flat slabs are rarely found paving the floor of any rooms definitely not kitchens, though they are occasionally employed to protect the surface from water erosion (where cobblestones are normal), as in A vi 5, \**h*, and for portions of the court of A viii 5 and the Villa of the Bronzes\*. This type of flooring may therefore be considered fairly reliable evidence when found in a room suitable in dimensions and in general character.

A stone hearth occurs in the above list only in F -ii 9\*. Yet the fact that elsewhere such hearths are found only in rooms similar to **I** (though in one case definitely, and in one probably, without a **II** room)<sup>11</sup> suggests that they also be reckoned a useful clue.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly there is the enigmatical pillar-partition, found in probably eight of the eleven cases listed above. Whether or not this feature occurred only in kitchen-complexes is the main point of dispute between Mylonas and myself, and must be considered further below. In four or five of these eight examples there is a low rubble wall between the bases separating **II** from **I** (at **III** there is normally a door), which clearly served as a foundation for an adobe wall, according to normal construction;<sup>13</sup> otherwise it would have had no function.

The distinctive character of this row of pillars, with or without an intervening adobe wall, and its frequent association with the kitchen demand an explanation; I cannot agree with Mylonas who seems to treat it as a merely incidental feature and offers no really satisfactory explanation for its presence. That its purpose was merely aesthetic is to me incredible for various reasons: the very substantial character of the pillars and their close spacing;<sup>14</sup> the fact that, as the remains indicate, the lower part of the wooden shafts was sometimes (always?) enclosed within the adobe wall;<sup>15</sup> and

<sup>10</sup> For example: A 8, *a*; A 11, *c*; A v 4, *b*; A v 5, *c*; A vi 7, *i*; A vii 5, *c*; B ii 3; B vii 2, *h*; E.S.H. 4, *i*; and E.S.H. 6, *a*.

<sup>11</sup> A vi 10, *a*, and A vii 2, *a*, respectively (*Olynthus*, VIII, pls. 97, 99).

<sup>12</sup> References to similar Greek hearths have been noted in *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 187 f. A similar square hearth, apparently stone-curbed, occurs in the center of a room of a Norwegian house built about the end of the seventeenth century after Christ. A great horizontal beam is socketed in the wall, and from the end of this a chain and kettle is suspended over the hearth (*Norwegian Architecture throughout the Ages*, 1950, p. 58; no author). Another house has a long firepit down the center of the room, like that in F -ii 9, \**h*, and a long pole suspended above the axis of this carries a series of kettles, each on a long chain (*ibid.*, p. 70).

<sup>13</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 223 f. The upper surface of this rubble wall is sometimes higher than the top of the bases and sometimes partially overlaps them (*ibid.*, pl. 35.2 at "4"; nos. 10, 12, 14 in Table at p. 198).

<sup>14</sup> See note 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 192 and pl. 51.2.

the fact that the decorative treatment of one wall of these normally bare, unplastered, and earth-floored rooms would have been completely out of character.

The purpose of these pillars must therefore have been functional, and the analogy of the exactly similar room-complexes with a continuous wall instead of the row of pillars (their identity may be readily seen by comparing our types **P** and **O** in the Table, Fig. 4) suggests that the row of pillars was an equivalent or substitute for a solid wall. Now one purpose of a solid adobe wall was of course simply to screen off one room from another on the ground floor; but four isolated pillars cannot "double" for such a purpose! Another purpose, in a two-storey house, was to support the weight of a similar adobe partition-wall directly above it in the second storey;<sup>16</sup> this does lead to a reasonable—and, I believe, the only satisfactory—solution for our pillar rows.

This explanation, however, has little or no possibility of being the correct one unless we can assume that every house with this pillar-partition had a second storey, and unless this second storey extended over the kitchen-complex. Naturally absolute proof either for or against such an assumption is impossible in houses whose walls are rarely preserved for more than a foot or two above the ground-floor level; but, after reconsidering the whole problem with the aid of the newly excavated houses, I feel even more confident than I did when studying the houses for the 1938 publication that in many houses second storeys practically co-extensive with the first-storey rooms are not only possible but probable. The evidence has been discussed above.<sup>17</sup>

If we grant the existence of this adobe wall in the second storey immediately over the pillar-partition, the almost inevitable inference is that there was no floor over **II** (-**III**). For it is ridiculous to suppose that the Olynthian builders would so frequently have gone to the trouble to construct such a row of pillars merely to permit the building of an adobe partition in the second storey whose only result would have been to create a narrow room, some five to eight feet wide, over **II** (-**III**). But a satisfactory *raison d'être* for such a second-storey partition-wall, and therefore of the pillar row in the first storey below it, is provided if we suppose that it was needed to close off the room over **I** from an open well over **II** (-**III**).

Even if there were no explanation forthcoming from the remains to account for

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217. The close setting of the pillars also indicates that the weight thus supported must have been considerable, such as the weight of a solid adobe wall. The spacing of the pillars in the courts of the Olynthian houses, where they supported the weight of the upper gallery and its roof, is regularly about 2.25-2.50 m. A single central pillar in the kitchen-complex would have resulted in an interaxial spacing of approximately the same as this, but only in A 2 (Fig. 3, b), A 6,\* and A viii 4, does this seem to have been done. Otherwise there were normally two free-standing pillars and two contiguous with the walls, reducing the usual spacing to *ca.* 1.40-1.50 m. (*ibid.*, p. 190). Indeed where the kitchen was unusually wide, three free-standing pillars might be inserted (those next the walls being omitted); by this means the spacing in E.S.H. 4 was reduced from *ca.* 1.80 to *ca.* 1.35 m., and in B vi 3 from *ca.* 1.63 to *ca.* 1.28 m.

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 320-328.

such an extension upward through the second storey of the area II (-III), I believe that we would be compelled, on the structural grounds just outlined, to accept it. But when we note that area II was used for cooking over an open fire, the solution that the vertical shaft thus created served as a flue to carry off the smoke is so obviously appropriate as to carry immediate conviction that the structural meaning of the pillar-partition has been correctly interpreted.

This interpretation, which was already worked out in *Olynthus*, VIII (pp. 193 f.), was based purely on a series of what I still conceive are logical and well-nigh inevitable deductions from the actual remains, without the help of analogous constructions in houses of other periods. And indeed no analogies in ancient houses have yet come to my attention.<sup>18</sup>

An essentially similar solution of the problem was reached in the large flue over the kitchen which was a common feature of certain types of Swiss houses built several hundred years ago. The flue here is described as "consisting of a wooden hood covering nearly the entire kitchen" and passing up through the second storey in a conical form to emerge in a chimney-like opening through the roof (Fig. 3, e).<sup>19</sup> The conical form is of course possible with wood construction, but not in the adobe brick used in the Olynthian house, and for the same reason there was no need of a series of posts to support the flue partition.

Another comparison to the Olynthian flues may be made with the familiar "light-wells" of the Minoan palaces.<sup>20</sup> These were of course not, at least primarily, built to evacuate smoke but to provide light and air; but their construction in the form of narrow rectangular shafts passing up through the several storeys of the palace and opening on the various rooms through columned porticoes is essentially similar to that of the Olynthian flues. Even more similar, at least superficially, is the series of two columns between two pilasters set on a low wall in front of the narrow rectangular

<sup>18</sup> The plan of two rooms (5, 6) in a "Villa Rustica" recently excavated at the Guidonia airport near Tivoli, belonging to the 1st or 2nd century after Christ, bears a striking superficial resemblance to the Olynthian kitchen-complex; but the dividing-wall is very narrow and the series of (5) rectangular gaps in it are only *ca.* 0.50 m. apart. I am much indebted to Professor Aurigemma for more detailed information about these rooms than appeared in the report (*Not. d. Scavi*, V-VI, 1944-5, pp. 39-51, fig. 2); he feels certain that the Guidonia rooms did not constitute a kitchen-complex, though he is not sure what the correct interpretation is. Another possible comparison was with Pompeii, for Mau says of the kitchen there (*Pompeii*, p. 274) that it was usually very high, and that the smoke went out through a window over the hearth, and perhaps at times also through openings in the roof; however, in response to my inquiry, Dr. Lawrence Richardson very courteously sent me a long account of his unpublished researches on the Pompeian kitchen, from which it seems clear that Mau was mistaken and that there is no evidence of any similarity to the Olynthian arrangement.

<sup>19</sup> Sturgis, *History of Architecture*, I, p. 536, *s.v.* chimney. And see below on the chimney covering, note 78.

<sup>20</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, *passim*.



area where the throne in the "Royal Villa" was placed; above this area Evans restores an open well extending up into the next storey.<sup>21</sup>

Although both the Swiss houses and the Minoan palaces are too remote in space and time from the Olynthian houses to postulate any continuity, yet their evidence is perhaps all the more pertinent since it suggests the obviousness of some such device for admitting light and air to, or smoke from, the ground-floor rooms of a multi-storeyed building.

The somewhat intricate line of reasoning outlined above has been necessary in order to show that the occurrence of the partition-wall in several of the above list of eleven certain kitchen-complexes is not coincidental, as Mylonas seems to believe, but that there is really an intimate association. His exact position on this problem of the partition-wall seems not to be fully stated in *Olynthus*, XII. He is reluctant to believe that two-storeyed houses were common (see above, p. 320) and assumes that in the majority of cases the smoke found its way out through perforated tiles (see below p. 345). But he concedes (pp. 380 f.) that "when the unit was placed in a two-storied house" the kitchen (II-III) was the full height of the two storeys, and his diagram (p. 381, fig. 10) shows the room over I separated from the flue by a solid wall and based on a solid wall in the first storey. Again (p. 382) he grants that when there was an open square hearth in the main room (I) the smoke could have found its way out "through the pillared partition and the open space over the kitchen as postulated in the publication of 1938." He also agrees that "we may feel sure that the pillared partition was open above; that the rubble wall between the pillars,"<sup>22</sup> in other words, was carried only to a small height and did not reach the ceiling." But he nowhere specifically admits that the pillars had any particular function. Presumably he would agree that the pillar-partition would support the solid partition above in a two-storeyed house, yet his belief that the second storey was rare certainly implies that some, or possibly all, of the numerous pillar-partitions occurred in one-storeyed houses.<sup>23</sup> Thus either the pillars have no discoverable purpose, if they occur only in one-storeyed houses; or if in both one- and two-storeyed, they do serve a functional purpose in the latter but not in the former. If Mylonas believes that the pillar-partition performed

<sup>21</sup> A similar arrangement is found in the House of the Chancel Screen; for both see *Palace of Minos*, II, ii, p. 394, figs. 225, 232, 234, 238. Very like this scheme in plan is a shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar about a millennium earlier (Seton Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*, p. 102, fig. 5).

<sup>22</sup> By "rubble wall" he presumably means the adobe wall based on a rubble foundation; the top surface of this rubble is often well preserved and smooth like the other rubble foundations, and like them was surely the foundation for an adobe wall (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 223).

<sup>23</sup> Yet A 4 and A v 9 (*Olynthus*, VIII, pls. 89, 95) have stairbases *in situ* in such a position relative to the kitchens as to make it virtually certain that a second storey did exist over their kitchens; and B v 1,\* the Villa of the Bronzes,\* and F -ii 9\* probably had second storeys which covered the kitchen-complex, as I have argued above (pp. 322, 323-326). Other two-storeyed houses have the pillar-partition but it is not admitted by Mylonas as being part of a kitchen-complex (see below), such as A vi 5\* and the Villa of Good Fortune (*ibid.*, pl. 84).

no function, or at least no discoverable function, he should first demonstrate that the functional explanation outlined above and in *Olynthus*, VIII is wrong.

Until he does so I think we must continue to believe that the pillar-partition was not a meaningless structure likely to be found almost anywhere in the house, but that it was intimately associated with the kitchen-complex; and therefore that although the existence of a pillar-partition cannot, on the basis of the structural explanation alone, be taken as proving the presence of a kitchen-complex, yet where it is combined with other characteristic features, such as "1" and "2" above, it should be rejected only for very serious reasons. We will return to this point later.

Our positively identified examples have therefore provided us with the following clues which should be useful in recognizing the kitchen-complex: 1) two plain rooms of the relative proportions described above; 2) a bathroom or tub at one end of **II**; 3) **II** paved partly or wholly with large flat slabs of stone; 4) a hearth in **I**; 5) the pillar-partition. On this basis we may draw up the table in Figure 4 of possible variations with all recognizable examples assigned to their types.

A few comments on special cases follow.

No example of what we may term the "ideal" type (Type **Plh** and Fig. 3, a) has yet been found, but the House of the Comedian perhaps provides an odd variation intermediate between **Plh** and **Olh**. This is such an interesting but unique variation that we shall study it separately below.

A viii 4 seems to be an example of **Pl** though Mylonas says of the partition-wall, "not preserved."<sup>24</sup> Yet, as may be seen in the photo, *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 16. 1, and in the plan, pl. 14, there is a flat piece of stone at the end of the tongue-wall between **II** and **III** in exactly the same position as the well-cut base in A 2 of Type **P2** (Fig. 3, b), and very likely also in A 6\* (**P2**). Indeed these three examples indicate a minor variation in which a single pillar is made to do the work of the usual two free-standing pillars (above, p. 332 note 16). Ashes were found in A viii 4, *e*,<sup>25</sup> though not mentioned in Mylonas' Table.<sup>24</sup>

I classify F -ii 9\*, *ghk*, as **P2h** rather than **O2h** in spite of Mylonas' remarks (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 375); one base is perfectly clear in pl. 164.2, and rough bases, as the others seem to have been, could have been evened up with a coat of clay.<sup>26</sup> Indeed the text of *Olynthus*, XII (p. 199) speaks of the two western bases, "at either side of the entrance to the bathroom are pilaster bases." The text also states (*loc. cit.*) that "a very few small pieces of a bathtub were found," presumably in *g*; but Mylonas' Table in the Excursus (p. 398) is silent on this point.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, p. 398, #17.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Compare those in A iv 9\*, *jk* (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 92); and see *ibid.*, pp. 191, 196 f.

<sup>27</sup> There is clearly an error in stating the height of the threshold from the court into **II** (*h*) as 0.45 m., both in text and Excursus (pp. 200, 377), as can be seen in pl. 163.1; probably 4-5 cms. was intended.

A 6\* (**P2**) is omitted from Mylonas' list. Room **I** was only partially excavated, but there is sufficient space for it if, as the remains certainly suggest, it extended to, or nearly to, the city-wall, as was clearly the case in A 1\* (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 89). Moreover, at the end of the wall between **II** and **III** is a stone base, indicated in the large plan in *Olynthus*, II, fig. 182. Indeed the similarity between *dec* of A 2 (Fig. 3, b) and *bca* of A 6\* is so striking as to render the identification of the kitchen-complex in A 6 extremely plausible.

In A viii 2\*, *jkn* (**O2**) the partition-wall is entirely missing, so that its exact type is uncertain. A vi 9<sup>28</sup> (**O2**) has a cement floor in **III** but definitely no tub; there is, however, an inset round basin like that found in other bathrooms with tubs (A vii 4, A 6\*, and B vi 2). When A viii 5 (**O2**) is properly oriented<sup>29</sup> *dgh* is seen to form a nearly normal kitchen-complex pattern; *d* was doubtless entered through *c* from *f*. Ashes were found in *g* and tub fragments in *h*, which would seem to be entered through *g*.

Both A xiii 10 and B vi 3 (**P3**) have been omitted by Mylonas.<sup>30</sup> Yet the only difference between **P3** and **P2** is that the bathtub is set in a definite room, often with cement or tile floor, in **P2**, while in **P3** no traces *remain* of a floor or of a wall of separation between **II** and **III**. Ashes were noted in **II** in at least three examples of **P2**, making its identification certain; and ashes were actually found in the second example of our **P3**.<sup>31</sup> The omission of A xiii 10 and B vi 3, if not accidental, would seem to be inconsistent.

The poorly preserved rooms, *jkl*, in the southeast corner of B vii 2<sup>32</sup> are probably also to be reckoned as forming a kitchen-complex although there is already another (*bc*) in the same house (on this see below). For convenience we may classify it as **P5**, for although **II** at the east end of *j* is undivided, along the south side of *j* are two small rooms, *kl*, and a fragment of cement floor suggests that *k* is a bathroom. In addition to the usual line of four bases (one is missing at the north end) there is a single base in front of *k*.

A vii 6 (Fig. 3, b) is a variant of **O5h**. Rooms **II** and **III** have been placed along one side instead of at one end of **I**, and the extra width has allowed the insertion of a small additional room between **II** and **III**. **III** has a cement floor and a drain but no space for a tub. Mylonas found traces of burning on the foundations of *k* when he re-examined the remains in 1938. Probably the flue in the second storey included all the space over *klm*.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 97.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 64, b.

<sup>30</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 108, and *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 102, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117; the text mentions that tub-fragments were found in **II-III**, and cautiously suggests that its identification as an oecus-unit "seems to be probable."

<sup>32</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 103.2.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 123.



A viii 2, \**cd* should perhaps also be considered a kitchen-complex (**O6**) although that would make two in the same house (see below). The rooms are of appropriate proportions and character, and *c* has a floor paved with stone slabs; no burnt material was noted in excavating *c* but the fill must have been very shallow.<sup>34</sup> Fragments of large storage-jars were found in *d* (**I**).<sup>35</sup>

Our **8h** is not included by Mylonas as a kitchen-complex because it is not a "complex" but a single room with hearth; he does not, however, seem to be inclined to deny that it may have served a purpose similar to **I**, which it resembles in size and general character. He further notes that some, perhaps all, of the Olynthian square hearths<sup>36</sup> seem to contain only clean ashes when excavated, and the absence of debris, such as bones, which we might expect if they had been used for cooking, suggests to him that such hearths were used principally, at any rate, for heating—for keeping the room in which the women of the household probably spent a large proportion of their time, especially in winter, warm. The Olynthian hearth was always placed in the middle of the room (**I**), where people could cluster around it, and from which it could distribute its heat better before being drawn up the flue. The fact that such hearths have now been found in conjunction with definite cooking-places in **II** in several instances<sup>37</sup> certainly strengthens Mylonas' contention.

We are thus reduced to Type **7** alone as the major area of controversy. Yet there are six important examples of **P7** and one of **O7** which I would list in this category but which Mylonas declines to recognize as kitchen-complexes. Almost all the best houses, especially those with androns, have such complexes, yet to omit the **P7** group would leave A vi 5,\* with a fine court and stairway and two androns (one is much the largest yet found at Olynthus), and the Villa of Good Fortune, by far the finest of the Olynthian houses, without a kitchen-complex.

Is there really sufficient difference between **P7** and all the preceding types to justify this discrimination against it? True, it has no hearth, but this is not an essential feature at all—only six complexes have one. It has no bathroom or even tub remains (though the tub may have been carried off intact, like so much other material

<sup>34</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> The pipe from the court carrying drainage-water to the alley pursued a curiously erratic course; it deliberately avoided going through *c*, whether because any repairs to the pipe would have necessitated the lifting of the slabs of the flooring, or because it was feared that fire burning on the floor might crack the pipes. The notion that the pipe carried drinking-water from the drainage-alley (!) to the middle of the court is impossible; the impression that the slope of the pipe was downward toward the court must be erroneous. If any such extraordinary situation was suspected, Robinson's statements in *Olynthus*, XII (p. 13) should have been supported by a series of careful level-readings at different points along the pipe-line made by a surveyor, as was done on the pipe-line draining from court to street in A iv 9\* by Travlos (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 92).

<sup>36</sup> See list in *ibid.*, p. 187, to which add F -ii 9,\* found in 1938.

<sup>37</sup> Most clearly in F -ii 9\* (**P2h**), but also in the House of the Comedian (Fig. 3, c) (**P01h**), B vi 2 (**O2h**), A vii 6 (Fig. 3, b) (**O5h**), A vi 6 (**P5h**), and A vi 2 (**P7h**).

from the houses), but neither do Types **6**, **6h**, or **7h** (six examples); and no remains of a tub have been found in Types **4**, **4h**, **5**, or **5h** (seven examples). It has no slab-paved floor, but neither have Types **2**, **2h**, **3**, **3h**, **5**, **5h**, or **7h** (twenty-two examples). The absence even of all these features together cannot rule out **P7** without a fair hearing. The features which do link **P7** with all the preceding types are the relative and absolute size of **I** and **II** (six of the seven are perfectly normal in this respect), and the quality of the rooms; even in A vi 5,\* where the court as well as two androns were cement-floored, the floors of **I** and **II** are of the usual hard-packed earth, and only in the pretentious Villa of Good Fortune, the House of the Comedian (Fig. 3, c), and the Villa of the Bronzes,\* were the walls plastered, and then only with a thin coat of simple white plaster. F -ii 9 \* is particularly significant in this respect, for the walls of all the better rooms were carefully decorated (*c*, *d*, *f*, *e*, and *l*) while the store-room *m* ("pitheon"), and kitchen-complex *kgh*, and the Type **P7** complex *ab* were left unplastered; rooms *c*, *d*, *f*, and *l* had cement floors while the pastas *e*, *m*, *kgh*, and *ab* were left in hard-packed earth. Nor can any different principle of entrance into the two rooms be discerned. Lastly, all six rooms of Type **P7** have a perfectly normal form of pillar-partition in the number of pillars,<sup>38</sup> size of bases, and the existence of a rubble wall between some or all of the bases.

In the face of such similarity between **P7** and the preceding types Mylonas should have some very good reason for attempting to establish a dividing line where he has. His reason is simply that, if we admit the **P7** group, two kitchen-complexes will be found in each of three houses: A iv 9,\* *bc* and *jk*; F -ii 9,\* *ab* and *ghk*; and A vi 7, *cd* and *klmno*.<sup>39</sup> But Mylonas would say that there was only one kitchen-complex in each, plus a pillar-partition complex used for some quite different (but unknown) purpose.

The objection of course has point, and it was serious enough to make me hesitate even when at the time of the publication of *Olynthus*, VIII (before the excavations of 1938) there seemed to be only one house with two such pillar-partition complexes, namely A iv 9.\* Yet I believed that the evidence on the other side was too strong, and I still believe so, even though two more such cases (F -ii 9 \* and A vi 7) have been added. Indeed we can increase the number to six by adding A viii 2,\* *cd* and *jkn*, the Villa of the Bronzes,\* *ab* and *ijk*, and B vii 2, *bc* and *jkl*, though only the last has pillar-bases in both complexes. A viii 2 \* and B vii 2 have already been discussed (p. 336); the Villa of the Bronzes will be treated below.

<sup>38</sup> F -ii 9 \* has three free-standing bases, as in E.S.H. 4 and probably in B vi 3; for the Villa of the Bronzes see below.

<sup>39</sup> A vi 7, *klmno* (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 97) is not included in my list of kitchens (*ibid.*, at p. 198), but Mylonas discovered traces of fire on the foundations of *n* when he re-examined it in 1938, making it a probable identification in spite of the unique subdivision of **I** and the plain cement floor of *o* with a bath elsewhere (*i*) in the house.

If it seems rather extraordinary that one normal-sized house should possess two kitchens, it is no less remarkable to find two well-constructed bathrooms in E. S. H. 4, and two androns in A vi 5 \* and also in A v 8 which has only one or two other small rooms, outside of a court, on the ground-floor.<sup>40</sup> The undeniable existence of two bathrooms and two androns in some houses surely should warn us against denying the possibility of two kitchen-complexes, however difficult it may be to imagine the reason.

Yet I think a little reflection can easily suggest various plausible answers to this apparent enigma. One might simply suppose that at least in some cases two families lived in the same house, or that cooking was done on a commercial basis. But these are not likely solutions in the case of the better houses.

If we look again at the position of the complexes in the six houses we are considering, we will notice that in every instance one complex is located in the north half of the house, the other in the south. This is not likely to be coincidence. Perhaps one kitchen or the other was used depending on the direction of the wind. That such a suggestion is not idle fancy is shown by the fact that we know that Greek chefs felt that the direction of the wind was an important consideration. A fragment of Sospater lays down rules for the kitchen architect: "the kitchen he must construct properly, secure as much light as is necessary, and see what direction the wind comes from—these points are essential. Whether the smoke is carried this way or that usually makes a big difference with the viands."<sup>41</sup> With such simple flues smoke baffling back into the kitchen must have been a common experience, and one to be avoided even if it meant the building of more than one flue. As a matter of fact most Olynthian householders found it useful to have at least two large rooms on the ground-floor for the numerous household tasks, such as grinding grain, weaving cloth, and for storage etc.; easy enough, then, to add at one end of these potential "I's" a small kitchen with its flue.<sup>42</sup>

An even more likely suggestion, I believe, is that the use of two kitchens had something to do with the regulation of heat in the house. Was the "II" space placed in the middle of the series of northern rooms in five cases out of the six we are dealing with so that some heat might pass (through controllable vents?)<sup>43</sup> into the rooms on

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 106 (E.S.H. 4), and pl. 95 (A v 8).

<sup>41</sup> Quoted by Walter Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis*, I, p. 225; Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, III, p. 315, lines 39-43.

<sup>42</sup> Any objection on the grounds of loss of space is not warranted; space was not at such a premium in the commodious Olynthian house—witness, for example, the generous size of the prothyron, a common but not essential feature, for it could have been eliminated (and perhaps often was) by building a small roof over the doorway (*Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 154-155).

<sup>43</sup> After writing the above, support for such a notion has turned up in an unexpected place. Schaeffer's excavations at Ugarit in Syria have just produced the remains of "a ventilation system of the fourteenth century B.C.: triangular air vents, with fitting stoppers of stone in the walls of the royal palace" (*Ill. Lon. News*, March 27, 1954, p. 488, fig. 3).



either side in both first and second storeys? It is said that a similar type of flue is preferred by some Swiss (Fig. 3, e) because they "like to have the smoke circulate in the tall kitchen instead of going directly out of a hearth chimney, as it helps to keep the house dry in this humid climate and also drives out rodents and bugs."<sup>44</sup> At any rate it may very well be that fires were kept going in both northern and southern complexes in cold weather, but only in the southern in hot, in order to keep the summer temperature of the rooms in the main part of the house as cool as possible.<sup>45</sup> This could also explain the striking fact that probably all six houses with two sets of kitchen-complexes had a bathroom connected to the southern complex, never to the northern, for thus it would be conveniently near to the supply of warm water even in summer.

Although he rejects **P7** as another form of the kitchen-complex, Mylonas has no great confidence in being able to explain the use of this room-group with the pillar-partition. He does suggest that **II** might have been a space walled off from the main room, **I**, for putting away bedding during the day. This might be a more convincing suggestion if he would substantiate the analogies he notes in modern Greek homes by drawings or photos. Even so we might fairly object that it is likely that the bedrooms were normally located in the second storey; that a bedroom would hardly be placed in the front hall of the house, as would be the case in A iv 9,\* *bc*; that the space is too large merely to pile the bedding in (it is as big as the "kitchen"!); but, above all, that the row of pillars is far too ponderous to serve simply as a kind of support for a screen. Indeed, as we have said above, the similarity, or rather the identity, of the pillar-partition and of the character and size of **I** and **II** in the two (according to Mylonas) types of complexes under discussion is too close to be coincidental. For the reasons given above, area **II** in the **P7** type, quite as much as in the other types, must have been projected as a walled-in space through the second storey, and in that case surely served to carry off the smoke. Indeed extensive remains of continuous fires were observed in **II** of the Villa of the Bronzes \* (see below); in the carefully excavated room *b* (**II**) of F -ii 9 \* "traces of burning and ashes with burned potsherds"

<sup>44</sup> Smith, G. E. K., *Switzerland Builds*, p. 43.

<sup>45</sup> This would lend some support to S. F. Markman's ideas in his book on *Climate and the Energy of Nations* (1942), *pace* Childe as quoted approvingly by Robinson, *Olynthus*, XII, p. 6. Possibly only the southern complex was used for cooking, the northern for heating. On the question of two kitchens, Lucy T. Shoe kindly writes me, "The idea of two kitchens is in no way disturbing to those familiar with the 19th century city houses of many American eastern cities where the 'inside' (winter) and 'outside' (summer) kitchens were taken for granted in the period when even a middle class family had a home large enough to allow for more than the minimum living quarters and when families *cooked* large meals regardless of the weather. The 'outside' (summer) kitchen was of course not literally out-doors, merely a room on the back of the house, further from the dining room and with windows on more sides than the 'inside' kitchen which would be warmer itself in the winter and also help to heat the next (the dining) room. In the summer one wanted the cooking heat kept away from the dining room and the kitchen itself as full of air as possible."

were found at floor-level;<sup>46</sup> and a concentrated bed of ashes was observed in **I** near the line of bases of A iv 9,\* *bc*.<sup>47</sup>

A word about Type **O7**. In this category might be placed three examples tentatively listed as kitchens in *Olynthus*, VIII (Table at p. 198, nos. 15, 20, 21), which had nothing in favor of this identification except the relative size and general character of the rooms. But perhaps it would be better to omit these very problematic examples entirely and to substitute one much more likely candidate discovered in 1938 but rejected by Mylonas largely because it would make a second kitchen-complex in the same house. This example, the Villa of the Bronzes,\* *ab*, is unusual in several respects: room *a* (**II**) is noticeably wider (2.52 m.) relatively to *b* (**I**) than normal; *b* has a cement floor, which even carries a rather irregular mosaic pattern in part of its surface,<sup>48</sup> and *in situ* on the walls red stucco was found; and a rough plaster is reported on the south wall of *a*.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, the text of *Olynthus*, XII, in describing this house (p. 253), says that "the floor of *a* is of loose yellow clay and, besides the signs left by the last conflagration, there were on and under the floor patches of grey ash which could only have come from continuous fires here."<sup>50</sup> This was especially noticeable in the southeast corner, about the middle of the east side and towards the northwest corner." Two pilaster capitals and one pillar capital were found in room *b*,<sup>51</sup> and certainly would seem to be associated, as *Olynthus*, XII suggests, with the wall dividing *a* from *b*. This wall exists only as a narrow (0.32 m.), low, rubble foundation rising hardly, if at all, above the floor-level, with no sign of a doorway<sup>52</sup> or of bases. Mylonas suggests that the wooden pillars were based directly on this

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>47</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> The plan, *Olynthus*, XII, pl. 202, should indicate cement around the mosaic area. For the mosaic compare the court of A xi 9, and an area around a well on the South Hill (*Olynthus*, II, fig. 99); such "mosaics" seem rather the result of capricious playfulness on the part of the layer of the cement floor, and are very different from the formal mosaic patterns which are only found in the best rooms of the house (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 284).

<sup>49</sup> Note, however, that red stucco was reported on the walls of *j* (**II**) in another kitchen-complex in the same house (*Olynthus*, XII, pp. 250, 251).

<sup>50</sup> This important fact is omitted in the section where Mylonas discusses and rejects this case as a possible kitchen-complex (*ibid.*, pp. 392 f.).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 252, 392; the captions on pls. 216 and 217 erroneously read "Room *e*"; the statement on p. 252, "one of these (pilaster capitals) was described above on page 244 (Pl. 210)," should read, "two of these were described above on page 245 (Pls. 213, 215, 216, 217)"; and dimensions are wrongly given on p. 245. No photo or drawing of the complete pillar capital is given. Both the pilaster capitals agree in form and dimensions, each having a bottom surface (representing the top cross-section of the wooden pilaster) of 0.22 by 0.09 m. (exclusive of the rear projection) and a height of 0.13 m. These capitals did not belong to the pastas colonnade since two Doric capitals from the two central bases were found, and one of the two pilaster capitals (pp. 244 f.); all are 0.19 m. in height, while the section of the pilaster, as indicated by the pilaster capital, would measure 0.38 by 0.19 m.

<sup>52</sup> Yet room *a* had no doorway from the pastas, *e*, and so could have been entered only via *b*.



rubble wall,<sup>53</sup> but perhaps they were shorter than the height of the room and rested on top of a low wall of adobe (see below).<sup>54</sup> Thus *ab* seems to constitute another kitchen-complex, whose main room (**I**), with its cement floor, red stuccoed walls, and stone pillar capitals, was certainly more decoratively treated than was customary for this type of room, but which finds a parallel in the House of the Comedian (see below).<sup>55</sup>

A difficult question remaining is the form of the partition when a continuous foundation with no trace of bases separates **I** from **II**. It was suggested in *Olynthus*, VIII (p. 197) that the pillars were simply set on the rubble foundations, leveled perhaps with a layer of clay; or, more probably, that they rested on a horizontal beam set on the top of the adobe wall at some height above the floor. Mylonas thinks either of these possibilities less likely than that the continuous rubble foundations ordinarily means a solid adobe wall to the ceiling.<sup>56</sup> Yet A v 6,\* *ef*,<sup>57</sup> is a clear instance of the former, and the Villa of the Bronzes,\* *ab* (see above), would seem to be an example of the latter. Houses of the **O** type would have needed no pillars if there were no second-storey rooms above; otherwise they probably had pillars mounted in one of the two ways just described.

Mylonas declares<sup>58</sup> that the pillared partition "would have required much less labor" than wooden pillars set, as we have suggested, on an adobe wall. Yet the only extra element required is a sill along the top of the adobe wall, while on the other hand the pillars required would be shorter, no dressed stone bases would be needed (such stone is very sparingly used at Olynthus), and the pillars would be raised above possible damage from the fire in **II**. Incidentally the form of such a wall would approximate very closely that of the walls in the semi-enclosed porticoes which have been discussed in a previous article,<sup>58</sup> and would thus be familiar to the Olynthian builders.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, p. 392; yet he denies that the large stones in the rubble foundation of F -ii 9 \* could have supported pillars (p. 375).

<sup>54</sup> No signs of adobe wall were noticed, but the line of rubble would hardly have been built unless it was designed as a foundation for adobe.

<sup>55</sup> I can discover no clear evidence for the use of stone pillar capitals in the pillar-partitions of other Olynthian houses.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

<sup>57</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 96.

<sup>58</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 203-207. To the parallels for the "semi-enclosed" porticoes given on p. 207 I should like to mention still another possible example, namely the north portico of the central court of the Minoan palace at Mallia; the clearly-marked doorway at the west end of the portico (as in F -ii 9 \* and E.S.H. 5) shows that the lower part of the intercolumniations east of this must have been blocked (Chapouthier and Charbonneaux, *Mallia*, I, 1928, p. 35). However it is more probable that the intercolumniations were barred with railings rather than with a continuous wall, and certainly the purpose of this construction seems to have been different from that of the Olynthian "semi-enclosed" porticoes; see my forthcoming article on the "Site of the Minoan Bull-games."

<sup>59</sup> Even more similar are the constructions in the Royal Villa and the House of the Chancel Screen referred to in note 21 above.



To gather together the loose ends of our arguments in regard to the "pillar-partition" I would suggest the normal pattern was as follows. A low adobe wall, perhaps a half a meter or so in height, based usually on a rubble foundation, was intended primarily to keep the fire and ashes from working into **I** from **II**; it also served to protect the wooden pillars from the fire, sometimes by encasing their lower ends, sometimes by providing them with a high base to keep them above the fire;<sup>60</sup> the top surface of this adobe wall was perhaps usually finished by a wooden sill which could do double duty as a kind of counter or service-table<sup>61</sup> and as a base for pillars. Passage from **I** to **II** might be quite free if there was no adobe wall, as possibly in E. S. H. 4;<sup>62</sup> or it might be a matter of stepping over the low adobe wall; or, especially if **II** was not reduced by putting a bathroom at one end, a doorway might be provided, as in the Villa of Good Fortune.<sup>63</sup> Commonly, perhaps always, **II** was also accessible directly from the pastas or other room. Pillars were used only if there were second-storey rooms above. The heated air rising from the hearth in **II** should normally have created an adequate draft to carry off the smoke upward through the flue, where it escaped through a vent in the roof (see below). A considerable amount of heat would pass above the adobe wall by radiation into **I**, on the same principle as we are warmed by sitting in front of an open fireplace. If there was a square stone hearth in **I** the rising heat and smoke would find their way into **II** and escape through the flue, as pictured in *Olynthus*, VIII, fig. 14 (p. 191).

A unique variation of the pillar-partition scheme is that in the House of the Comedian, *cde* (Fig. 3, *c*). Here we have a well-constructed bathroom (**III**) with tub *in situ*, and a room with stone-flagged floor of the type common in **II**;<sup>64</sup> also a hearth (probably) in **I**.<sup>65</sup> The wall dividing **I** from **II** contained no stone bases; either this wall did not have any openings to draw off smoke from the hearth in **I** into the flue over **II**, or the designer made assurance doubly sure by constructing a flue at the other end of the room also. But since this was an outside wall and since there was no immediately adjacent house to the east this secondary flue (here definitely not a "kitchen") was allowed to project beyond the normal house-wall like an "outside-

<sup>60</sup> Note how the bases in A iv 9,\* *bc* (*Olynthus*, VIII, pls. 92-93) are double, thus raising the top surface of the bases half a meter above the level of the rubble foundation.

<sup>61</sup> After writing this, I notice that W. A. McDonald (*Studies in Honor of D. M. Robinson*, I, p. 372 and note 28) has made the same suggestion. The idea first occurred to me in connection with the curiously wide southern half of the rubble foundation between **I** and **II** in A vii 4 (*Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 100); the foundation here suddenly broadens from the normal 0.40-0.50 m. to 0.80 m. Note that in this same example the wall between **II** and **III** is only *ca.* 0.30 m. thick; it needed to be no thicker since it was no doubt only one storey high, and being thin heat could better pass through it to the bathroom (there may also have been vents).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 106.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 84.

<sup>64</sup> The stones were not all found in the positions marked on the plan in *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 87.

<sup>65</sup> Three of the four stone blocks of the hearth were found, but none was *in situ*.

chimney." Yet even here, as so frequently, only three of the familiar row of four bases were used for the flue. The narrowness of the foundation, where it projects, indicates that the wall was probably carried only a little above the first storey, and that indeed would have been sufficient; we may suppose the opening was covered by a short pent roof under which the smoke escaped by suitable vents.<sup>66</sup>

As also suggested in *Olynthus*, VIII (p. 68) a wooden unfluted column with a stone capital of a rather simplified Doric type seems to have stood on the square base in the center of the opening, the other three having supported the usual rectangular pillars and pilasters.<sup>67</sup> The absence of any trace of foundation between the three southernmost bases and the presence of a column show that there was a solid adobe wall only between the two northern bases. I would now like to suggest further that a large shuttered window was located in the east wall of the flue, as represented in Figure 3, c.<sup>68</sup> Such a window would have commanded a fine view to the eastward<sup>69</sup> (later somewhat restricted to the south by the building of the Villa of Good Fortune),<sup>70</sup> and would provide a satisfactory explanation for the column in the center of the opening which would certainly have been much more effectively displayed against this background than against a blank wall as I had previously restored it. When there was need for the hearth in cold weather the solid shutters would of course be closed. If it be objected that this aesthetic treatment would be out of place in the usually plain Olynthian kitchen-complex, yet it will be remembered that this house is second only to the Villa of Good Fortune in quality, and that the walls of the room were plastered (rare in such rooms); the decoration of the kitchen-complex in the Villa of the Bronzes \* (see above) provides a good parallel. Such a room would indeed be a very pleasant work-room for the lady of the house to sit in with her wool-spinners, as pictured by Mylonas in his discussion of the "oecus."<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Mylonas objects (*Olynthus*, XII, p. 382) that "a flue of that kind, placed part-way against a wall, could not have been serviceable at all times, and a mere opening or vent in the eastern or northern wall would have served the purpose equally well if not better." Yet it seems obvious that an east wind would simply blow any smoke attempting to escape through a vent in the east wall back into the room, whereas if the flue be built up a few feet higher than the ceiling of the room the warm air and smoke will tend to rise into this space and will be able to escape under the shelter of the pent-roof through holes provided at its north and south ends.

<sup>67</sup> There is nothing unusual in such a combination at *Olynthus*; cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, p. 166, and XII, pp. 244 f. (the pastas of the Villa of the Bronzes \*).

<sup>68</sup> On the existence of windows on the ground-floor see *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 264 f., and my article on the "Andronitis-Gynaecoonitis and House Windows," *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 199-203.

<sup>69</sup> See *Olynthus*, VIII, pl. 14.1.

<sup>70</sup> On the relative dating of the two houses *ibid.*, pp. 49 f.

<sup>71</sup> *Class. Jour.*, XXXV, 1940, p. 396, and Vitruvius, VI, vii, 2. Mylonas suggests the purpose of the area projecting east of the row of pillars could have been an alcove for conversation, or a place for a loom. Surely the space (about 2' wide) is too shallow for either purpose, especially for the latter, where the central column would have blocked passage to and fro in front of the loom in the process of weaving. Or was all this construction merely intended to provide a place for potted plants—his third suggestion? *Olynthus*, XII, p. 382 f.

Finally a brief reconsideration of the form of the smoke-vent at the roof. In *Olynthus*, VIII I argued that since the bottoms of the flues (II) often only had packed-earth floors, and, even when paved or partly paved with slabs of stone or rarely with cobblestone (A xi 10 and B v 1\*), do not in a single instance show any signs of a drain, the roof-opening must have been well protected from the weather.<sup>72</sup> I also noted that although tiles with openings had been found at other sites none was known from Olynthus. Such tiles, however, were discovered in 1938, and one had an opening restorable as 0.47 m. long by 0.13-0.22 m. wide;<sup>73</sup> this turned up, however, in a room which there is no reason to believe was a kitchen, nor was there one, at any rate of normal form, in this house.<sup>74</sup> Fragments are said to have been discovered in F -ii 9,\* which has two kitchen-complexes, but the room or rooms where found are not specified.<sup>75</sup>

The mere fact that such tiles have not been found more abundantly at Olynthus suggests that they were not universally used, or perhaps were not even common. Indeed the opening is so large, that even if there was only one to a flue, we may wonder if the fire would not have been quenched in a heavy rainstorm; and it would be all the more surprising that not a single drain has been discovered in II. Mylonas, it is true, suggests that the opening in the tile was covered by a movable board, the *τηλία* of Aristophanes *Wasps* (line 147),<sup>76</sup> but I find it difficult to picture how such a board-cover could have been attached to a sloping tile roof, nor is it clear how it could have been manipulated. If slid into place, it would have been likely to catch against the three to four centimeter high lip of the opening; if dropped from above, there would be a danger of breaking the tile.

My original suggestion of a small roof with a slope less steep than that of the main roof and supported along its lower edge was admittedly purely hypothetical, but seemed simple and practical. That something of this sort was perhaps actually in use is suggested by the occurrence of identical smoke-vents in certain old Swiss houses (Fig. 3, d).<sup>77</sup> A commoner form in old Swiss houses consisted of a small projecting chimney at the top of the conical flue covered by a movable cover operated from below (Fig. 3, e).<sup>78</sup> The device is not complicated. Something similar may explain the

<sup>72</sup> *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 194 f.

<sup>73</sup> *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 49 f., 380, pl. 38.6, 7.

<sup>74</sup> It was found in A viii 8,\* f; the text suggests that *hij*, across the court from this, was an "oecus-unit" (*ibid.*, pp. 48 f.).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186. Another fragment was found in the alley outside room *b* in A viii 10 (*ibid.*, p. 56); the adjacent room, *a*, might have been a kitchen-complex though the text decides against this and Mylonas does not list it in his Table.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, G. E. K., *Switzerland Builds*, p. 43, "Old Bernese Farm."

<sup>78</sup> "... un couvercle facile à manoeuvrer permet de la fermer pour conserver la chaleur ou de l'ouvrir pour y voir clair et laisser fuir la fumée," Heinrich Brockmann-Jerosch, *La terre helvétique* (French edition, 1931), p. 85. Our illustration is taken from *La Maison bourgeoise en Suisse*, vol. XXV, pl. 126, a house at Sagna-Eglise (Canton de Neuchatel); cf. also pls. 112, 114, etc.



*τηλία* of Aristophanes. That there is any direct tradition between these flues of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and those used in recent times in Switzerland would be difficult to prove, but simple problems may be solved in similar ways, especially when the available technical means are also simple.

J. WALTER GRAHAM

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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- Διονύσιος, *aet. Rom.*, father of Κέλαδος, 281 (170)
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- \*Επίγονος, *ante med. saec. IV a.*, 259 (48)
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- \*Επικρά[της] (Ἡρακλειώτης), *saec. III/II a.*, father of Ἡράκλι[τος] (*vel* Ἡρακλί[δης]), 270 (100)
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- \*Ερμεία[ς], *aet. Rom.*, 278 (148)
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- Μύρων, ύπογραμματεύς *fin. saec.* II *p.*, 245 (20)
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*Tituli Asiae Minoris*

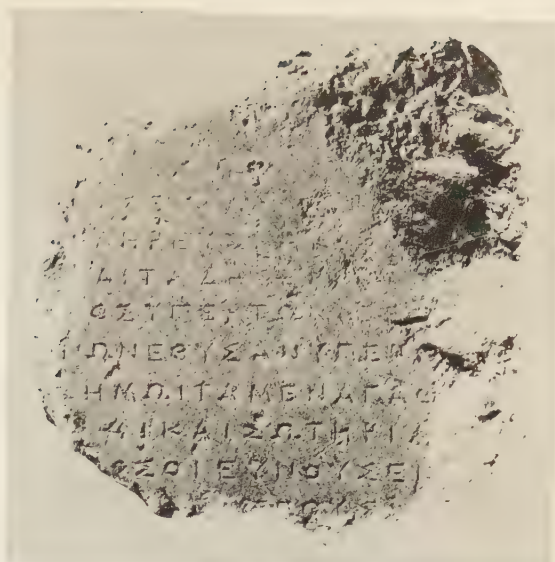
II, no. 175 ..... 165

## CORRIGENDA

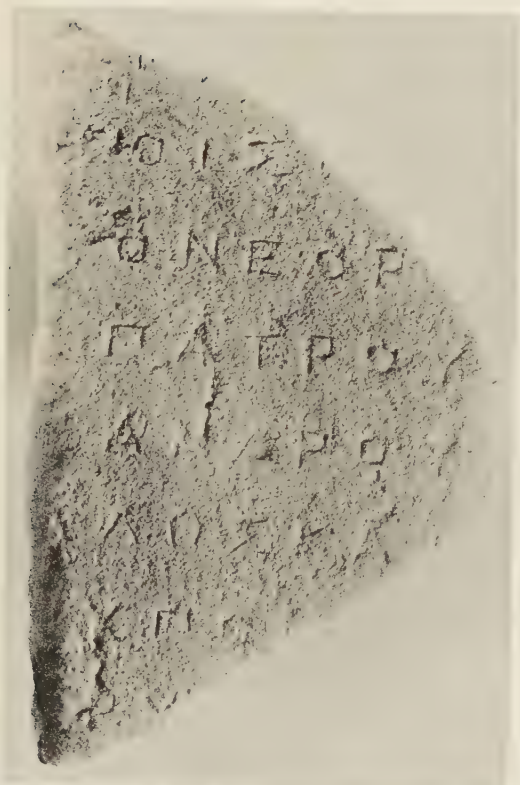
1. In *Hesperia*, XXII, p. 308, "Ἀξίος is not a Rhodian month, but the name of a fabricant.
2. In *Hesperia*, XXII, Plate 71 is inverted.
3. On p. 63, above, read Παροστάτις ἱδρυμαὶ τῶι με τεκόντι νέω[ι].
4. On p. 64, above, in note 57 read *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889 instead of *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1889.



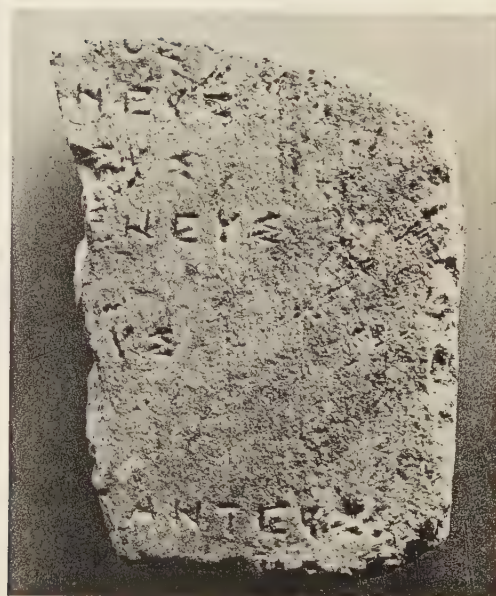
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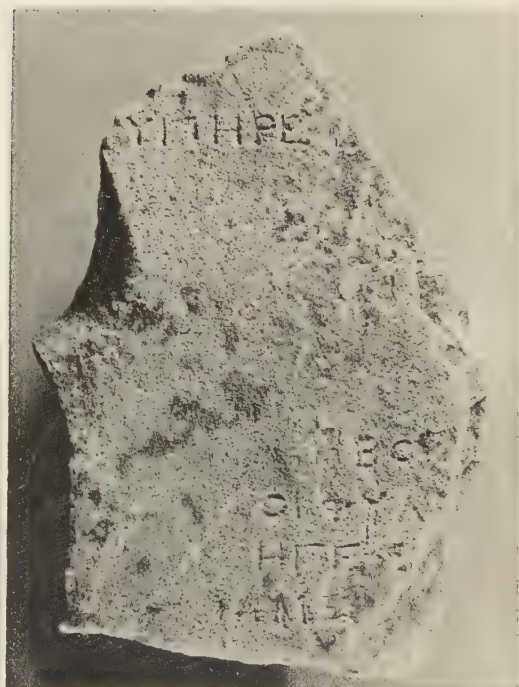
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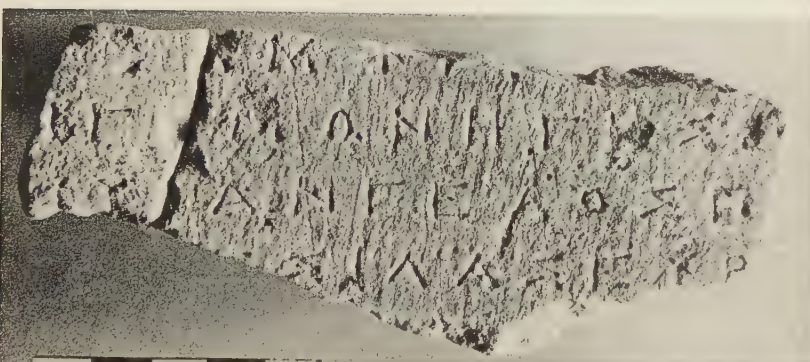
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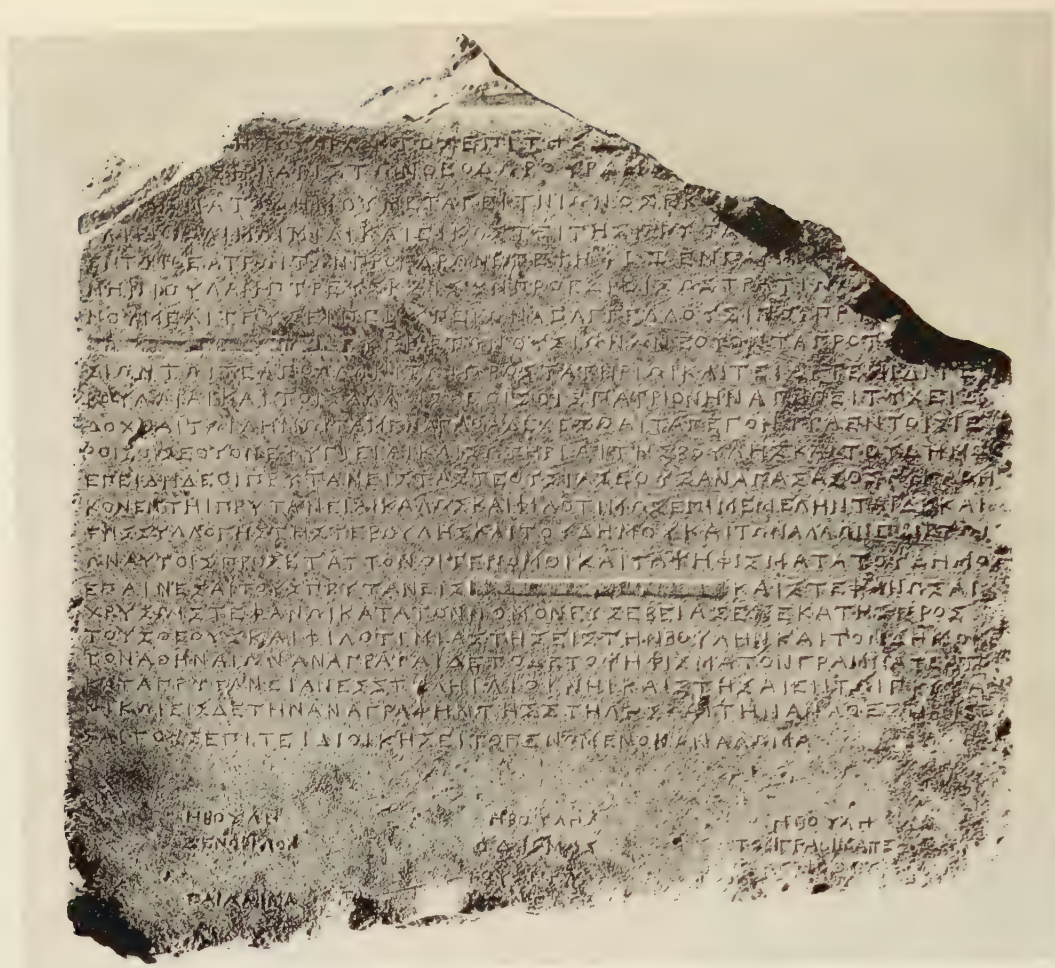


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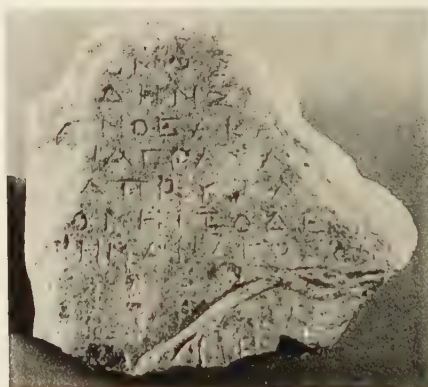




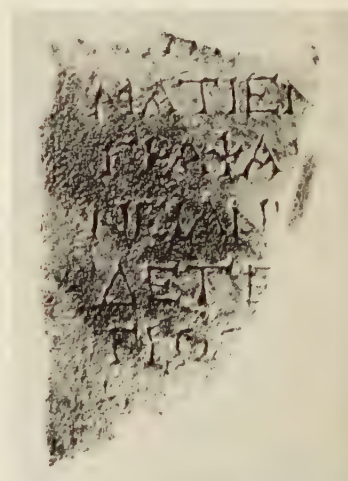
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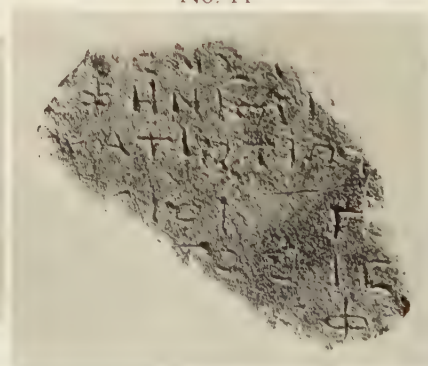
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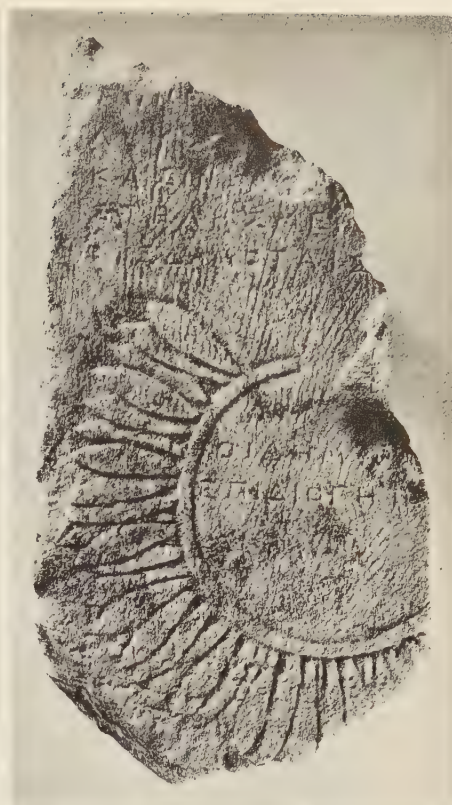


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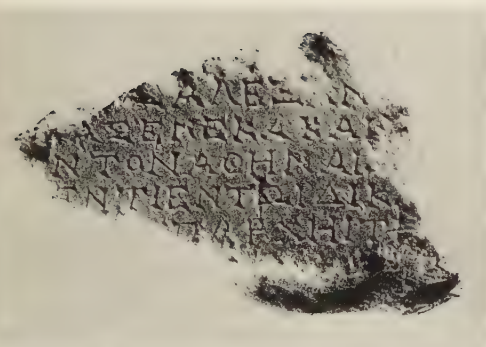




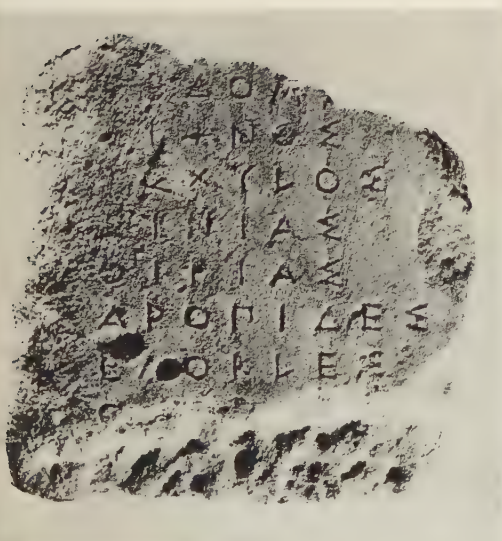
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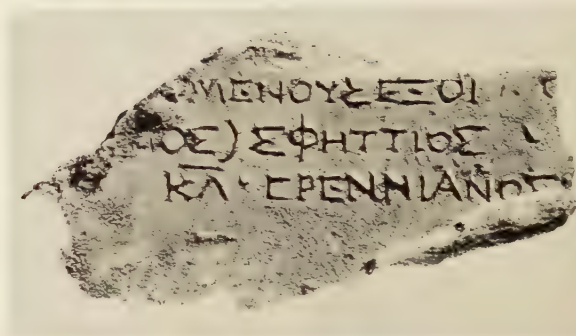
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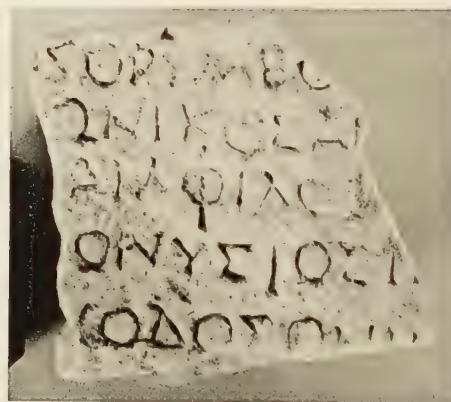
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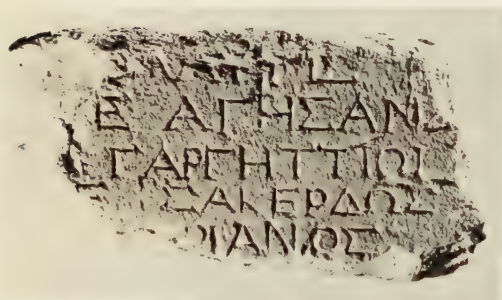
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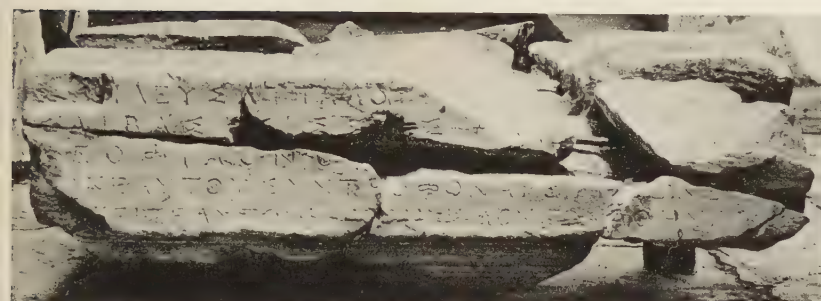




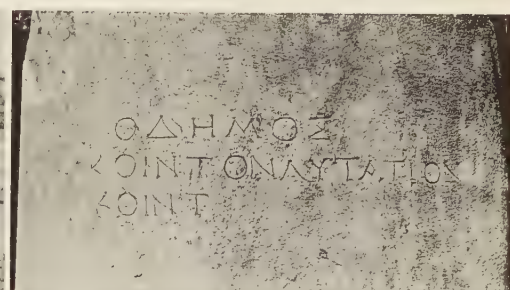
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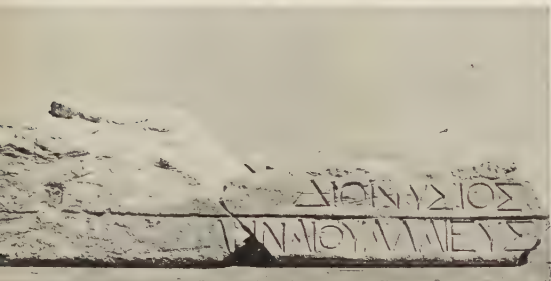
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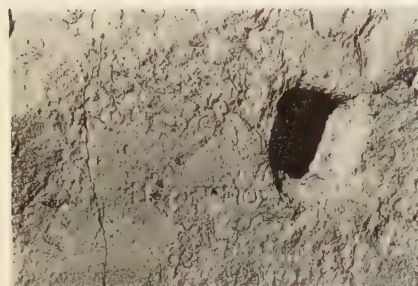
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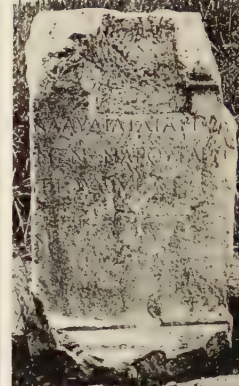
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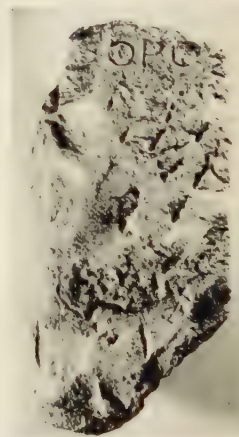
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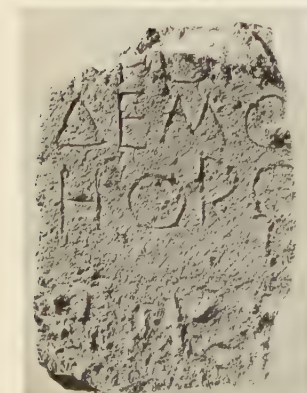
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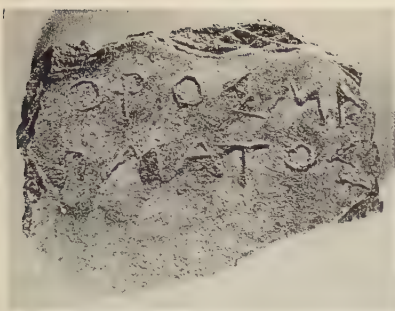


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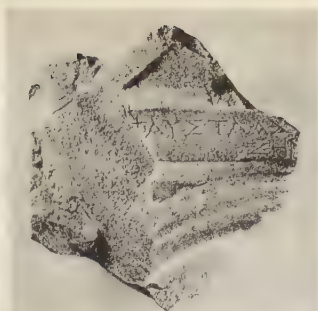


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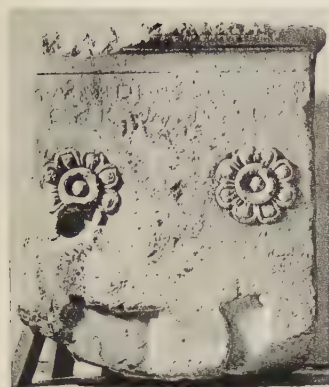
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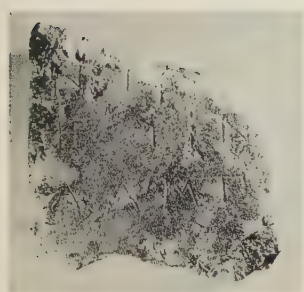
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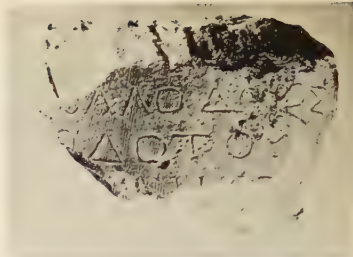
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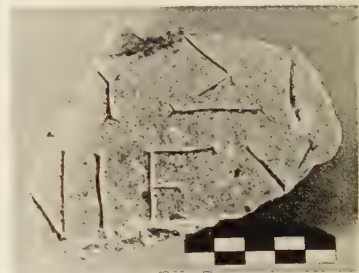
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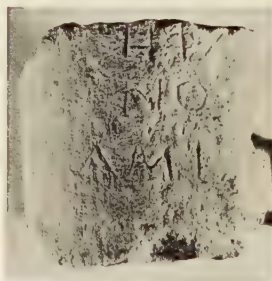
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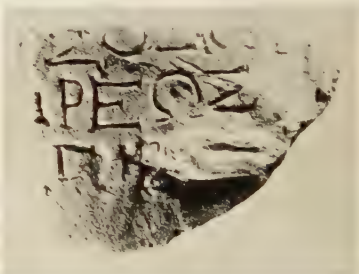
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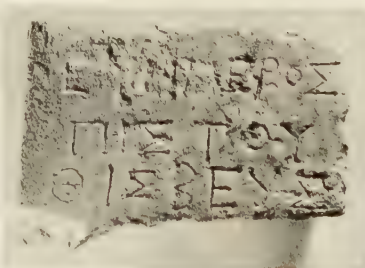
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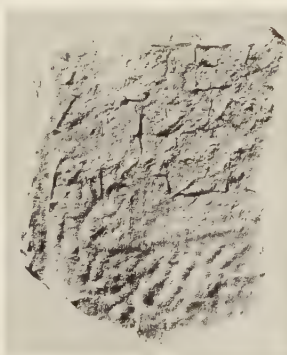
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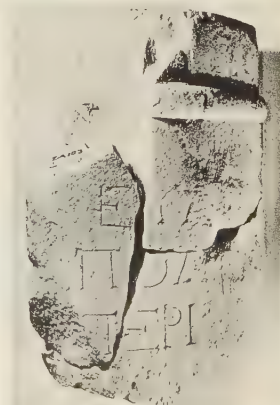
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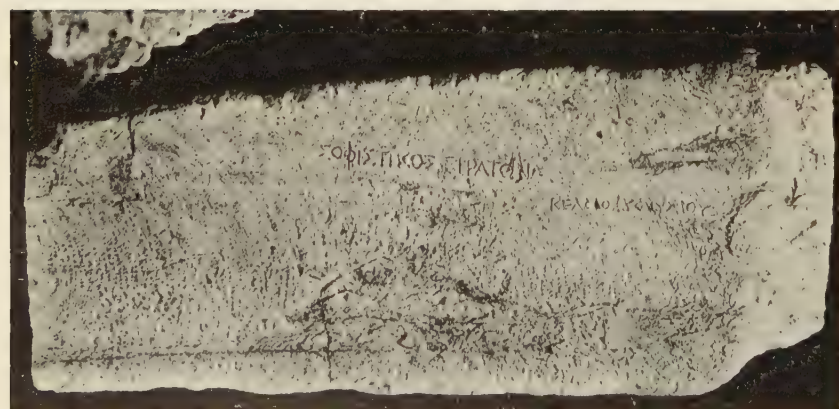
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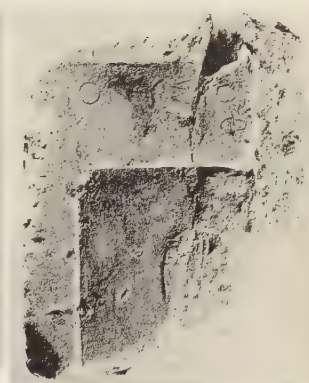




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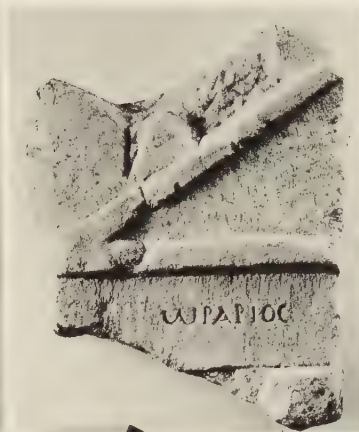
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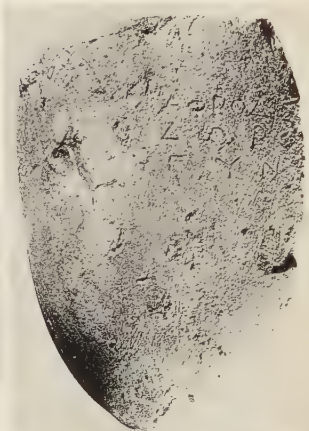
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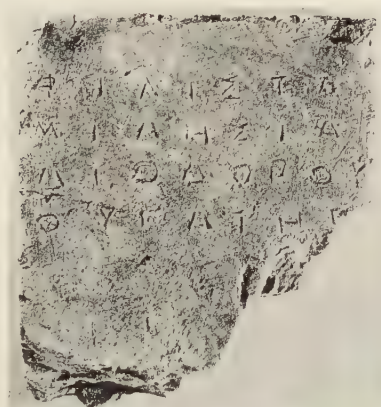
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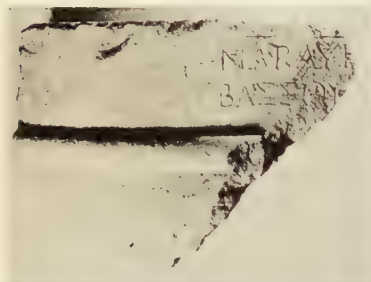
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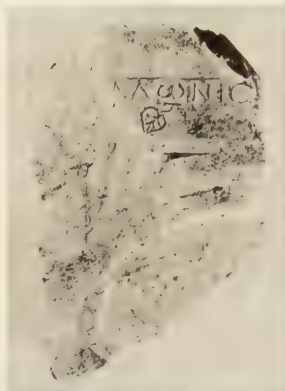
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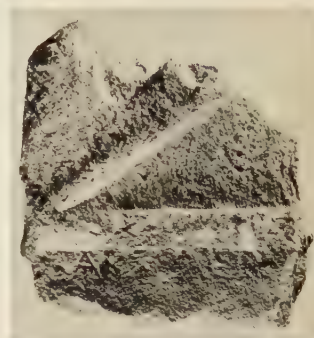
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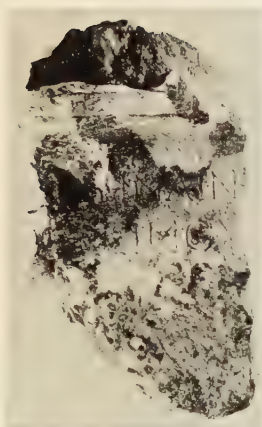
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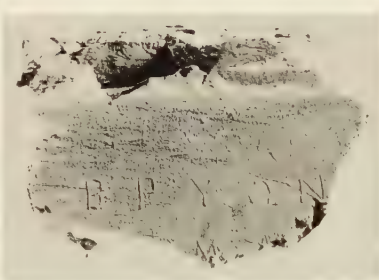
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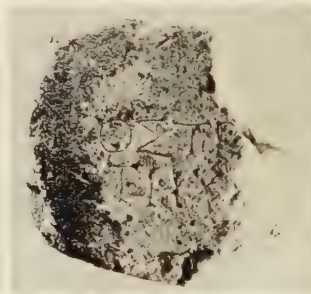
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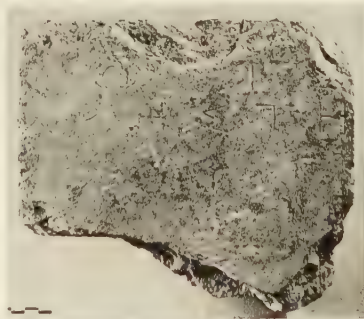
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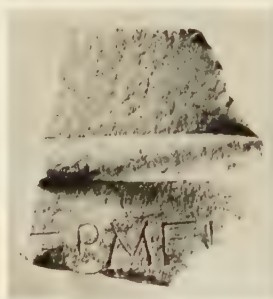
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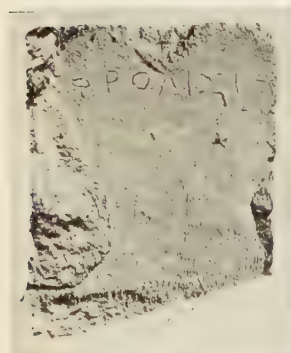
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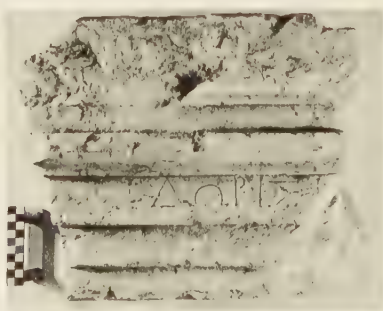
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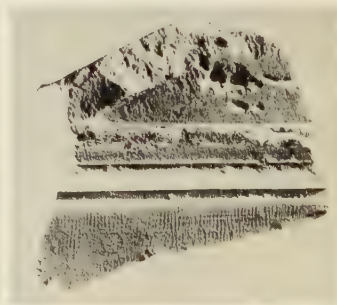
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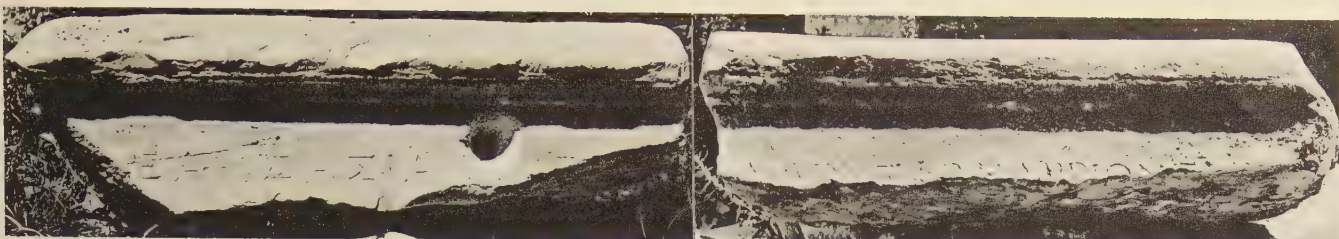


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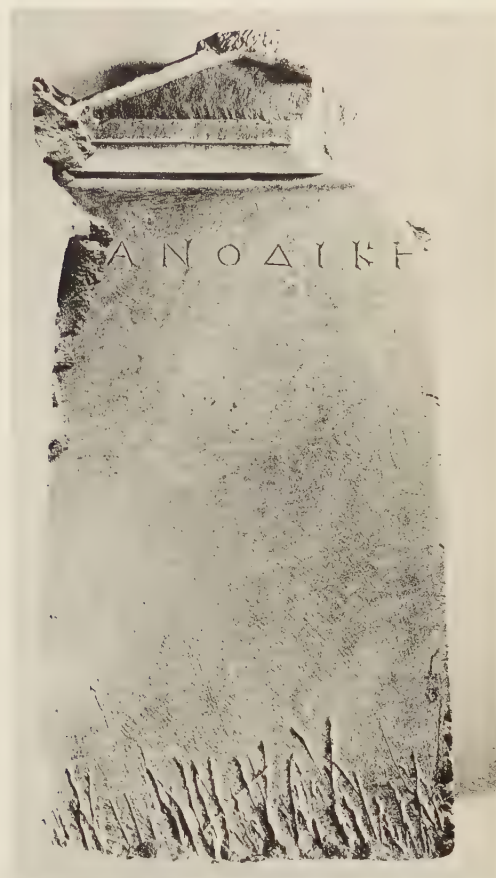




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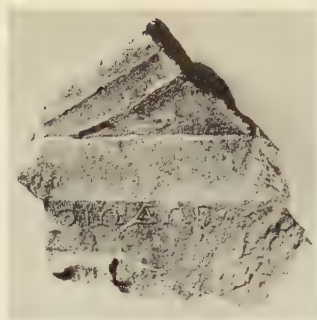


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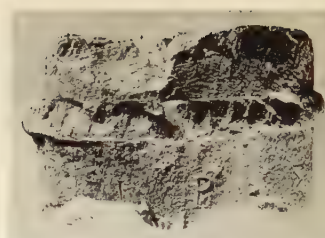
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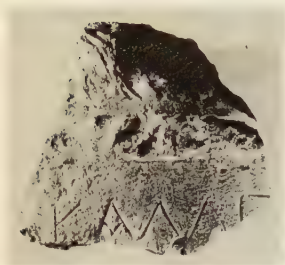
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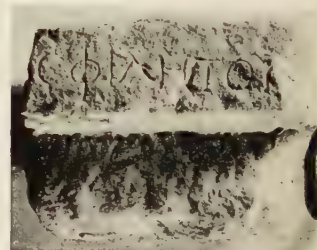
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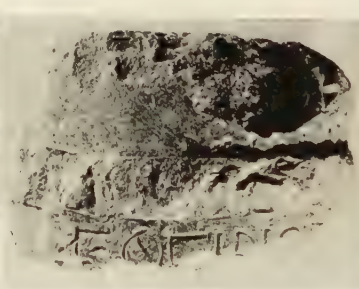
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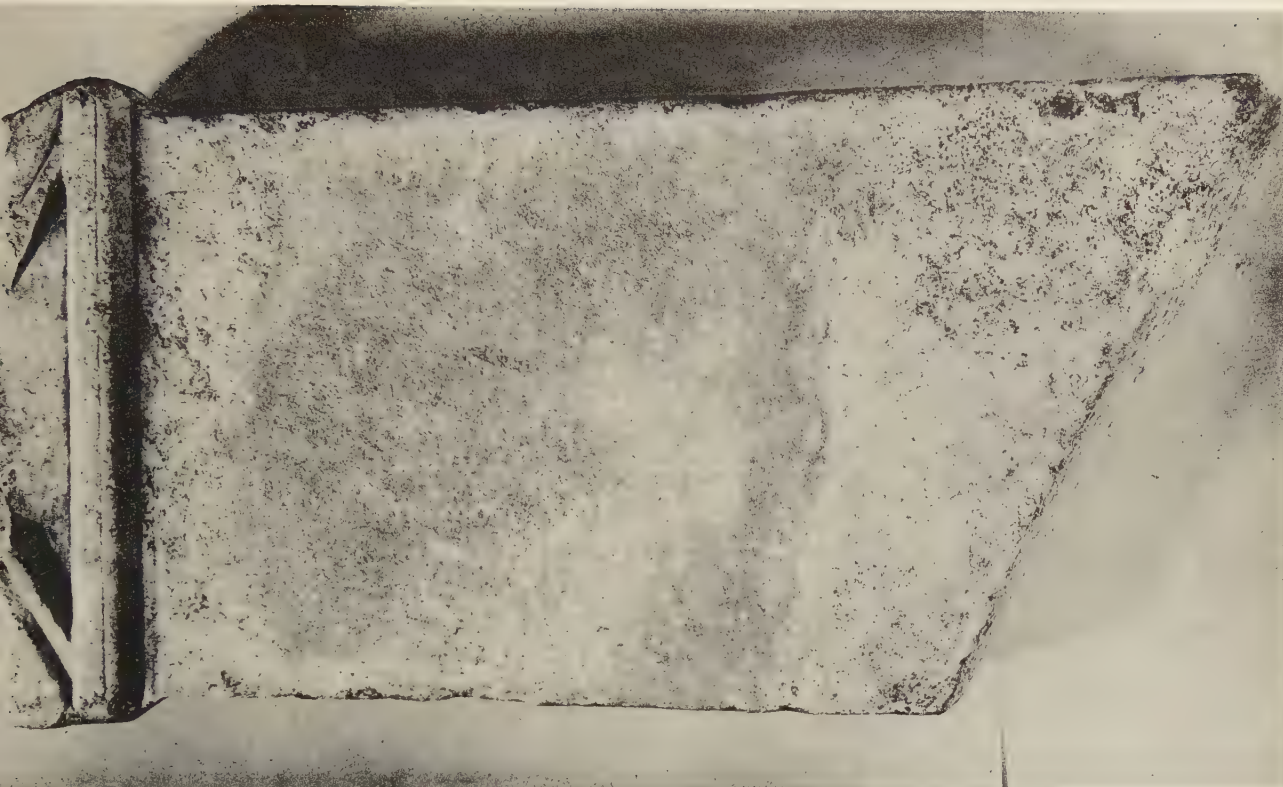
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Inv. No. I 6664

WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR: THE ARCHONSHIP OF PYTHARATOS (271/0 B.C.)



Inv. No. I 6096





Detail of Top, Inv. No. I 6096



Detail of Bottom, Inv. No. I 6096



Northwest Corner of Southwest Fountain House (Inv. No. I 6096 serving as Drain Cover just beyond unfinished Doric Bottom Column Drum)

# HESPERIA

## JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXIII: NUMBER 1

JANUARY—MARCH

1954



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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By KEVIN ANDREWS

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